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JAVANESE DANCER
By D. K. Dev-Varman

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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THE VICTIM

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

You seemed from afar
titanic in your mysterious majesty of terror.
With palpitating heart I stood before your presence.

Your knitted brows boded ill
and sudden came down the blow with a growl and a crash.
My bones cracked,
With bowed head I waited for the final fury to come.

It came.
And I wondered, could this be all of the menace ?
With your weapon held high in suspense
You looked mightily big.
To strike me you came down
to where I crouched low on the ground.
You suddenly became small and I stood up.

From thence there was only pain for me
but no fear.

Great you are as death itself,
but your victim is greater than death.

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"REBEL INDIA"

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

"REBEL India"* is an eminently honest book which can only be written by a type of Englishman with whom we are least familiar in India. I cannot doubt that there must be a number of such men among those who have made it their task to rule this country or are employed here in various other capacities. I only wish, for the sake of their own nation, that such individuals could be clearly discerned by us through the un-human atmosphere which densely envelops them, blurring their features into a herd uniformity.

During my last visit in England I was assured by a responsible member of Parliament that the Englishman may be wanting in imagination, but it should never be doubted that he is honest. I am sure he was right, but it is necessary, specially in the present moment, that this fact should be completely evident to us who can hardly have opportunity of studying this people in their natural environment. It is needless to say that the quality of honesty undergoes its hardest trial where self-interest is concerned, not merely that of an individual but of one's own nation. The tremendous pressure of expediency in the cause of nationalism too often effects deviation of character from the moral orbit which an honourable man follows in all other calls of life even at the risk of hurt and loss.

Generally speaking, the background of an Englishman's activities in India in his pursuit of personal gain or administration of the country, intimately represents his national self-interest, which very often does not coincide with the vital interest of the land of his exile. Lacking most other incentives and outlets for his energy in the direction of a great social life, multitudinous in its ideals and claims, he intensely cultivates an imperialistic worldliness which can never be honest and just in its relation to those whom it must exploit for its maintenance. Every individual Englishman in India, be he a planter, station master, shop assistant, dentist or hotel keeper, head clerk of a merchant office, whatever may be his character, culture and capacity, cannot help being strongly obsessed by a sense of almost personal ownership with regard to India. As an Englishman he meets everywhere in this country with special concession and consideration to which he is not accustomed among his own people and which he can never naturally claim for any uncommon gift of his own. Everything in India every moment encourages in him a dangerously exaggerated consciousness of superiority and of political overlordship merely owing to the accident of his birth. No wonder that it completely damages the mind and character of the average man who belongs to the vast majority of the mediocre. It was in 1878 that I first came to England, and I remember how I was often told by my English friends that the retired Anglo-Indians as a rule were intolerable. Evidently in those days the normal type of Englishman was fundamentally different from those who had eaten India's salt for any length of time. But in the meanwhile India has been taking her revenge and gradually saturating the atmosphere of English character with the noxious exhalations that rise from unresisting humiliation of humanity.

And therefore what surprises me in this book is the perfect honesty of the author in his description and discussion of things he has noticed during his tour in India, the unpleasant sights and happenings that were not creditable to his own people.

The unnatural relation of the race of the rulers to that of the ruled, representing the subjection of an entire country made

* REBEL INDIA: by Henry Noel Brailsford. London Leonard Stein *with* Victor Gollancz Co., Ltd. 1931. 2*s*. 6*d*.

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profitable to an entire nation living aloof across an enormous distance, must kill moral probity because it kills human sympathy.

Very few individuals can be expected to resist the moral contamination which such imperialistic parasitism must engender and nowhere is the tragedy of fine minds succuming to the insidious poison of racial arrogance made more evident than amongst the Englishman in India whose self-lowered prestige must at all costs be preserved by military power. One waits in vain therefore for a voice of protest from this privileged community against the unsympathetic treatment that is being meted out in their name and with their cognizance to a people whom they know to be defenceless and whose most pitifully human claims must needs be ignored by the impersonal spirit of law and order. Moral integrity with regard to its hapless victims is an unnessary item in the make up of a commercial policy whose ambition is to reap dividends with the maximum of speed and comfort.

"Rebel India," I repeat, is an honest book. Reading it I feel encourraged to hope that individual Englishman in our land will emulate his attitude of sober judgment and, no matter how inconvenient it may be to do so, dare face facts as they really are today in India.

Santiniketan.

A PLANET AND A STAR

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

The Pompos

[While a programme of sports was in progress and the Lady Toma, the Damato's daughter, was having a joy ride in the aeroplane with Sahir, the writer of the story, she coaxed out the truth from him as regards their being visitants from another planet and afterwards declared that she was in love with him. Fearing the consequences of such a complication Sahir disclosed the matter to Maruchi, and the next day the party flew to a mountain where they set up a powerful wireless installation and communicated with the earth. Without returning to Sipri the party went on to the forest region to discover the savages of whom they had heard.]

XVI

When the forest was sighted Maruchi directed Nabor to fly over it at a low altitude so that we might form an idea of the nature and extent of the forest. We found the forest covered several hundred square miles. At some places it was so dense that we could see nothing but the tree-tops so close together that the ground underneath was invisible. At other places there were large clearings with narrow rivulets flowing through them. We saw herds of wild animals at graze, but as we were flying in silence they were not disturbed. We saw no signs of the Pompos of whom we had been told, but as we knew nothing about their habits we concluded that they might be lurking in the depths of the forest and had their own time for appearing in the clearings. We had to choose a spot for alighting. We could do so either in one of the open spaces in the forest itself or outside near the border of the forest. The latter was the safer course for in case we were attacked we would be able to see the savages coming and take such precautions as might be necessary. Inside the forest we might be suddenly hemmed in on all sides and might find it difficult to extricate ourselves from a dangerous situation. On the other hand, Maruchi was of opinion that we were unlikely to meet any of the Pompos near the edge of the forest for they must be dwelling in the interior where there was abundant game. Whatever the risk we would have to alight in one of the clearings.

Nabor selected one of the largest open spaces in the heart of the forest. There was a stream of clear water at one end and from that side the clearing could only be reached by wading through the stream. We came down in perfect silence near the middle of the clearing so that there were some hundred yards of open ground between the machine and the surrounding forest and we could not be attacked unawares from any direction. We were all armed with the weapons with which we could send off the enemy into temporary insensibility at a distance. We carried no lethal weapens and had no thought of taking life. It was understood that Nabor

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would remain at his post with the engines going so that we might leave the ground at an instant's notice if menaced by any grave danger with which we were unable to cope. Before leaving the machine Maruchi took out the tube, which was in reality a kind of altiscope with the added X-ray property of enabling one to see through solid objects, and looked through it in all directions. As he slowly turned the glass round he suddenly stopped and cried out, 'By Jove! I have got them!' After a minute or two he handed me the tube and asked me to have a look. Peering through the instrument I saw probably at a distance of half a mile in the forest a group of about twenty creatures squatting round the roots of trees and leisurely eating some nuts or other fruit. They were in a state of nature and they belonged to both sexes. There could be no doubt that these were the Pompos. I saw at once that they belonged to a species we had never seen before. They were certainly not apes and they were not like any of the human beings we had seen on this planet. It was difficult to form a definite opinion without seeing them on their feet, but they appeared to be of a fair size, averaging between five feet and five and a half in height. The head was of a peculiar shape resembling that of a human being and covered with dark, long hair. The forehead was low and the features were not at all repulsive, the eyes being large and bright. The ears were rather large, but the mouth and the lips were well shaped. The nose was straight but rather small and the face was not hairy. There was no hirsute growth on the lips and chins of the males. The arms were somewhat longer than human arms but not so long as those of an orang-outang. The hands and feet seemed to be well proportioned, the complexion slightly yellow and the growth of hair on the body very thin. As I looked at them I thought of the Missing Link of which our world had heard so much in the days of the past. The instrument was passed round and every one of us had a look at the Pompos who seemed to be at their ease and were unaware of our presence. We cautiously alighted from the machine, Nabor alone being left behind and keeping a sharp look out according to instructions. Coming to the entrance of the forest we held a brief consultation. We could scarcely expect to take the Pompos by surprise. They would either attack us or bolt into the forest in which case we could never hope to catch them or see them again. If we could head them off so as to compel them to come out in the open we might reasonably expect to get hold of some of them and examine them at close quarters.

Looking again through the instrument Maruchi saw that the Pompos had got up and were moving liesurely in the direction where we were standing. They were walking with an awkward gait while their eyes were peering keenly in every direction. Maruchi led us silently in Indian file by a somewhat circuitous route behind the Pompos, who had by this time reached the fringe of the forest nearing the opening. We were about fifty yards to the rear of them moving slowly forward and always keeping behind trees so that we might not be seen. Arrived at the mouth of the clearing the party of Pompos halted and as soon as they saw the flying machine they set up a strange and shrill ululation. They made as if to run back into the forest but as the machine lay perfectly still and showed no signs of life, and Nabor remained invisible. the Pompos stood their ground, and their curiosity getting the better of the first feeling of alarm they proceeded carefully to approach the airship. The men were armed with short spears and had bows and quivers of arrows slung on their backs. We came up to the last belt of trees nearing the clearing but did not yet show ourselves as we wanted to see what action was taken by Nabor. The situation was not free from anxiety as the savages thinking the machine to be a monstrous bird or animal might throw their spears at it and do some serious damage to our airship. In fact, as they approached the machine they began poising their spears in their hands. But Nabor was ready for them and as soon as he saw them gripping and balancing their spears he blew a loud and long blast on his powerful sirens. The effect was instantaneous. Several of the Pompos, including the females, shrieked out in an agony of terror and fell flat on their faces. The next moment they jumped up and the whole bunch fled for safety to the forest. As they ran helter-skelter in our direction we showed ourselves. The Pompos were thus caught between two fires and swerved in another direction, and as they did so they threw their spears at us. But we were out of range and the Pompos were far too frightened to take effective aim. As they were turning we let off our guns containing gas pellets. These exploded quite close to the Pompos but as they were running at great speed the majority of them escaped except two who fell down unconscious. We promtly went over to them, bound them and carried them to the flying machine. As the Pompos who had escaped were certain to come back with reinforcements Maruchi ordered Nabor to get out of the forest.

We left the forest with our unconscious captives and descended again in a large, open plain about fifty miles from the borders of the forest. Maruchi and we carefully examined the two Pompos we had captured. Both were young, one was a male and the other a female. Both of them were well built with firm and shapely limbs and features which were by no means repulsive. They had sleek and silky hair, the woman's being longer than the man's and they looked clean. There was a fine, downy growth

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on the back and chest of the man, but he was not very hairy and his face was almost as smooth as the woman's. The hands were almost human, but the digits were rather thin and long suggesting their usefulness for climbing trees. The arms were long, reaching down almost to the knees. The feet were flat, narrow and long with the great toes bent inwards, which accounted for the awkwardness in walking. These peculiarities were less marked in the female and the outlines of her body were soft and gentle. We could not say how specialists in biology would have classified them but to us they appeared to be human with certain traits of the anthropoids. Maruchi quickly took snapshots of them as he was not sure whether he would be able to photograph them when they were awake.

Presently they came round. It was the woman who first opened her eyes, which gradually widened in terror as she saw us standing around, and she began trembling violently and uttering low cries of excessive fright. We all gesticulated to assure her that she was in no danger. Maruchi stooped down and patted her tied hands in token of goodwill. She shrank at the first touch and looked at Maruchi's hand to see whether he had any weapon. It was evident that she feared immediate death at our hands, but as she noted the friendly look in our eyes and the kindly expression of Maruchi she submitted to be soothed and lay still with her eyes looking at each one of us in turn and finally resting on Maruchi's in a mute and piteous appeal.

We were so occupied with the woman that we did not notice that the man also had recovered consciousness and was staring at us in dumb terror. He turned his head and saw the woman lying a few feet away from him and Maruchi bending over her. He must have been firmly convinced that Maruchi was about to slit her throat and his turn would come next, and he yelled out in an agony of terror. I promptly went over to his side and followed Maruchi's example by patting his hands and explaining by vigorous gesticulation that he need not be afraid for we meant no harm to either of them. He at first bared his teeth and snarled at me but gradually became quiet when he found that his life was not in immediate danger.

Suddenly Maruchi said in his quiet, firm tones, 'I am going to untie the woman. I don't think she will give any trouble, but she may attempt to escape and that must be prevented.'

He quickly untied the knots, rubbed the joints of the hands and feet where the cord had been tied and gently lifted her to her feet. The next moment she sank on her knees and clasped Maruchi's knees with both hands while tears of gratitude and relief coursed down her cheeks. It was an extremely moving sight. Maruchi stroked her head and her hair, made signs that she should not be afraid, and raised her again by the hand and placed her on a seat. I asked him whether I should untie the man also. Maruchi told me to be careful as the man might show fight and become violent. He asked Nabor to play some pleasant tunes on the organ while I released the man from his bonds. Nabor began playing some soft, plaintive music while I deftly slipped the knots and set the man free. The effect was astonishing. Instead of showing any violence or attempting to escape the man was fascinated by the music. He sat up and listened with a puzzled but pleased expression in his eyes, while his whole attitude showed the closest attention. The woman stood up while her lips parted in a smile showing somewhat large but brilliantly white teeth. She peered about in every direction to find out whence the music came, but she could see nothing as Nabor had merely wound up the instrument, and it was playing by itself. Maruchi went up to the instrument and beckoned her to approach and she timidly went up to him having overcome a great deal of her fear by this time. Maruchi showed her the instrument, stopped the music for a moment and set it going again. The woman evidently thought the instrument to be a living thing for she would not touch it but merely looked at it and moved around it, glancing towards Maruchi from time to time.

The man listened to the music and watched Maruchi and the woman, and he could not fail to perceive the friendliness of Maruchi and the growing sense of safety of the woman. He also slowly went near the instrument and I remained close to him, ready to grapple with him if necessary. When he went near the woman they began an animated conversation and Maruchi stopped the instrument to hear them speak. At first they spoke rapidly in what appeared to be short sentences with a curious intaking of the breath at intervals. The man spoke in a guttural voice, a few words at a time, and then he would sharply draw in his breath with a whistling sound. The woman's voice was low and not unmusical, but the modulation was very unequal and she would suddenly jerk out a word in a high key. We noticed the constant use of long vowels and some of these were drawn out at the end of words. One word that both of them repeated several times was *mooloomee*. The man uttered this word with emphatic affirmation, but the woman repeated it with a negative shake of the head. Suddenly she turned towards Maruchi and excitedly asked, 'Mooloomee? Mooloomee?' Maruchi who had followed their conversation closely without of course understanding it, took his cue from the woman and vigorously and repeatedly shook his head in denial. The woman looked at the man and smiled in triumph, then she took Maruchi's hand and placed it first on her head and next on the head of the man. It was more eloquent than words. Mooloomee were either the dwellers

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of cities or beings whom the Pompos looked upon as their enemies, and the woman was sure we were not of the Mooloomee and though the two Pompos had been captured Maruchi would protect them. Maruchi again patted the heads of the man and woman and shook hands with them. Before they could recover from their gratified surprise Maruchi questioned them, 'Pompo? Pompo?' The affirmative reply came by the man clacking his tongue. Maruchi then struck his own breast indicated us all by a sweep of his arm and repeated 'Pompo! Pompo!' raising both his arms and pointing to the sky. Our two involuntary guests at once understood that we were also a higher order of Pompos and had come down from the heavens. The woman bubbled over with happy laughter and nestled at Maruchi's side, holding his hand. The man lifted up both his hands in amazement and looked at Maruchi as one beholds a god.

The scientist in Maruchi had left undeveloped a great actor and diplomat.

The Pompos were tamed almost as soon as they were captured.

XVII

We had no intention of keeping our prisoners for a long time, or of taking them to a city where they might be molested or ill treated.

Maruchi observed them carefully and took copious notes about them. They were at first somewhat suspicious of the food we offered them, but when they saw us eating it they took and ate it with evident pleasure. Maruchi's object was to inspire the Pompos with complete confidence so that they might cease to be afraid of us and speak well of us when they returned to their own people. He was in hopes that they might even prevail upon other Pompos to approach us without fear.

The woman's name, Maruchi found out, was Ooloopee, while the man was called Batabata. Ooloopee always hovered about Maruchi and was never happier than when he spoke to her in gestures and called her by name. Very often she was found sitting at his feet, looking up at his face with an expression of great contentment and the wonder in her eyes never altogether ceased. When Maruchi patted her hands or her head she would lay her head or her hands on his knees and would purr and croon with pleasure. Sometimes she would turn up his shirt sleeves and admire the whiteness of his skin and stroke his arm with her hands. She would examine his shoes with great curiosity and play with his coat buttons. She was simple as a child and very affectionate, and never gave any trouble. Music gave her immense pleasure and Nabor frequently played for her sake.

Batabata became a great favourite with Ganimet who played with him, showed him many tricks which the Pompo looked upon as magic We stayed in the open for several days, sleeping in the airship and frequently strolling about during the day. The two Pompos made no attempt at escape, probably because there was no forest in sight and also because they had become greatly attached to us. They had never seen the machine flying for they were unconscious when we brought them out of the forest and since then we had never left the ground. Maruchi now conceived the idea of taking the Pompos up in the air to convince them of our magical powers and to confirm the story that we had come out of the sky. In one of our morning strolls Maruchi pointed to the sky and made Ooloopee understand that he was about to go up. As Ooloopee believed implicitly everything that he said she thought we were going back to our home in heaven, leaving the Pompos to find their way back to the forest as best they could. She clung to Maruchi and began to cry, not aloud but softly, wetting his hand with her tears. Maruchi putting his arm around her explained by his eloquent gestures that she and Batabata would also accompany us. Her tears ceased at once and her eyes and face assumed an expression of amazed consternation. Maruchi and the rest of us belonged to the sky and so we could fly away whenever we liked. She believed the airship to be a house we had built to live in and nothing more. She looked fearfully and yet expectantly at Maruchi, fully believing that he would just take her by the hand and fly away to his house in the stars.

Ganimet had been asked to explain to Batabata the proposed flight, and I watched him doing so with uncouth gestures and a flow of language which was very picturesque but unfortunately unintelligible to his hearer. Grasping the Pompo by the shoulder Ganimet was shouting, 'You're going to have the time of your life, my boy. Ever had a joy ride, eh? You are a lucky Pompo, and no mistake.' And he thumped Batabata vigorously on the back. The Pompo did not understand the words but the gesticulation left him in no doubt, and his face became an animated picture on which various emotions chased one another. Terror, incredulity, wonder, bewilderment were successively stamped on his features in comic exaggeration. His eyes strayed from Ganimet to the sky and then he looked at his own hands and feet, wondering how they could help him to fly. He also believed like Ooloopee that Ganimet would transport him across the sky.

We went back to the airship and in obedience to a sign made by Maruchi Nabor went to the pilot's place and in a minute we had left the ground and were rising steeply up in the air. For some time Ooloopee and Batabata noticed nothing as there was no sound or jar and then Maruchi took Ooloopee by the hand and led her to the side of the machine and pointed downwards. She gave one look and then

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her eyes opened wide in terror, she shrieked aloud and fell flat on her face. Batabata also looked out and the next instant he was trembling from head to feet, gibbering and his teeth chattering as if he had an attack of ague. He clung desperately to Ganimet, probably thinking his last moment had come and he would be dashed down to death. It took Maruchi and Ganimet a considerable time to reassure the two Pompos that there was no danger and they were perfectly safe with us. These children of nature were creatures of quick moods and their fit of fear passed in a few minutes. Maruchi had raised Ooloopee to her feet and holding his hand she timidly looked out and saw the landscape below us slipping past in a shifting panorama, fields, forests, rivers, townships gliding by in a continuous procession. She turned towards Maruchi and spoke and gesticulated excitedly, touching Maruchi lightly on the breast, next touching the airship and then waving both hands over her head in imitation of a flying movement. There was no difficulty in understanding what she meant. It was impossible for her to believe that the airship had any power to fly. To her it was just a habitation in which we lived and she was sure Maruchi was taking it with him just as he was taking her and Batabata. In her eyes Maruchi was nothing less than a god.

In a little while we were over a town of a considerable size and Maruchi directed Nabor to fly low and circle over the town. He signed to Ooloopee and Batabata to look down and they saw the people walking along the streets and going about their business. Before this they had never seen anything outside their native forest and they cried out in wonder at the strange sight they now saw for the first time. They had a very vague idea of direction and evidently thought we had arrived at our destination, though Ooloopee looked up once or twice at the sky with a puzzled expression on her face. But we passed on, the machine rose to a great height and presently we were crossing a mountain. Again the Pompos gave vent to their astonishment for a mountain was to them as novel a sight as a city, and Ooloopee inquired by signs whether we lived there. Maruchi smiled and shook his head and soon the mountain was left behind. We made a wide detour and then flew back at a high speed to the forest in which we had found the two Pompos. When they noticed familiar landmarks they became intensely excited and forgot all about us. Maruchi recalled Ooloopee to herself by taking her hand and making her understand that he wanted to see other Pompos in the forest and to be friendly with them all. Ooloopee nodded understandingly and gently pressed Maruchi's hands. Nabor remembered the old landing place and glided down to the ground, volplaning in easy, smooth curves. Maruchi made signs to Ooloopee and Batabata that we would wait to meet their people.

As soon as they were helped to alight Batabata bounded off with whoops of delight and Ooloopee ran into the forest repeatedly turning back to look towards us. In a moment the forest hid them and we waited for developments. We took out our gas pistols by way of precaution though we knew there would be no need to use them. It was a little past noon and a deep silence, broken only by the murmur of the wind in the trees, held the forest. The atmosphere on this planet was somewhat denser than on ours and the languorous breeze on our faces was like the touch of lingering fingers. The trees were festooned with many creepers that hung like garlands from branch to branch, loaded with flowers of many colours and which filled the air with fragrance. Between the openings the sunlight penetrated in slender and broad beams splashing the undergrowth with light, and the shadows swayed and swung about on the lighted patches. Elsewhere the forest gloom brooded in silence and nothing stirred. As we waited, silent and expectant, a murmur which rapidly swelled into a confused noise of many voices broke the silence of the forest and approached in our direction. The instrument given to us by the scientists was in my pocket and I clapped it to my eyes and saw a large crowd of Pompos led by Ooloopee and Batabata moving in our direction through the forest. There were men and women and children but even the men carried no arms and the faces of all of them were lit up with an eager curiosity. In a few minutes they broke cover and came out into the open, about a hundred of them, but they abruptly halted at sight of us and the machine. Ooloopee and Batabata detached themselves from the crowd and came running towards us. Ooloopee stood by the side of Maruchi and took his hand and placed it upon her head as she had done once before while Batabata stood near his friend Ganimet. Orlon, who had been unusually reticent for some time, was standing a little apart with his arms crossed on his breast and watching the crowd with languid curiosity. Ooloopee next turned round towards the Pompos who were hesitating to advance and spoke to them some words in a high penetrating voice. Then the crowd came on, slowly and hesitatingly, staring at us with wide-eyed wonder all the time. Nabor was in the machine ready for them and he greeted them with music, soft and low, that floated out on the heavy air in unseen, curling waves. The Pompos looked startled but pleased and they looked at us, at the machine and again at the sky to find out whence the music was coming. As they approached nearer to us the music changed to a quick measure and Ooloopee sprang out in front of Maruchi and began to dance with short quick steps swaying

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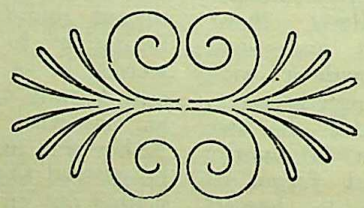
her body and spreading out her arms and occasionally whirling round on her heels. Instantly, the entire group of Pompos was tripping and dancing around us and singing what was probably a song of welcome. Some of the women had excellent figures and were comely to look at and danced gracefully. Several of the men were well set up and fine-looking, and sometimes they danced with the women and again fell apart, the dancers moving round in a wide circle with ourselves in the centre.

We entered into the spirit of the thing, and stepping forward I caught Ooloopee round the waist and joined the dancers. Just for one moment she was astonished but the next moment she laughed happily into my eyes. and glanced archly over my shoulder at Maruchi, who was smiling at us. Orlon picked out the prettiest of the maidens, a fairly tall and willowy girl with large limpid eyes and lustrous black hair that framed her attractive face and hung down her back. Instead of feeling frightened she looked critically at Orlon, looking up at his chiselled features and the flash of gold in his head from the crook in his arm where her head rested and she approved of him for with a little cry of delight she clung to him and spun round with him in the dance. Ganimet found a suitable partner in a buxom and thick-set girl and they made an excellet pair in their own way and danced what we afterwards called the gorilla dance. Ooloopee was not satisfied with dancing with me and went up to Maruchi and playfully dragged him to partner her in a fresh dance. For all his learning and seriousness Maruchi was an excellent dancer and swung Ooloopee about until she was breathless with excitement, exertion and pleasure. What would the grave scientists of Sipri and still more serious members of the committee on our own planet have thought of us if they had seen us at our antics with a savage forest tribe!

The music ceased and the dance came to an end. Then one of the men who appeared to be the chief and had a fox skin with the brush tied round his head stepped forward and saluted Maruchi by touching his knee. He did the same thing to Orlon whom he looked upon as another of our leaders and spoke some words with great dignity, frequently pointing towards the sky. As he was speaking another band of Pompos trooped out of the forest carrying presents of various fruits which were laid at our feet. The women were less shy than the men and some of the younger ones aproached quite close to us and examined us with great curiosity. The girl who had danced with Orlon took his hand and examined the white skin with much interest and stood on tiptoe to pass her hand through his golden hair. Others stood quite close to us peering at our faces and admiring our clothes. Ganimet's partner in the dance admired his shaggy and brawny arms and ruffled the sleeves of his long robe. Ganimet pinched her lightly in the ear and she gave a frightened little squeak and laughed immoderately. Ooloopee was standing contentedly by the side of Maruchi plucking at the lapels of his coat.

Some little time passed and Maruchi said, 'We have had a good look at these people and must now slip away'. He shook hands with the Pompo chief and patted Ooloopee on the head and cheek, and walked towards the machine. We picked up the fruit and Ganimet gave a parting pat to Batabata. The Pompos were preparing to follow us when Maruchi turned round and motioned them to stay where they stood. We entered the machine and the next moment it was off the ground. Ooloopee wailed out in bitter grief, running after us and stretching out her hands. That was the last we saw of her and the Pompos.

To be continued



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JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

IF Whittier were in India, I am sure Mahatma Gandhi would love him, Tagore would love him, Charles Andrews would love him, all India would love him. He would be deeply in sympathy with India's struggle for freedom; and no one would more earnestly than he support Gandhi and the Congress in their insistence that the fight must be carried on by love, not by hate, by enduring suffering, not by inflicting it.

Few will dispute that Whittier is America's greatest religious poet. Popularly he is known in America as our beloved, our almost universally beloved, "Quaker" poet.

If the question is asked: "Who are the Quakers?" the answer is: Their true name, the name which they always apply to themselves, is "Friends." And no name could be more fitting; for if any people, in any Western land, have ever shown themselves in all their career, true friends of all men, rich and poor, high and low, white and coloured, bond and free, and also true friends of freedom, peace and all best moral, religious and social reforms, it is they. The name Quaker seems to have been given to them by their enemies, partly in humour and partly in derision. But their lives have been so exemplary and their service to the world has been so great, that to-day nobody thinks of attaching opprobrium to it; it is a name of honour.

From the beginning of their history in England, early in the seventeenth century, when George Fox, the founder of their movement, lifted up his voice against a religion of enslaving theological dogmas and dead ecclesiastical forms, the Quakers (Friends) have had a living and sorely needed message for humanity. What has it been? I think I shall not be far wrong if I reply that it has been from the first and still is, more nearly than that of any other Christian body, the message which Jesus proclaimed to the people of Palestine nineteen hundred years ago, and also essentially the message which Mahatma Gandhi is proclaiming to India and the world to-day.

John Greenleaf Whittier, America's honoured Quaker poet, died thirty years ago, at the age of 86. Born on a Massachusetts farm, he early learned the hardships and privations of old time New England country life. This had much to do with putting that iron into his moral blood which made him the heroic moral and religious reformer which he became.

He was reared in a Quaker home, he attended Quaker meetings, his principal childhood reading was the Bible and Quaker books. All these tended to make him simple, sincere, earnest, religious, a carer for reality as distinguished from show, a man with a conscience, a lover of his fellow men, of liberty, of right, and of peace.

Outside of the farm work, the home, and the Quaker meetings, he obtained his early education at a country school, which he attended three or four months each year until he was two-thirds grown, and at a village academy, which he attended half a year when he was about twenty. But his real time of gaining an education was commensurate with his life. He was always an eager and earnest learner. After he became a man and was able to buy books, he read widely. He educated himself as Lincoln did, by contact with things and men and events, by observing closely and thinking hard. He became not simply a poetical dreamer, but a man of clear judgment, practical wisdom, and large intelligence.

When he was twenty-one, he went to Boston for a year and a half, where he worked in a printing office, and then edited a paper. Later he engaged in editorial work in Hartford, Conn., and in Philadelphia. Twice he served in the Massachusetts legislature. But his health was delicate, and he could bear

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neither the confinement of an editorial office nor the excitement of public life. Therefore, when he was only a little more that thirty, he established himself in a plain home in the little village of Amesbury, Mass., near his native place. There he spent the rest of his life, devoted to his chosen calling as a writer. He began writing poetry when a boy, his initiatory impulse in that direction having been received from Robert Burns, whom he always greatly admired. His first published poems appeared in the Newburyport "Free Press," of which young Williams Lloyd Garrison, just beginning his anti-slavery career, was the editor. The poems so much impressed Garrison that he sought the acquaintance of the young poet. Thus began a life-long friendship between the two, which was of great importance to both, for it gave Garrison one of his most efficient allies in his anti-slavery work, and it brought Whittier into conection with a great reform movement which awakened his deepest sympathies and drew out all his powers as a writer.

In Whittier we have doubtless the most characteristically American, or at least the most characteristically New England, poet. His genius was as distinctly American as was that of Lincoln. Though after he reached manhood and began to attain fame, he mingled much with literary men, and with political leaders, yet he was all his life in closest possible contact with the plain people from whom he sprung, and with whom he always had the warmest sympathy. No poet has portrayed American, and especially New England, scenery, and American life more graphically than Whittier, or with a more genuine love of his themes. His poems were largely inspired by current events, and their patriotic and democratic spirit took a quick and strong hold upon the people, not only in New England but all over the country.

His poetry is largely autobiographical. By reading it, one may learn nearly all the most important events and experiences of his life, and told in a far more warm, picturesque and attractive way than they could be told in the cold prose of ordinary biography or autobiography.

Whittier had a remarkable gift for story-telling in verse. This is seen in his large number of narrative and legendary poems and ballads. Having a few facts or an old tradition, he invokes the aid of the Muse, and the result is, as if by magic, a pleasing or thrilling tale of love, adventure, suffering, heroism, or triumph of right over wrong, told in exquisite verse. The reading of half a dozen of such poems as "Cassandra Southwick," "Mary Garvin," "Mabel Martin," "The Witch of Wenham," "Shipper Ireson's Ride" and "Telling the Bees," will convince one of the author's rare genius for this kind of very attractive writing.

Whittier's poems of reform are numerous and conspicuous. Those dealing with slavery number ninety-two ; those dealing with labour, and industrial, social and political reforms, number forty. The latter show him the ardent friend of labour, temperance, free government and universal peace, and the opponent of capital punishment, of imprisonment for debt, of class legislation, of sectarian bigotry, and all kinds of wrong whether in public life or private, in Church or State, in his own or in foreign lands. One of the best indications of his interest in all efforts to make the world better is seen in the fact that of his sixty poems about persons, more than half eulogize prominent reformers, like Channing, Garrison, Sumner, Kossuth, Garibaldi, Samuel G. Howe and Lydia Maria Child.

Whittier even more than Lowell, may be called the great poet of the anti-slavery reform. Though he wrote no single poem against slavery at all comparable with the "Biglow Papers" in length or in literary brilliancy, yet he began his anti-slavery writing earlier than Lowell, he wrote more steadily and continued longer. There was hardly an event of importance connected with the anti-slavery movement that did not call out a poem from Whittier, and these productions were perfect lava torrents of moral appeal, burning and resistless, which the anti-slavery Press of the country carried everywhere.

It would be hard to tell which was the most effective in arousing the conscience of the Americau nation to the wrong of holding human beings in bondage, the remorseless logic of Garrison's editorials, the matchless

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eloquence of Wendell Phillips' speeches, or the white-hot moral fervour of Whittier's verses.

Here are a few lines from a poem entitled "Expostulation."

"What ho ! our countrymen in chains :
The whip on Woman's shrinking flesh !
Our soil yet reddened with the stains
Caught from her scourging warm and fresh !
What ! mothers from their children riven !
What ! God's own image bought and sold !
Americans to market driven,
And bartered as the brute for gold !
Just God ! and shall we calmly rest,
The Christian's scorn, the heathen's mirth,
Content to live the lingering jest
And by-word of a mocking earth ?
Shall our own glorious land retain
That curse which Europe scorns to bear ?
Shall our own brethren drag the chain
Which not e'en Russia's menials wear ?
Oh, rouse ye, ere the storm comes forth
The gathered wrath of God and man,
Like that which wasted Egypt's earth
When hail and fire above it ran.
Oh ! break the chain, the yoke remove,
And smite to earth oppression's rod,
With those mild arms of Truth and Love,
Made mighty through the living God."

One of the most sad and shocking things that good men have to face in this world is the fact that there is hardly any sin or evil that does not shelter itself behind religion, and find somewhere apologists and defenders among accredited religious teachers. Thus wars, even wars of conquest and subjugation, are almost always able to find priests and religious leaders to bid them God-speed, and bless them in the name of the Lord. It was so with slavery. Not only the clergy of the South, where slavery existed, but very large numbers of those of the North, where it did not exist, upheld slavery, and justified it as a "Divine institution." This brought many a stern and hot rebuke from Whittier. In a poem entitled "Clerical Oppressors" he exclaims :

"Just God ! and these are they
Who minister at thine altar ! God of Right !
What ! preach and kidnap men ?
Give thanks, and rob thy own afflicted poor ?
Talk of thy glorious liberty, and then
Bolt hard the Captive's door ?
What ! servants of thy own
Merciful Son, who came to seek and save
The homeless and the outcast, fettering down
The tasked and plundered slave !
Pilate and Herod, friends !
Chief priests and rulers, as of old combine !
Just God and holy ! is that church which lends
Strength to the spoiler, thine ?
How long, O Lord ! how long
Shall such a priesthood barter truth away ?
And in thy name, for robbery and wrong
At thy own altars pray ?"

Whittier did not find his career as an anti-slavery reformer a bed of roses. At one time, taking part with George Thompson, the eminent English reformer, in an anti-slavery meeting in Newburyport, both were pitted with mud and stones, and barely escaped with their lives by driving from the town as fast as a galloping horse could carry them. In Philadelphia, where he was editor of an anti-slavery newspaper, the building in which the paper was published was ruthlessly destroyed by fire, and he was saved from violence, and probably death, by putting on a wig and a long white overcoat to conceal his identity.

Yet he did not flinch, but found such satisfaction and joy in advocating freedom for the oppressed and in seeing the cause steadily advance, that he wrote : "I set a higher value on my name appended to the anti-slavery declaration of 1833, than on the title-page of any book."

To a boy of fifteen who came to him for counsel, he answered : "My son, if thou wouldst make thy life truly worth while, truly successfnl, join thyself to some unpopular but noble cause." He himself had dared to do that. He was wise enough to understand, not only that the only way moral progress is ever made in this world is by men and women daring to support noble unpopular causes, but also that supporting such causes is the surest of all known means of developing strong moral character, of creating independent, courageous, incorruptible manhood and womanhood.

We must not make the mistake of supposing, because Whittier was so active in promoting the anti-slavery cause and wrote so much in its aid, that this was the principal work of his life. The anti-slavery struggle was only an episode,—immensely important but only an episode in his career, as it was only an episode in the life of the nation. His anti-slavery poems form hardly more than one-sixth of his total poetry, though in moral fervour they are equal to anything that

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he wrote. While he was a great moral reformer, he was first of all a poet, and a religious poet. And even the reform work that he did only fitted as a part into his great thought of religion. It was because he believed, and believed so intensely, in a religion of love, and mercy, a religion whose first principles were God's Universal Fatherhood, and the brotherhood of all men, rich and poor, white and black, that he felt the lash laid upon the back of the slave as if it were falling upon the body of his own blood kin.

Whittier was always a hater of war, always a man of peace. His Quaker principles insured that. He believed that the true way to carry on every reform was by peaceful methods. He wrote strongly in advocacy of disarmament.

" 'Put up the sword !' The voice of Christ once more
Speaks, in the pauses of the Cannon's roar,
O'er fields of corn by fiery sickles reaped
And left dry ashes ; over trenches heaped
With nameless dead ; o'er cities starving slow
Under a rain of fire ; through words of woe
Down which a groaning diapason runs
From tortured brothers, husbands, lovers, sons.
Of desolate women in their far off homes,
Waiting to hear the step that never comes !
O men and brothers ! let that voice be heard.
War fails, try peace ; put up the useless sword !"

Doubtless the greatest of Whittier's poems, and the one upon which his fame as a poet will most firmly and enduringly rest, is his "Snow-Bound." All persons born and reared in New England, and especially in the rural parts of New England, know with what accuracy in every detail, as well as with what fine poetic art the picture is drawn. In "Snow-Bound" we have given us, not only the storm roaring on until the snow is piled above the fences, and the family are shut in with themselves and away from the world for a whole week, by drifts that well nigh bury house and barn and out-buildings in a great ocean of white, but we have what goes on inside that shut-in home during the week, portrayed for us in such a way as to give us a panorama of all that is most characteristic in the New England home life of the early half of last century ; its tasks and toils ; its hopes and fears ; its relationships of parents and children and brothers and sisters ; its thought, its reading, its amusements, its love ; its joys and sorrows ; its religion. All these are made by the poet to pass before us in so real and so charming a way, that we become a part of all we see and hear. As an idyl of old New England country life, we have nothing else so fine. "Snow-Bound" takes rank with Burns' "Cotter's Saturday Night," and Goldsmith's "Deserted Village." And although it does net set out to be a religious poem, it is religious in the very best sense, for it shows us with marvellous clearness and power and beauty, that religion of New England which was its deepest life.

Peculiar interest attaches to "Snow-Bound" because of the fact that the home which he describes was Whitter's own childhood home in which he grew up. The characters portrayed were, his father, his mother, his two sisters, his brother, an uncle, and an aunt, and a district school master who boarded in the family.

It is gratifying that since Whittier's death, friends and admirers have purchased the place, restored the chief room as nearly as possible to the condition in which it was when the boy was living there, and the homestead is to be preserved as a perpetual memorial of the beloved poet.

When Whittier wrote his "Snow-Bound," only his brother and he survived of all that dear group of whom he sang. The rest had passed "Beneath the low green tent whose curtain never outward swings." Tender and beautiful is the tribute he pays to each, but especially that to his youngest sister :

"I wait with ear and eye
For something gone which should be nigh,
A loss in all familiar things,
In flower that blooms, and bird that sings."

Yet he does not despair. He looks up and on.

"Am I not richer than of old ?
Safe in thy immortality,
What change can reach the wealth I hold?
What chance can mar the pearl and gold
Thy love hath left in trust with me ?"

Addressing his still surviving brother, he exclaims :

"How strange it seems with so much gone
Of life and love, to still live on !
Ah, Brother ! only I and thou
Are left of all that circle now,—
The dear home faces whereupon
That fitful firelight poled and shone.

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Henceforward, listen as we will,
The voices of that hearth are still ;
Look where we may, the wide earth o'er.
Those lighted faces smile no more.
Yet, love will dream, and faith will trust,
(Since He who knows our needs is just,)
That somehow, somewhere, meet we must.
Who hath not learned, in hour of faith,
The truth to flesh and sense unknown,
That Life is ever lord of Death,
And Love can never lose its own !"

It is a sweet picture, touched with a radiance that could come only from the high faith which saw

"White against the evening star
The welcome of Love's beckoning hand."

If we want to learn how thoroughly Whittier broke with the iron creeds around him, which were full of teachings about God's Wrath, and God's Justice, and the curse of the Law, and Adam's Fall, and Man's Guilt, and bloody schemes of redemption, and eternal hells, and the like, and how thoroughly in place of all these things he accepted a religion which fills this world and the next with love and hope, we need only to read his two poems entitled "The Two Angels" and "The Eternal Goodness." Let me give the first :

"God called the nearest angels who dwelt with him above:
The tenderest one was Pity, the dearest one was love.
'Arise,' he said, 'my angels ! A wail of woe and sin
Steals through the gates of heaven and saddens all within.
My harps take up the mournful strain that from a lost world swells,
The smoke of torment clouds the light and blights the asphodels.
Fly downward to the underworld, and on its souls of pain
Let Love drop smiles like sunshine, and Pity tears like rain !
Two faces bowed before the throne, veiled in their golden hair ;
Four white wings lessened swiftly down the dark abyss of air.
The way was strange, the flight was long. At last the angels came
Where swung the lost and nether world, red wrapped in rayless flame.
Then Pity, shuddering, wept, but Love, with faith too strong for fear,
Took heart from God's almightiness, and smiled a smile of cheer.
And lo! that tear of pity quenched the flame Whereon it fell,
And with the sunshine of that smile Hope entered into hell.
Two unveiled faces, full of joy, looked upward to the Throne,
Four white wings folded at the feet of Him who sat thereon.
And deeper than the sound of seas, more soft than falling flake,
Amidst the hush of wing and song the Voice Eternal spake:
'Welcome, my angels! You have brought a holier joy to heaven.
Henceforth its sweetest song shall be the song of sins forgiven.' "

This poem greatly troubled Whittier's orthodox friends, who remonstrated with him, because he had done the utterly unwarrantable thing of representing hope as existing in hell, and the angels "Love" and "Pity" as putting out the fires. But he would not apologize or recant. Instead, he wrote, more fully to express and justify his belief, that poem which will be loved as long as human hearts beat, "The Eternal Goodness." I quote only five verses, but these suggest the central thought of the poem.

"O friends! with whom my feet have trod
The quiet aisles of prayer;
Glad witness to your zeal for God
And love of man I bear.

But still my human hands are weak
To hold your iron creeds;
Against the words ye bid me speak
My heart within me pleads.

I see the wrong that round me lies,
I feel the guilt within,
I hear, with groan and travail cries,
The world confess its sin;

Yet in the maddening maze of things,
And tossed by storm and flood,
To one fixed trust my spirit clings,
I know that God is good.

Not mine to look where cherubim
And seraphs may not see,
But nothing can be good in him
Which evil is in me.

The whole poem is a powerful sermon in support of that larger hope, and that richer and sweeter faith which are coming to the world in the place of the old Calvinism.

If we want to learn what was Whittier's thought about Jesus, how truly a human brother he saw in the great prophet of Nazareth, and how deep and warm was his love and reverence for him, we have only to read his poem

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OUR MASTER

"He cometh not a King to reign,
The world's long hope is dim;
The weary centuries watch in vain
The clouds of heaven for him.

Yet warm, sweet, tender, even yet
A present help is he,
And faith has still its Olivet
And love its Galilee.

The healing of his seamless dress
Is by our beds of pain;
We touch him in life's throng and press,
And we are whole again.

Through him the first fond prayers are said
Our lips of childhood frame;
The last low whispers of our dead
Are burdened with his name.

O Lord and Master of us all!
Whate'er our name or sign,
We own thy sway, we hear thy call,
We test our lives by thine."

This is not the whole poem, but it is enough to show its spirit and its main thought.

Whittier was the most devout of all our eminent American poets, the one to whom worship meant most. Worship was an essential part of his very life. But it was not what much of Paganism and much of so-called Christianity have called worship. It was not worship as bloody rite, or atoning sacrifice, or processions, or bowing of knees, or outward forms or observances of any kind. It was wholly of the heart and life. If one would learn how pure and deep and sane and uplifting a thing worship was to Whittier, let him read his poem entitled "Worship."

"He whom Jesus loved hath truly spoken;
The holier worship which he deigns to bless
Restores the lost, and binds the spirit broken,
And feeds the widow and the fatherless!

O brother man! fold to thy heart thy brother;
Where pity dwells, the peace of God is there;
To worship rightly is to love each other,
Each smile a hymn, each kindly deed a prayer."

One of Whittier's best known, most loved, and most deeply religious poems is his "My Psalm." A part of its verses are the following:

"I plough no more a desert land,
To harvest weed and tare;
The manna dropping from God's hand
Rebukes my painful care.

All as God wills, who wisely heeds
To give or to withhold.
And knoweth more of all my needs
Than all my prayers have told.

Enough that blessings undeserved
Have marked my erring track;—
That wheresoe'er my feet have swerved,
His chastening brought me back;—

That more and more a Providence
Of love is understood,
Making the springs of time and sense
Sweet with eternal good;

That death seems but a covered way
That opens into light,
Wherein no blinded child can stray
Beyond the Father's sight;—

And so the shadows fall apart,
And so the west winds play;
And all the windows of my heart
I open to the day."

The most characteristic religious thought of Whittier, and the one which perhaps influenced his life and his writings more than any other, was the thought, central in all Quakerism, of the "Inward Light," or the belief in the living Spirit of God as operative in the souls of men to-day. In common with all Quakers, or Friends, Whittier conceived of Inspiration as not an ancient miracle, but as an ever present fact in the spiritual history of the world. His authoritative "Word of God" was not any book: it was the voice of God in his own soul. He put high value upon the Bible, but not so high as upon the present utterances of the Holy Spirit. This belief in the Inward Light caused him always to exalt the spirit of Scripture above its letter, kept him from ever getting under the bondage of creeds, gave him freedom, breadth, spirituality, self-reliance, opened his eyes to truth come from whatever direction it might; made him appreciative of the good in all sects and religions; kept him fresh in thought and progressive in spirit up to the very end of his life.

It is important to call attention to the very high place which Whittier occupies as a hymn writer. Up to the past thirty or forty years, the hymns found in our American hymn books have mainly come from England—from Watts, Cowper, Newton, Montgomery, Charles Wesley, and the other eminent hymn writers of whom England has produced so many. But within the past generation a

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great change has set in. America is now producing hymns in large numbers,—and some of the very finest of the world,—so fine that they are fast crowding out many old hymns that have been prominent in our books so long. Perhaps the leading name in connection with this new hymnology is Whittier. This is the more remarkable from the fact that among all his poems we have very few that were written as hymns. But many of his poems are so deeply religious, and at the same time have so high a lyric quality, that one after another they are finding their way into the hymn literature of all denominations. Of course, his more radical utterances are tabooed here and there. But new doors are constantly opening for them, and wherever these better hymns go, they are creating a more genial theological climate; they are sowing the seeds of charity and love, and of a deeper and tenderer piety; they are laying the foundations of a faith as broad, as beautiful, as uplifting as the world has ever seen. Could we induce the sects and denominations of Christendom to burn their un-Christian creeds and confessions of faith and substitute the hymns of Whittier in their place, the result would be a rebirth of Christianity. We should have a revolution greater and more beneficent than the Reformation of the sixteenth century; we would have the religion of Jesus, with its love and brotherhood, come at last upon the earth. Some of the verses already quoted are sung as hymns; but I am sure I should fail to do justice to Whittier as a hymn-writer if I did not quote several more.

I

"O Freedom! on the bitter blast
The ventures of thy seed we cast,
And trust to warmer sun and rain
To swell the germs and fill the grain.

Who calls the glorious labour hard?
Who deems it not its own reward?
Who, for its trials, counts it less
A cause of praise and thankfulness?"

II

"O pure reformers! Not in vain
Your trust in human kind;
The good which bloodshed could not gain
Your peaceful zeal shall find.

The truths ye urge are borne abroad
By every wind and tide;
The voice of Nature and of God
Speaks out upon your side.

The weapons which your hands have found
Are those that Heaven hath wrought,
Light, Truth and Love your battle ground,
The free, broad field of Thought."

III

"Wherever through the ages rise
The altars of self-sacrifice,
Where love its arms hath opened wide,
Or man for man hath calmly died,

We see the same white wings outspread
That hovered o'er the Master's head;
And in all lands beneath the sun
The heart affirmeth, 'Love is one.'

Up from undated time they come,
The martyr-souls of heathendom,
And to his cross and passion bring
Their fellowship of suffering.

And the one marvel of their death—
To the one order witnesseth,—
Each, in its measure, but a part
Of Thine unmeasured loving heart."

IV

"What thou wilt, O Father, give!
All is gain that I receive.
Let the lowliest task be mine,
Grateful, so the work be thine.

If there be some weaker one,
Give me strength to help him on;
If a blinder soul there be,
Let me guide him nearer thee.

Clothe with life the weak intent,
Let me be the thing I meant;
Let me find in thy employ
Peace that dearer is than joy;

Out of self to love be led
And to heaven acclimated.
Until all things sweet and good
Seem my natural habitude."

V

"O sometimes gleams upon our sight
Through present Wrong the Eternal Right;
And step by step, since time began,
We see the steady gain of man,—

That all of good the past hath had,
Remains to make our own time glad,
Our common, daily life divine,
And every land a Palestine.

Through the harsh noises of to-day
A low, sweet prelude finds its way:
Through clouds of doubt and creeds of fear
A light is breaking calm and clear.

Henceforth my heart shall sigh no more
For olden time and holier shore;
God's love and blessing, then and there,
Are now and here and everywhere."

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No true picture of Whittier can be painted which does not include his lôve of Nature. This comes out in a thousand ways in all his poems. One of the most beautiful of all his productions is his

"HYMN OF NATURE"

The harp at Nature's advent strung
Has never ceased to play :
The song the stars of morning sung
Has never died away.

And prayer is made, and praise is given
By all things near and far :
The ocean looketh up to heaven
And mirrors every star.

The green earth sends her incense up
From every mountain shrine ;
From folded leaf and dewy cup
She pours her sacred wine.

The blue sky is the temple's arch,
Its transept, earth and air,
The music of its starry march,
The chorus of a prayer.

So Nature keeps the reverent frame
With which her years began :
And all her signs and voices shame
The prayerless heart of man."

* * * *

No true picture of Whittier can be drawn that does not include his love of children, though he was never blessed with children of his own. He always spoke of his own boyhood with delight. He loved to watch children at their play. The following poem is coined out of his own heart.

"THE BAREFOOT BOY"

Blessings on thee, little man,
Barefoot boy, with cheeks of tan !
With thy turned-up pantaloons,
And thy merry-whistled tunes ;
With thy red lips, redder still
Kissed by strawberries on the hill ;
With the sunshine on thy face,
Through thy torn brim's jaunty grace ;
From my heart I bring thee joy,—
I was once a barefoot boy !

Prince thou art, thou little man,
Barefoot boy with cheeks of tan !
Let the million-dollared ride,
Barefoot, trudging at his side,
Thou hast more than he can buy

In the reach of ear and eye,—
Outward sunshine, inward joy;
Blessings on thee, barefoot boy!

Oh for boyhood's painless play,
Sleep that wakes in laughing day,
Health that mocks the doctor's rules,
Knowledge never learned at schools,
Of the wild bee's morning chase,
Of the wild-flower's time and place.
Flight of fowl and habitude
Of the tenants of the wood ;
How the tortoise bears his shell,
How the woodchuck digs his cell,
How the ground-mole sinks his well ;
How the robin feeds her young,
How the oriole's nest is hung;
Where the whitest lilies blow,
Where the freshest berries grow,
Where the ground-nut trails its vine,
Where the wood-grape's clusters shine ;
Of the black wasp's cunning way,
Mason of its walls of clay ;
Of the architectural plans
Of gray hornet crabi sans !
For, eschewing books and tasks,
Nature answers all he asks ;
Hand in hand with her he walks,
Face to face with her he talks,
Part and parcel of her joy,—
Blessings on the barefoot boy !"

I need hardly say, Whittier was an optimist. He believed in better things for man and better things for the world. But he was not an optimist of the weak and lazy kind who trust to luck or who believe that God will carry the world forward without man's help. His was an optimism based on intelligence and experience. He looked back over the past, and saw that the history of the world had been an advance from lower to higher things, but that the agent of that advance, ever since human history began, has been man. Progress has never achieved itself. In every age when wrongs needed to be righted, men who saw and felt the wrongs have had to put forth efforts to secure the righting. In every age men endowed with wisdom to see possible good ahead, as yet unattained, have had to press forward toward the good and summon their fellows to follow. Only thus have the world's advances been made. Whittier saw this.

If you want to find men of faith, go to the men who are inside the battle, not to the idle on-lookers. Whittier from his earliest life was a soldier fighting the battle of the world's moral advance. He believed that victory would come, because he was helping to bring it. Here it is that we have the one practical and sure cure for the world's pessimism. In nine cases out of ten, the pessimists are men who are doing nothing for the moral advance of the world. They are selfish men, they are critics, they are dreamers rather than actors, they are men living for their own pleasure or

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their own fame, and not for ends of human service. It is no wonder that such men think the world is going to the bad. It would go to the bad if all were like them. What saves the world, what gives hope for its future, is the unselfish men, the men who are in the battle to make things better. Let the pessimist throw himself into the great fight that is going on everywhere between the good forces of society and the evil,—the great and splendid fight that beckons to every man for help, as it beckoned to Whittier,—and he may be sure that before he is aware his pessimism will melt away like a morning cloud in the presence of the sun, and he will be able to join in Whittier's poem of triumphant optimism :

"Hail to the coming singers !
Hail to the brave light-bringers !
Forward I reach and share
All that they sing and dare.

The airs of heaven blow o'er me ;
A glory shines before me
Of what mankind shall be,—
Pure, generous, brave, and free.

A dream of man and woman
Diviner but still human,
Solving the riddle old,
Shaping the age of gold !

Ring, bells in unreared steeples,
The joy of unborn peoples !
Sound trumpets far off blown,
Your triumph is our own !

I feel the earth move sunward,
I join the great march onward.
Fore-reach the good to be,
And share the victory !"

Before closing I wish to cite three brief poetical tributes to Whittier, by eminent Americans. They help us to understand how widely and warmly he was loved, and how great was his service to humanity. Thomas Wentworth Higgenson writes of him :

"At dawn of manhood came a voice to me,
That said to startled conscience, 'sleep no more !'
Like some loud cry that peals from door to door.
It roused a generation, and I see,
Now looking back through years of memory,
That all of school or college, all the lore
Of worldly maxims, all the statesman's store
Were naught beside that voice's mastery.
If any good to me or from me came
Through life, and if no influence less divine
Has quite usurped the place of duty's flame ;
If aught rose worthy in this heart of mine,
Aught that, viewed backward, wears no shade of shame ;
Bless *thee*, old friend ! for thou hast made me thine."

In a poem by James Russell Lowell, addressed to Whittier on his seventy-fifth birthday, we have these lines :

"New England's poet, rich in love as years !
Her hills and valleys praise thee, her swift brooks
Dance to thy verse ; to all her sylvan nooks
Thy steps allure us.

Peaceful by birthright as a virgin lake,
Yet for thy brother's sake
That lay in bonds, thou blew'st a blast most bold,
Far heard across the New World and the Old."

Oliver Wendell Holmes pays Whittier this fine tribute :

"Best beloved and saintliest of our singing train,
Earth's noblest tributes to thy name belong :
A lifelong record closed without a stain,
A blameless memory shrined in deathless song."

As was to be expected, Whittier approached the end of his long and useful life with serenity and peace. The whole English-speaking world loved and honoured him. But he was not puffed up. He loved his fellow men. He had done the work which he believed God had given him to do. He did not fear death. He waited with humble trust whatever God might have for him in the great beyond. A little while before the last hour arrived, as a small company of relatives and friends were gathered in his room to show their love, by his request one of the number read aloud to him and to the company the following lines, which long before he had written in view of his own departure. The title it bears in his collected poems is

"AT LAST.

"When on my day of life the night is falling,
And in the wind from unsunned spaces blown,
I hear far voices out of darkness calling
My feet to paths unknown,

Thou who hast made my home of life so pleasant,
Leave not its inmate when its walls decay ;
O Love Divine, O Helper ever present,
Be thou my strength and stay.

Be near me when all else is from me drifting ;
Earth, sky, home's pictures, days of shade and shine,
And kindly faces to my own uplifting
The love that answers mine.

I have but thee, my Father ! let thy Spirit
Be with me then to comfort and uphold ;
No gate of pearl, or branch of palm I merit,
Nor street of shining gold.

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Suffice it if my good and ill unreckoned,
And both forgiven through thy abounding grace—
I find myself by hands familiar beckoned
Unto my fitting place.

Some humble door among thy many mansions,
Some sheltering shade where sin and striving cease,
And flows forever through heaven's green expansions
The river of thy peace.

There, from the music round about me stealing,
I fain would learn the new and holy song,
And find at last, beneath thy trees of healing,
The lips for which I long."

When the last hour came, he lay in the east room of his home, with his face turned to the green fields, beyond which in the distance was the blue sea. For a long time he was still, half unconscious. Then the bright morning sun aroused him, and lifting himself up, he looked out upon the scene, so familiar and so beautiful, and whispered, with a smile, "Give—my—love—to—the—world." They were his last words. With this message trembling on his lips—this message which epitomized the yearnings and efforts of all his life—he fell asleep.

RECOMPENSE

By SEETA DEVI

MANMATHA was never famous for a sweet temper. Today especially, he was feeling irritated beyond measure. Just as he stepped into the office, Ghosal greeted him with the ill-omened word Retrenchment.

After this everything went wrong with him. And everybody was determined to talk about this unpleasant topic. During the tiffin interval, you heard nothing else. Many amongst the staff were going to be dismissed altogether, those remaining would have their salaries drastically reduced.

Most of the clerks arrived at the office at nine o'clock after a hastily snatched breakfast. They looked at the clock impatiently every five minutes till it struck half past one. Then aluminium tiffin boxes came out from everybody's pocket and they passed out of the office room to have their lunch in peace. It was a poor meal, still it sufficed, with the aid of cheap cigarettes and betel leaves, to put fresh energy in them and to while away the hour pleasantly.

But today none had much appetite for lunch. The head clerk, Ramkamal Mitra, kept himself aloof from the young people in order to preserve his dignity. But common grievance had drawn him to mix with the common herd. He took a sweet out of his tiffin box and swallowed it and then gave away the rest to the sweeper boy. He began chewing a couple of betels and said, "We were born in bad days, my dear chaps. Our ancestors had worked till their death or retirement, in these very offices, but they had never heard of such things. Just as we arrive, these things too arrive. War, trade depression, non-co-operation, civil disodedience, all of them have been lying in wait for us."

The typist, Biswanath, was an ardent nationalist. "That's a very selfish view of the situation, Sir," he said in protest. "I think, we are born in glorious times. Perhaps, we might live to see free India."

"To the devil with your free India," shouted the enraged head clerk. "What good would that be to me, if I lose my job? Would someone marry my daughter without a dowry in your free India? Would it have mattered anything if India had become free twenty-five years later?"

The poor gentleman had a heavy burden to bear in the shape of a large family. So no one minded his ravings. Just then the tiffin hour came to a close too, so everyone went back to their respective jobs.

Manmatha had all this while been sitting silent in a corner, bursting with rage. He was very modern in manners and could not dream of carrying a tiffin box in his pocket. His wife had offered to prepare sandwiches for him, but even at this he demurred. Sometimes he had a cup of tea in a nearby restaurant, and sometimes he went without. His father was a rich man and so the son had the temperament of an aristocrat. His childhood and early youth had been spent in affluence, but his father died suddenly, leaving him in the lurch. Manmatha inherited nothing, moreover, he was already saddled with a wife. His wife was good-looking and well-educated but came of a poor family. At the time of his marriage, Manmatha had no fault to find with this arrangement, as Sushama was really a desirable bride. But gradually his views had changed. He dared not say it before his wife, but he had come to regard his father-in-law's poverty as a

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crime. A man, who could not help his daughter with a pice in times of need, should not have given her in marriage. And because he dared not say it to her face, his temper went on becoming more and more irritable. Sushama was not eating the bread of idleness. She was a beautiful and accomplished girl, but she slaved from morning till night. A woman came in and helped her for a couple of hours, that was all. Their darling Boonchu, their first child, had to go without an ayah. So how could he find fault with Sushama? If he tried, he would have to listen to some very unpalatable truths. Because though Sushama was sweet to look at, her tongue was very sharp. Moreover, one could never find a flaw either in her grammer or her logic. So Manmatha kept his resentment to himself. They had been pulling on somehow with his salary of hundred and twenty-five rupees. But retrenchment! His patience had reached its limits.

As soon as the office closed, Manmatha snatched up his hat and strode out. Ordinarily he would wait for Biswanath the typist and walk with him up to the tram-lines, but today he hated the whole human race. Why did so many wretched beings live in this world at all? If there were fewer people, they would have got more to eat. There would have been no talk of retrenchment then. In India specially, there was over-population. Manmatha began to think of writing in the newspapers about it. He reached home, still thinking of all the sharp and bitter things he had to say about it.

He had the whole use of a small flat before. But now he had been obliged to sub-let half of it and do with a single room. He had divided it, with the help of a wooden partition and thus had a small bit of drawing-room. There was a small veranda. This Sushama had converted into a kitchen and dining-room, by screening it all around. She prepared their food in an Ic-mic cooker and thus saved time and space.

Manmatha flung his hat on the bed, as he entered. The baby ran forward with outstretched arms but he pushed her away too. She pouted and cried out. Sushama was preparing tea in her kitchen. She had a bad headache, so her temper was rather hot. At the sound of the baby's crying she came in and took her up. "What's the matter?" she asked sharply. "Why are you making her cry?"

"I am too tired to pose the fond father now," replied Manmatha with equal sharpness.

"My goodness!" said Sushama, "let us go away Boonchu. You do not want sham love, do you? It is not a valuable thing."

Manmatha sat down on the bed. "I wonder, whether you could be so witty on an empty stomach," he said.

"I shall try," said Sushama. "But why on an empty stomach? It does not improve the quality of wit."

"Will you kindly give me my tea," Manmatha burst out. "I have to go out again in search of work."

Sushama became grave in a moment. "Why, what's the matter with your work?" she asked.

"My work?" said Manmatha: "Oh, they are retrenching."

Sushama's face became pale with dismay. Poverty and unemployment, these are horrors to a woman. The mother, who has borne a child, has got fear for a bedfellow. She is always afraid. "Is there any talk of your losing the job?" she asked.

Manmatha began to untie the laces of his shoes. "Everyone runs the risk of losing jobs," he said. "There is no reason, why they should favour me specially."

Sushama put down the child and went out to get the tea. Her heart was already feeling heavy with apprehension. What would happen, if he really lost his job? Sushama had her hands tied now. She could not get a job herself with such a small baby in her arms. Besides who would look after the household? Manmatha could not do the slightest thing for himself. Even a glass of water, he was unable to pour out. Such a man was not at all fit to struggle with adversity.

She brought in some home-made sweets, bread, butter and tea. Manmatha sat down to it, with a temper somewhat calmed. After finishing his tea, he took Boonchu from Sushama and sat down to play with the baby. Sushama began to prepare the dinner. She liked to have the evenings free. Sometimes she went to her father's house, or she visited the neighbours.

Manmatha had lighted a cigarette, but suddenly he sat up straight, forgetting all about it. He had forgotten his uncle. He must enquire where the old gentleman was at present. He had been hearing all kinds of rumours about uncle, it was better to know the truth. The old gentleman was a lucky fellow. People seldom meet with such good fortune at his age. Manmatha had behaved very unwisely in losing touch with him. Rich relatives are rare things in this world, no matter what their manners or religious convictions. Still he could try. Even a stone melts at sweet words.

He took up Boonchu again and carried her to Sushama. "Take her," he said, "I have got to go out again."

Sushama took the baby and asked, "Where are you going?"

"I shall go to Jogu's place first," said Manmatha. "I may have to go to other places."

Sushama frowned. "Don't be late," she said. "I feel so nervous, being all alone in the house."

"I won't be, if I can help it," muttered her husband and went out.

The wretch Jogu lived at the extreme end of the town. Manmatha walked on and on till his legs ached. At last he reached the narrow, evil-

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smelling lane. The street lamps were already being lighted. He stood in front of Jogu's house and knocked.

The door was flung open and a gust of smoke and foul stench smote Manmatha in the face. An old lady, clad in a dirty cloth, peeped out and asked, "Who are you knocking ? Oh, is that you Monu ? Come in, my dear boy. Are you looking for Jogu ? That wretch is never at home in the evening. Go and look in the Palit's house over there. He is there playing cards."

"All right aunt," said Manmatha. "I shall go and look for him there."

He walked on again. He found the house very soon. The outer room was full of people. From it loud peals of laughter smote the ears of the passersby. That must be the Palit's house, thought Manmatha. As he did not know the people of the house, he approached and called politely, "Are you there Jogu ?"

Jogu was there all right. He looked up, startled at the unexpected call and recognized Manmatha. He sprang up, crying, "Oh ho, here is our Mona Sahib. What brings you here my dear chap ?"

"I had some urgent business," said Manmatha. "But I see, you are busy."

Jogu was feeling extremely unwilling to get up, but it would be too uncivil to refuse. "No, no, I am not at all busy," he said, "I was only playing a hand, you wait a minute, and I shall go with you."

"Very well," said Manmatha. "I shall stroll round a bit and come back after a while."

Jogu got up perforce, in spite of the displeasure of his partners. "What's the matter ?" he asked, putting on his slippers and coming down into the lane. "Let's go to our place." He was back in the evil-smelling lane in two minutes.

The house was a very small one, but its occupants were many. So Jogu took Manmatha straight into his bedroom. Manmatha was rather anglicized in his views. "Won't your wife feel any inconvenience, if we sit here ?" he asked.

Jogu turned up his lip in disdain. "My wife never comes in here before eleven o'clock," he said. "Our wives are nothing but glorified cooks, you know."

Manmatha sat down, but not on the bed, as Jogu asked him to. He drew a small wooden seat near the bed, and sat on it. "Will you have tea ?" asked Jogu.

"No, no," said Manmatha, "I had tea, just before I came here. Tell them to give me some betel leaves."

Jogu shouted for the articles, then asked "Now what's the business ? It must be pretty urgent to bring you here. I don't think I have seen you even once during the last year."

"I am so overworked," said Manmatha apologetically. "After coming back from the office, I never feel like moving my hands and feet. Still we were managing somehow. I don't know what to do now."

"Retrenchment, I suppose ?" said Jogu. "Really this damned thing is determined to finish us. I don't know how people will live now. What per cent have they cut ?"

"I shall be thankful if they don't cut all," said Manmatha. "But let's drop the topic. I have had too much of it today. I came to ask you, if you know anything about uncle. I have been hearing strange rumours."

Jogu laughed, "The rumours are true," he said. "But he is a tough bird. You won't be able to get anything out of him.

"Has he really come into a fortune ?" asked Manmatha.

"He has," said Jogu shortly, "and he had already one of his own making, though no one guessed it from his way of living. Now he has inherited all the wealth of his grandmother. He is the only heir. The old lady took her time dying. She must have been about ninety. Uncle was really in despair about her inconsiderateness. They were having a slow race for the cremation ground, he used to say."

"Uncle too is pretty old," said Manmatha hopefully. "He must be past sixty. We are the only relatives he has got. If we all get equal share, it would be no joke. Where is he now? Let me try my luck."

"You can try till you drop down dead, it would be no good," said Jogu. "Uncle has become a *Vaishnav*. He is surrounded on all sides with minstrels, beggars and *sadhus* of every description. An idol of some god had been salvaged from a nearby pond and uncle had dedicated himself heart and soul to its service. A temple has been built for it, and the god has given uncle some message in a dream. They won't allow you, an eater of forbidden fowl, within their threshold."

Manmatha became grave. After a while he burst out angrily, "So you are going to sit idle and let a horde of swindlers cheat us out of our lawful heritage ?"

"What can I do ?" asked Jogu. "I cannot leave hearth and home and go to look after uncle there. Who will look after my family in the meantime ? And if uncle has inherited the longevity of the old lady together with her property then there is not the slightest hope for us."

"Give me his address," said Manmatha. "I shall see, what I can do."

Jogu did so. Manmatha wrote down the address in his notebook and got up. "I must hurry back," he said, "my wife is rather unwell."

"You are a model husband," said Jogu and got up too. The bridge party at the Palit's must still be going on. "Keep me posted about the latest developments" he said.

The baby was fast asleep and Sushama sat waiting for him, with an English novel in her

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hand. As soon as she saw him, she asked, "Could you do anything ?"

"It is not a case of I came, I saw, I conquered," said Manmatha. "There is a great deal of work awaiting me. Have you ever seen a Vaishnavite at close quarters ?"

Sushama was surprised. "What do you want with a Vaishnavite ?" she asked.

"I do want something. I am not asking for the mere joy of asking," said Manmatha. "Have you, or have you not ?"

"No, I haven't," said Sushama. "Whoever sees them in Calcutta ? I have seen beggars and minstrels in plenty but I have never studied them closely. Now take your dinner, I am feeling very sleepy."

Manmatha had his dinner and went to bed. But his head was crowded with thousands of plans. He was so excited that he could not sleep at all. The first streak of light still found him planning.

Next day was Sunday. Manmatha started after a cup of tea. "I may be out the whole day," he said. "Don't wait for me, but take your meals in time.

Ever since she had heard of the threatened retrenchment, Sushama had become unnaturally silent. "Very well," she said shortly.

Manmatha bought a paper and took the first tram for Behala. It would take him a long time to reach his destination. He had never seen his uncle's new house. He had heard that the house was a big one with a large compound and garden.

He got down from the tram as he reached Behala. He walked on, looking at both sides of the road for his uncle's house. Fortunately, he had not to walk far. He enquired about it of a grocer, who pointed out the house to him at once. The house was really big, but built in old style. He did not enter but walked all round looking everything over. A furious din of sacred music put him on his guard. Now if he entered like this, it would only make his case worse. He saw a herd of plump kine grazing in the field. "No wonder the old woman lived up to ninety," he thought. "She consumed gallons of milk, I suppose."

A man came out of the cowsheds, carrying a huge basketful of cowdung. "Do you sell milk ?" Manmatha asked the man. "You have got plenty of cattle."

"No sir," the man replied. "The milk is needed here, all of it. The *sadhus* are great eaters of sweet food. We have sometimes to buy extra milk from the bazars."

"How is the master of the house ?" asked Manmatha. "I have not heard from him, for a long time. I am a relative."

"He is ill," said the man. "But recently he has taken a turn for the better."

It was high time to begin action, Manmatha thought. Or soon it might be too late.

He wandered about for an hour more and gathered some more information. Then he boarded the tram again and returned home. It had already struck three. Sushama was lying on the bed by the side of the sleeping baby. But she was not asleep. "Shall I give you your breakfast ?" she asked, seeing her husband.

"Let me rest a few minutes and have a bath," said Manmatha. "I am feeling like a day labourer."

After bathing, he sat down to his meal and said, "Look here, I have got a good plan, but it will take some time to be carried into execution. If you go and live with your father for a couple of months, I can do it. I shall give up the rooms."

"I might go," said Sushama. "But can you get leave from the office ?"

"I have a month's leave due with pay," said Manmatha. "I shall first avail myself of it. Then if there be further need, I shall arrange for an extension."

"Very well, I don't mind going," said Sushama a bit sharply. "It might give me some change and rest."

The hidden sting in the answer nettled Manmatha. "It is because I want you to have rest and change properly that I am planning all this," he said. "I don't need a fortune for myself alone."

"Oh indeed," said Sushama still more sharply. "All the expenditure are for me, I know that, with that she walked off.

But Manmatha stuck to his purpose, though he knew that his wife was not approving at all. He applied for leave at the office and he found out a party to whom he could sub-let his rooms. When he returned home, he brought along a barber with him. Sushama was surprised. "What do you want with a barber in the evening ?" she asked.

"What does one want of a barber except a haircut ?" replied her husband shortly.

"Why such thrift ?" asked his wife. "Has the hair-dressing saloons displeased you in any way ?"

Manmatha made no answer but sat down to have his hair cut. He had a close crop. He used to keep a small moustache, as his lips were rather thick, and took great care of it too. He sacrificed it today without compunction. When he came in to get some money for the man, his wife jumped up in dismay at his appearance. "What have you done with yourself ?" she asked. "I can scarcely recognize you."

Manmatha began to feel a bit uneasy. But he put on a brave front and said, "Oh, it does not matter. Once let my plans succeed, then I shall allow it to grow again."

The barber was paid off. Manmatha opened his wardrobe, and began to look over his clothes. Most of them were suits, meant for office wear. There were two or three *dhotis* only. These

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were of very fine stuff, as he only wore them on festive occasions. He had nothing suitable for the new role he was going to play.

He put the clothing back in despair. "These will never do," he said. "I shall go and get a few yards of longcloth. Can you make a few simple tunics for me?"

"When shall I make them?" asked Sushama, her face still sullen. "I am going away tomorrow."

"I need them very much, otherwise I would never request you," said Manmatha. "You must find time. I shall manage the cooking in the evening." He rushed off in a hurry to get the longcloth.

He returned after an hour, with a canvass bag, a pair of shoes of the same material and the longcloth. Sushama looked on in silence. She disdained to ask questions. But as her husband sat down to prepare the dinner she could not but take down her sewing machine and begin with the sewing.

Next day she left for her father's house. Manmatha locked up all his furniture in a small room of the ground floor and left for a nearby mess. As soon as he would get leave, he would start for his uncle's place. He bought some sacred books of the *Vaishnav* sect and began to get them by heart. He could sing fairly well, so he learnt some appropriate songs too.

He got leave. Manmatha packed up in great excitement and left at once. He had already informed his uncle about his impending visit. The old gentleman had not vouchsafed a reply.

Manmatha was admitted into the house, but his uncle did not evince much cordiality. He was too ill to be enthusiastic over anything. As Manmatha bowed down to his feet, he looked at him with tired eyes and said, "Sit down. Our Lord's grace be on you."

Manmatha tried to mix with the *sadhus*. But it was a hard job. Keeping a pious expression on his face, nearly gave him a stroke of facial paralysis. He could never look at any article of food except fish, flesh and fowl, so here he was almost starved. When all gathered at evening song, he had to raise his voice above everyone's so that uncle might hear. He strained, till he became hoarse. Still he kept on doggedly. He had come in, determined to win uncle or to die in the attempt.

The rest of the *Vaishnavs* were not very well disposed towards Manmatha. So the poor fellow began to feel very lonely. Sometimes he felt tempted to mix with the servants, only the fear of loss of prestige held him back. But it was a great trial. Lochandas, the head of the *Vaishnavs*, watched him with lynx-eyes, so it was very difficult to do anything on the sly. One day, an egg-shell was found within the precincts of the house. Nobody could discover how such a thing came to be there. Both Manmatha and Lochandas became more alert than ever.

Poor Sushama seldom heard from her husband. In her father's house, she did not have to do any work and time hung heavy on her hands. She brooded and brooded. She felt sorely tempted to write, but anger held her back. She sighed and clasped the baby tighter to her breast.

Suddenly, one fine morning Manmatha appeared. Sushama was looking over the newspaper. She was not keen for news, but was in search of a likely job. She was reading the advertisements. She did not receive Manmatha very cordially. "What brings you here?" she asked.

Manmatha took no offence at this dry greetings as Sushama had expected. Constant association with pious folks had made his temper very sweet and forgiving. "Give me a cup of tea first," he said, "then I shall explain. A diet of sweet things have made me dyspeptic and want of tea has given me chronic headache."

Sushama brought him the tea. "Your acting is perfect," she said, "but does it bring you anything except ill-health?"

"It is too early to say, yet," Manmatha said. "The old man had been left alone all this time. But now a host of relatives have appeared following my footsteps.

I have a crowd to contend against. Besides uncle is tough material, he is not likely to peg off quickly. And there are the *sadhus*; they are watching him as vultures watch a dying cow."

"Don't rest idle in hope of another's death," said Sushama. "But work to build up a fortune for yourself. Your leave will expire pretty soon. Won't you join office then?"

"Let's see," said her husband. "I might have to apply for extension. But I won't get any pay after this. It would cause inconvenience. Won't you be able to manage for a month or so?"

"I am not waiting for your money," said Sushama very sharply. "I can work and earn.

"You ought to, anyway," said Manmatha, his patience at an end. "You demand equality with men, you should be able to do without their aid."

"Who wants your aid?" replied Sushama, now positively in a fighting mood. "If I were free, I would care for nobody's money. Take away your daughter, then I shall show you whether I can earn money or not."

Manmatha made strategic retreat, seeing that luck was against him. "All right, all right," he said soothingly. "It's a question of a few days only. So what's the use of getting so angry? If anything happens before that all the better. I must be off now. I have to get a homeopathic medicine for uncle."

Sushama softened. "There is good *Hilsa* fish in the house," she said. "Won't you take a bite?"

"No, no, don't tempt me," said Manmatha. "If Lochandas smells onions in my breath, I shall be done for. God willing, I shall live on

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fowl alone next month." He kissed the baby and went out.

The old gentleman was giving them no end of trouble. He would not die and he would not get well. He was a strict vagetarian, and nothing but water entered his stomach as medicine. This prevented his dying quickly. But there was no chance of his getting well either, his relatives and friends were taking pretty good care of that. They were trying their best to hasten his end. His food was tampered with by everyone, and though homeopathic medicine were bought lavishly, nothing but water found its way to the old man. Everyone was getting desperate. Whenever they thought of his grandmother the relatives and friends felt depressed. A lawyer was sent into uncle's room everyday, but he could not persuade the old man to make his will. "We come of a very long-lived family," he would say. "I am good for twenty years yet."

As Manmatha was coming back, he called a barber and had his head shaved. He bought the medicine, then emptied it in the nearest drain and filled the bottle with water.

He reached home and found the whole house in turmoil. The old gentleman was terribly excited. He would not take anything and he would not let anybody enter his room.

Manmatha called a servant and asked, "What's the matter ?"

"He has got some divine message in his dream," the man answered.

Manmatha took his courage in his hands and approached uncle's room. "I have brought the medicine, sir," he called out from the door.

The old man raised himself on his elbow and took a good look at him. "So you have adopted a new disguise, you wretch," he said. "But I won't be taken in again. Just swallow the medicine you have bought and let me see. Swallow half of it."

Manmatha calmly swallowed half the content of the phial. The old man gazed steadily at him for about five minutes. Then finding no symptom of approaching death on Manmatha's face, he said, "All right, I shall take your medicine."

Manmatha administered the medicine, then came out of his room.

Lochandas was keeping guard at the door. "What happened ?" Manmatha asked of him.

"A man who has no relatives is truly fortunate," Lochandas replied. "Naren was trying to put in some powder in his barley water, but was detected through the grace of our Lord."

"Where is Naren, now ?" asked Manmatha.

"Oh, he has escaped with his life," replied Lochandas.

Luck suddenly favoured Manmatha. His uncle wanted him all the time. He would accept neither food nor medicine from anyone else's hands. But his condition became truly alarming. The lawyer was sent for in a hurry. The old man consented to have his will made.

The whole family was tense with excitement. The idol of the god was forgotten, and the sound of sacred chanting ceased altogether. Everyone waited at the closed door.

It was pretty late in the afternoon, when the lawyer came out. All made a combined rush at him. Such a volley of questions was fired at him, that he could only look at them dazedly. After a while, he shook them off and came out in the open. "Why are you in such haste ?" he asked. "The old gentleman is a just man, he won't let anyone go without his due. He has given something to everyone."

Manmatha pushed past the rest and tackled him again. "What has he given me ?" he asked. "I am a needy man, sir, I have got a family."

"He has great faith in you," the lawyer answered. "The rest he called murderers and cut-throats, who wanted only his money. "I am giving them money," he said. "So that they might follow the path of righteousness henceforward."

"Then what has he left me ?" asked Manmatha in great anxiety. "A castle in the air ?"

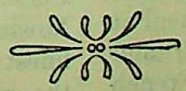
"He has left you in charge of his god," said the lawyer. "Manmatha has real faith," he said. "The god will be satisfied with his ministering. He has left you a bit of property, just sufficient to bear the expenses of the god."

"The god can go to hell," shouted Manmatha and jumped clean through the door into the street. He struck his shaven head again and again and shouted. "I have lost all. I worked to fill the pockets of a host of thieves."

Seeing that he was really leaving, Lochandas rushed after him and asked, "Won't you accept the trust then ?"

Manmatha gave him a rude push, "Go to the devil," he said. "I am going home. For one month, I shall live solely on ham and fowl, perhaps then my heart will find solace."

Lochandas covered his ears to shut out the blasphemy and stepped back.



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PUR-I-DAWOOD : A SCHOLAR AND POET OF MODERN PERSIA

By MOHAMMAD ISHAQ, B. SC., M. A.

FROM a recent announcement made in a speech by Mr. Dinshaw Irani in Bombay, it is understood that the Government of His Majesty the Shah of Persia has decided to create a chair in Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's University of Visva-Bharati at Santiniketan, Bengal, and has also appointed, as the first incumbent of the chair, the Aqa Pur-i-Dawood of Rasht. A similar statement has also appeared in the Persian daily *Shafaq-i-Surkh* of August 22, 1932. An introduction of this great scholar and poet particularly to the Indian public will not be out of place.

During my visit to Persia I could not see him as he was in Germany at that time, and I know the poet only through correspondence. He very kindly sent me his photograph (reproduced here) from Berlin for insertion in my Persian book, now printing, *Sukhanvaran-i-Iran,* which gives sketches of the poets of modern Persia, with specimens of their poems, and contains a large number of interesting pieces of Mr. Pur-i-Dawood's poetry.

The poet's full name is Mirza Ibrahim Khan and he is usually known as Pur-i-Dawood, that is, 'son of David'. He comes of a noble family of merchants and land-holders of Rasht, the capital of the province of Gilan on the Caspian Sea. He was born in the year 1885. Finishing his primary education in Persian and Arabic at Rasht he came to Tehran where he learnt the art of ancient medicine (Tibb-i-Yunani) studying under the famous Hakim Mirza Mohammad Husain Khan known as the "King of Doctors".

In 1908 he went to Syria *via* Baghdad. He learned French in the Laique School at Beirut and went to France in 1910 and acquired further knowledge of the French language for a year and a half. He then joined the University College of Law in Paris. During the Great War he went to Switzerland, Germany, Austria, Roumania, Bulgaria, Turkey (Constantinople and Aleppo) and after that he sailed down the Euphrates and reached Baghdad where he edited for a time the journal *Rashtakhix*. After a short stay at Baghdad he went back to Constantinople. From there he went to Berlin where he stayed for a few years devoting his time entirely to Iranian studies. He spent many years in the study of the ancient history and culture of Persia. In 1923 he returned with his wife and a baby girl to his mother country, Rasht, and then, after a stay of two years at Rasht, he came to India in 1925. He stayed at Bombay for about three years where he wrote in Persian a commentary on the Avesta, the sacred book of the Zoroastrians. He again returned to Berlin in 1928 where he completed the second volume of a commentary on the *Yashts*, and he is now engaged in writing a commentary on the *Khurda Avesta*.

Pur-i-Dawood is also a poet of great reputation. His *Diwan Purandukht Nameh* has been published by the Iranian Zoroastrian Anjuman of Bombay with English rendering by Mr. Dinshaw Irani. Besides this he has written other works, *viz.*, the commentary on the *Yashts* (going under the name of *Yasna* literature) and the *Gathas* (songs of Zoroaster), and *Iran Shah, Khurram Shah,* etc.

Pur-i-Dawood thus combines in himself the best that Persia can afford to the world as an exponent of her culture, ancient, medieval and modern. He is a modern Persian, who has inherited the glorious Moslem culture of medieval Persia, one of the finest gifts which the spirit of Islam made to the world by working through the Aryan genius of Iran (the impact of this same spirit of Islam with the Aryan genius of India has

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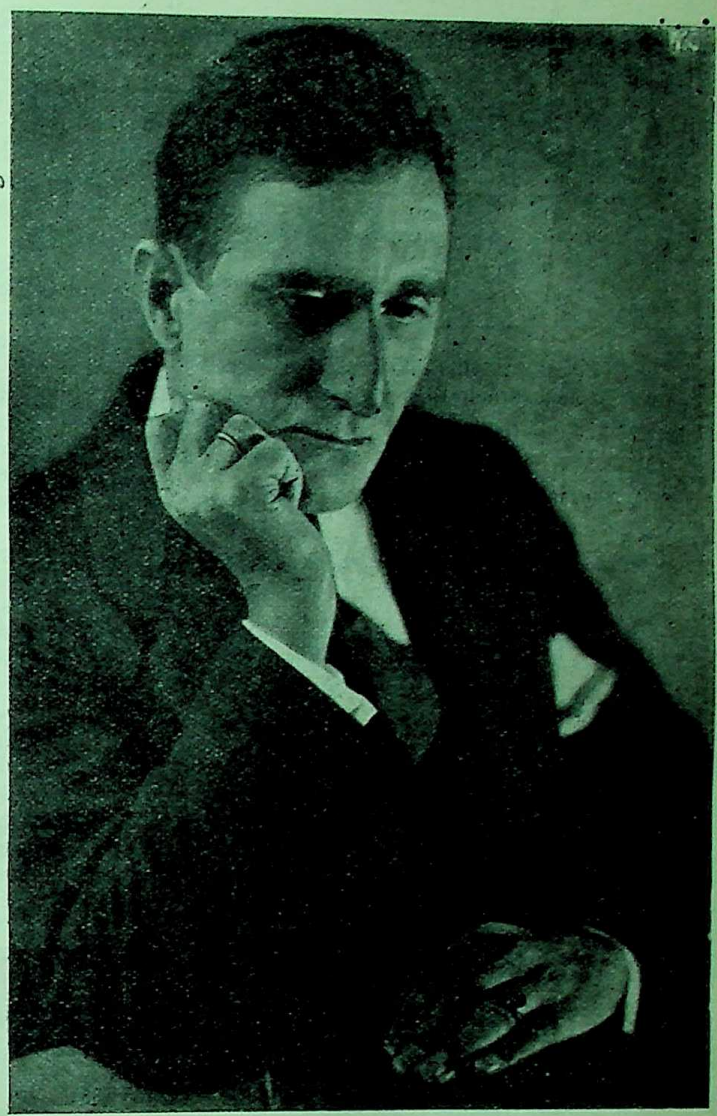
given birth to the Moslem culture of Hindustan, and with the Aryan genius of Spain has similarly given to the world the Moslem art and culture of that country). He is moreover a child of the Iranian revival in Persia, which has made the Persians once more self-conscious about their national heritage of the pre-Moslem civilization and philosophy of Persia, as illustrated in the Achaemenian and Sassanian achievements and in the wisdom of Zarathustra. Persia has found that she can no longer neglect her pre-Moslem past as surely as she is conscious of her distinct contribution to the enrichment of Moslem culture. Pur-i-Dawood is therefore peculiarly fitted to represent the history and culture of Persia in an institution like the Visva-Bharati.

Pur-i-Dawood is a master of his own language, and of the earlier phases of it—Pahlavi, Old Persian and Avestan. His equipment in modern scholarship can be characterized as being quite rare even in Europe. He has a thorough knowledge of French and German, and knows several other languages, European and Indian. He is a poet of rare gifts and today he is one of the finest poets of Iran. The Renaissance in modern Iran has found in him the best interpreter of the past glories of Iran to her sons and to the world at large. His poems breathe the modern spirit, and unlike the bulk of Iranian poetry are not a mere copy of the phrases and sentiments of the classical poets, Firdausi, Saadi and Hafiz. But nevertheless it must be said that he worthily maintains the traditions of those great classical masters of medieval Persia.



میرزا ابراهیم خان پورِ داود

Mirza Ibrahim Khan Pur-i-Dawood

One cannot but admire the choice of His Majesty Riza Shah Pahlavi who has decided to lend to India, as a choice gift from her sister-land of Persia, the temporary services of one of her noblest sons. India should be grateful to Rabindranath Tagore for having made this possible, and when Pur-i-Dawood arrives our scholars and teachers should be ready to take to the fullest all that he has to give to us of the deathless spirit of Iran, which has for seven centuries past been the dominating factor in the Islamic culture of India, and was an influence and an inspiration in the Hindu art and culture even before the advent of Islam in our motherland.

We can only conclude by giving a few specimens of Pur-i-Dawood's poetry. The

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English renderings are, in the main, by Mr. Irani.

The Clamouring Dervish

Help O God, cast a glance of favour, O Lord!

How and why, so helpless are we? So destitute and cheerless, why are we?

Exiled from our own home, Oh why are we? None so homeless one sees as we are;

Help O God, cast a glance of favour, O Lord!

Behold Iran, all desolate it lies, Behold, love for the land exists no more;

Its people have gone crazy, thou mightst say: Such creatures can hardly much longer survive.

Help O God, cast a glance of favour, O Lord!

More exalted than Saturn, was this land of ours; The resting-place of heroes, was this land of ours;

The envy of kings was this land of ours. The object of the loot of Mongols and Tartars it became!

Help O God, cast a glance of favour, O Lord!

Iran, Iran, the altar of our faith art thou! The land of our heroic forefathers art thou!

Thy love has filled to the brim our heart and soul; The life of our life, the light of our eyes art thou.

Help O God, cast a glance of favour, O Lord!

Ho, ho! where Oh, where is our Dara? Where Oh, where is Shapur, the adorner of the army?

Oh, where is one to help us, to sympathize with us? Gone are they all; of them not a trace doth remain.

Help O God, cast a glance of favour, O Lord!

For our mother-country, let us strive with heart and soul; Let us wear the robes of sacrifice from the very hands of Death;

Let us drink the deadly draught from the cup of Annihilation, that the palate of our land may again be sweetened.

Help us O God, cast a galance of favour, O Lord!

YALALI (Arise, Make Haste).

Shatter the shackles of slavery, Oh men! Come out of the pit of bondage; arise, make haste.

Whatever confronts a real man is welcome to him; He is happy even when faced by calamity: arise, make haste.

A man of action, in the time of struggle, cares not for this or that: arise, make haste.

Whoever entertains the love of the Belove in his heart carries in his hand his head an his life: arise, make haste.

If bullets pour on him from left and righ He will not turn his face from the field battle: arise, make haste.

Happy the man, who on the top of th gallows, gives up his life with Iran on h lips: arise, make haste.

The trumpet of Israfil has been blow Oh listen; The day of resurrection has dawne arise, make haste.

Get rid of these times, shake off this sham and disgrace; Death is far preferable to suc existence: arise, make haste.

That ugly Devil has lodged in our house Gone is our honour through these friends arise, make haste.

Should the enemy be victorious to-day. The our day will have reached its end: aris make haste.

The time has come to draw the sword fro its sheath; The day has come to don th helmet and the armour; arise, make haste.

Arise and be quick in the art of dedicatin thy life; Consign thyself to the care Providence: arise, make haste.

Oh son of Tahmuras, snap thy fetters, An bind with them that host of Demons: aris make haste.

Be a lion and have no fear of that pack foxes; If thou art the descendant of heroes arise, make haste.

Be of good cheer and count victory as thin For the Hand of God is with thee: aris make haste.

The Battle-field.

It is the din and bustle of the day Resurrection, The tumuls of the Last Day afoot at present.

You might say that Russian soldiers hav crammed forests and fields, like ants an locusts,—

Right from Rasht to Teheran, And fro Teheran down to the borders of Julfa.

We shall not be afraid of this army Ahriman, so long as God is our Friend an Helper.

Be not afraid, indeed, of its soldiers, a like men join the array of battle.

The soil of this land should be purge clean of the dirt of their presence.

Either death, or the eternal glory, of Iran. Hasten and select one of these two.

O happy the head, which for Iran's sa Rolls like a ball on the day of battle.

Exert today so that there may not rema Remorse and regret for the morrow.

Oh Lord! Grant not that these cuckol May ever Lord over us as our masters!

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A Lament (in memory of his father and mother)

Reliance on life is not proper; the heavens know not the way of love and fidelity.

We are like bubbles floating on the surface of water; no reliance can be placed on the perishable world.

The caravan that has passed on before us, Look, not a trace of it remains in this above now.

In bustle and clamour, they set out in groups, and having departed, not an echo remains of them.

We are travellers for a time sojourning on this soil;

Negligence and self-deception become us not.

Many of our dear ones have departed before us; nothing remains to us of them but sorrowing memory.

The household which has been deprived of a mother, will never appear in trim order and thriving.

And the family which remains bereft of a father,—know it to be a hut without brightness and joy.

No one has endured, and we too shall pass away, for death is never unlinked from life.

To Pur, grief is like a companion; his heart knows no friend save Lamentation.

THE SPINNING WHEEL AND ECONOMIC WELFARE

By C. B. L. MATHUR

ENOUGH has been written by distinguished writers to demonstrate the soundness of Mahatma Gandhi's *Charkha* or *Khadi* movement on the grounds of simplicity, practicability, morality, equity and cheapness. We may further examine it in the light of modern economic theory to see how it will affect our national dividend and, through it, the economic welfare of the country. We may take the following propositions giving conditions of increasing economic welfare from the writings of Professor A. C. Pigou of Cambridge University, and consider how far Mahatmaji's *Khadi* movement satisfies them.

The propositions are:

1. Any cause which, without the exercise of compulsion or pressure upon people to make them work more than their interests dictate increases productive efficiency, and therewith, the average volume of national dividend, provided that it neither injures the distribution nor augments the variability of the country's consumable income, will, in general, increase economic welfare.

2. Any cause which increases the proportion of national dividend received by poor persons, provided that it dees not lead to a contraction of the dividend and does not injuriously affect its variability, will, in general, increase economic welfare.

3. Any cause which decreases the variability of national dividend usually increases economic welfare, provided it does not decrease total national dividend or the share of the poor.

4. Any cause which decreases the variability of the share of the poor will increase economic welfare even if it increases the variability of the share of the rich, provided it does not decrease the productive efficieny, the total national dividend and the total share of the poor.

Now let us see how the Mahatmaji's *Khadi* movement stands in relation to the above propositions and find out whether it will promote the economic welfare of the country. But before examining it, we may make four assumptions. In the first place we may assume that only long period results will be considered in this examination. It is obvious that during the transition period our cloth requirements will partly be met by mill cloth and partly by hand-made one and we may have to pay high prices for and accept only coarse varieties of Khadi and this may diminish our economic welfare measured in

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terms of money as well as satisfactions. In the second place, it may be assumed that the Indian villagers for whom the *Khadi* movement is chiefly meant will in the long run not only acquire the practice of spinning finer counts of yarn but also more yards per hour by using improved *Charkhas*. This assumption is not at all unwarranted. The *Khadi* movement has already created the habit of spinning among a large number of agriculturists and townspeople and their speed of spinning as well as the fineness of the yarn spun by them has been gradually increasing. It might surprise many to learn that at the Abhoy Ashram, a student spins at the rate of about 625 yards of yarn of count 21 per hour, and other students also at nearly the same rate; and at the Baherak Ashram the speed has reached more than 961 yards of 9 counts per hour. The reports of the All-India Spinners' Association which is chiefly organizing the *Khadi* movement give an account of an all-round progress* which really makes one optimistic about its future. The Association is also trying to improve the *Charkha* and is popularizing the use of long staple cotton. Both these activities will tend to increase the fineness and quantity of yarn spun per hour.

Thirdly, we may assume that an improved type of hand-loom will be used and the art of weaving will be brought back to its original standard of fineness and efficiency in the long period. Fourthly, our national taste will be so revolutionalized that people will prefer hand-fabrics to mill fabrics. This will naturally follow if conditions supposed in the second and third assumptions turn out to be true.

Starting on these assumptions and on the two basic facts, that the agriculturists who form 75 per cent of the population of India remain from three to six months unemployed or under-employed during a year and that they are immediately in need of suitable subsidiary occupation to supplement their meagre income we may proceed to apply Prof. Pigou's propositions to the Mahatma's solution. Let us see what the effect will be on their productive efficiency and on the national dividend of the country if they take to spinning in their leisure time. Also let us see the effect on the productive efficiency of those millions of landless labourers who, before the advent of machine-made cloth, were engaged in weaving if they once more take to it.

At present we are consuming several varieties of cloth, *viz.*, foreign, indigenous mill-made with foreign yarn, indigeneus mill-made with mill yarn, hand-made with foreign or indigenous mill-yarn and hand-loom made with hand-spun yarn. In the state contemplated by Mahatmaji our total cloth requirements will be supplied by only hand-spun and hand-woven cloth. It has been abundantly proved* that it is perfectly possible to produce by means of the *Charkha* and the hand-loom not only the total quantity of cloth required for our consumption but also some for export. Further the labourers who are at present engaged in the textile industry will not be thrown out of employment. They will return to their villages and carry on hand-spinning and hand-weaving. Moreover, other persons engaged in the textile trade will still remain employed in the organization and marketing of the hand-made products. The whole change will be brought about without causing unemployment among any class of personl and without the diminution of the quantity of cloth consumed by us in the least; while the agriculturists and other landless labourers will be spinning and weaving 'without the exercise of compulsion

* According to the latest report of the All-India Spinners' Association the sales of *Khadi* during the 15 months ending 31st December, 1931, amounted to Rs. 90,94,932 as against Rs. 83,31,845 in the corresponding previous period. The production work covered over 7,000 villages and supported over 2,00,000 spinners and 5,000 weavers. Also the general price level at the end of the period stood at about 12½ per cent below what it was at the commencement.

* The total annual consumption of cloth in India is roughly 500 crore yards. An ordinary spinner can easily spin 250 yards of yarn of 15 counts per hour. Then supposing that he spins four hours daily and spins for only 3000 days in a year remaining too busy in his main occupation for the rest of 65 days to give any time to spinning, he will produce 300,000 yards of yarn in a year. Further, since a square inch of cloth requires 2 yards of yarn of counts 15, 500 crore yards of cloth will require 2592000 crore yards of yarn. This will be spun by 432,00,000 spinners at the above rate. India with an agricultural population of about 26 crores and village population of about 31 crores can easily find this number of spinners.

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or pressure upon (them) to make them work more than their wishes and interests dictate, and this, therefore, will increase their productive efficiency. Again we have assumed that in the long run the price of *Khadi* will fall and its quality will considerably improve and people will purchase it. It is, therefore, clear that the total quantity of textile goods produced by making this change in the system of their production will not decrease, nor the satisfaction obtained from them diminish. Hence it may safely be concluded that the national dividend of the country will not at least diminish on account of the measure suggested by Mahatmaji.

It will now be shown that the national dividend instead of diminishing will increase. Several crores of rupees which we have been sending annually to the foreign countries to manufacture the cotton grown by us into cloth will be saved and distributed among the 'starving skeletons' of India. Further, the price which our indigenous mills pay every year for the purchase of foreign machinery will be saved, while the appliances which will be required for hand-ginning, carding, spinning and weaving will develop our indigenous wood working and carpentry industry. All these and similar factors will result in increasing the purchasing power of the masses, improving their standard of living and hence their productive efficiency which in its turn will augment the national dividend of the country. Hence it is quite obvious that the first proposition of Prof. Pigou is applicable to Mahatmaji's scheme. The latter will increase the economic welfare of the country as it will augment the national dividend and it will do so without injuring its distribution and without increasing its variability as will presently be shown.

Let us consider how Mahatmaji's plan will affect the distribution of the national dividend among the rich and the poor. At present the profits of the textile mill industry go to a few lakhs of labourers and a few thousands of Indian and foreign capitalists. In the scheme devised by Mahatma Gandhi, the profits will be distributed among approximately thirty crores of peasants and workers. It is inevitable that the share of the poor will be increased. They will get full meals and greater quantity of cloth to cover their bodies, where they are at present half-starved and half-clad. Moreover, the total satisfaction obtained by the poor from their additional incomes will be far in excess of the total dissatisfaction suffered by the rich on account of the loss of their former incomes. It is hence clear that the second proposition of Prof. Pigou also holds true. The *Khadi* movement will increase economic welfare as it will increase the proportion of the national dividend received by the poor without contracting it in any way and it will do so without increasing its variability as will be shown in the following paragraph. It will appear that Mahatma Gandhi's scheme far from increasing the variability of the national dividend will much decrease it. It will also decrease the variability of the income of the poor.

The chief characteristics of the present capitalistic methods of production are production of commodities in anticipation of demand, their supply in distant markets and production on a competitive system. This naturally causes sometimes over-production of goods and sometimes production far short of the demand for them because it is not unusual that mistakes in the forecast of demand are made and because each of the several competitors in their enthusiasm for capturing a particular market produces commodities on a large scale without knowing how much the other competitors are producing. The variability in the national dividend is chiefly due to this defective method of production. The *Khadi* movement will rectify this method of production so far as the textile industry in this country is concerned and to that extent decrease the variability of the national dividend. Not only our national income from this industry will be stabilized but also the income of the peasants and workers engaged in it will also be stabilized. They will be producing cloth for themselves and chiefly for the home market. Thus, they will be always sure of getting work and earning a living thereby.

Further, at present the Indian farmers depend for their livelihood mainly on agriculture which is a very uncertain source of income on account of the "gamble in rain."

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The adoption of spinning wheel and hand-loom by them will give a certain measure of stability to their incomes. Hence, it is clear that *Khadi* movement will decrease the variability both of the total national dividend and its preportion received by the poor.

Mahatmaji's solution, therefore, satisfies also the remaining two propositions of Prof. Pigou, and we are inevitably led to the conclusion that judged from these propositions also *Khadi* movement will promote the total economic welfare of the country.

AMERICA AND THE OTTAWA PACT

By J. M. KUMARAPPA, M.A., PH. D.

WITHIN the last century Canada has attained a most remarkable material progress, followed by a development no less striking in self-contained nationhood within the British Commonwealth. As a self-governing dominion she exercises complete authority over her internal and external affairs; she makes her own treaties and regulates her own tariffs. In other words, the people of Canada are not ruled by England; they rule themselves. They are not loyal to England; they are loyal to the best traditions, ideals and interests of their own country. Though the population is only a little more than 10,000,000 in number, Canada ranks today as one of the first six leading nations of the world in trade and commerce. And her vast natural resources assure her of a reasonable degree of prosperity in the future. Consequently, the eyes of the mercantile nations are set upon her. But Canada, by virtue of her geographical position and industrial needs, has been America's greatest market among the British Dominions; so much so, that many have thought Canada's commercial future to be bound up inseparably with that of the United States. Will this natural association of these two great countries be affected seriously by the Ottawa Pact? This question has been engaging the attention of leading American industrialists, since to many of them the pact seems to mean the entry of Great Britain as America's rival for the Canadian market.

I

While the greatest problem of Canada is whether she could profitably force her trade into unnatural avenues at the bid of Great Britain when so big a market as the United States is at her very door, America's problem is whether she could afford to lose so important a customer as Canada. The average Canadian, whatever his sentimental reaction to the appeal of empire kinship, has naturally a very deep sympathy for his American cousin and a fairly complete understanding of his point of view. On the other hand, the majority of the Canadians are ignorant of English life. They may, of course, be proud of their inheritance of the British tradition but they find little in common with the average Englishman. Although the World War has brought them a little closer, yet it would be idle to pretend that there is that deep, intimate acquaintance with one another's affairs and ambitions which mark the relationship of the Canadian to the American. In fact, no two countries in the world are linked so closely by so many ties, have so many things in common and make so similar a contribution to the common cause of civilization as Canada and the United States. It is not surprising, therefore, if some fear that in essentials Canada will be submerged beneath the wave of American influence and lose her identity in the tremendous American scheme of civilization.

Whether such fears are well-founded or not the fact remains that the similarity in tastes, needs and modes of living has made Canada a valuable market for her industrial neighbour. Through mass production of commodities adaptable in price and construction to the Canadian's buying power and

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industrial requirements, America had, at the close of the year 1930 built up a market in Canada amounting to 68 per cent of the Dominion's total imports. To obtain that market, American products had to hurdle a tariff averaging nearly 10 per cent in excess of the preferential rates accorded to Great Britain. The extent of the Canadian market for American products may be demonstrated by isolating the one hundred chief items imported by Canada in 1930, comprising 82 per cent of her foreign purchases. A total of 79 per cent of these 100 principal imports originated in the United States as against 14 per cent from the United Kingdom and 7 per cent from all other countries. Out of Canada's total imports, the United States supplied her with 91 per cent of all electrical supplies, 90 per cent of steel and iron products, 90 per cent of machinery imports, 99 per cent of automobile parts, 90 per cent of coal, 98 per cent of farm implements, 76 per cent of petroleum, 99 per cent of petrol and 98 per cent of raw cotton. Many other significant items, such as the 98 per cent of choke imports, the 91 per cent of fresh vegetables, 98 per cent of planks and boards, 88 per cent of refined sugar, 99 per cent of sulphur, the 97 per cent of aluminum and bauxite, occupy also a large place in the Canadian imports.

II

Items in which importations from Great Britain exceeded those from the United States included worsteds and serges, containers, woolen yarns and clothing, iron and steel wire, woolen carpets, tweeds, electroplated ware and woolen dress goods for dyeing. Altogether Canada imported products in 1930 valued at $1,248,273,582 and out of this amount $847,442,037 worth of goods came from the United States, $189,179,738 from the United Kingdom, $63,523,966 from other parts of the British Empire and $148,127,841 from all other countries. These figures clearly show how dominant a place the United States held in the foreign trade of Canada till the year 1930. Now Great Britain is interested in bringing her colonies together in order to strengthen her commercial position. Being primarily industrial, Britain seeks through tariff adjustments a wider berth in the Canadian market for her manufactured products. She wants Canada to import, such steel products as are not made in the country, from Great Britain rather than from the United States. It is, of course, understood that the Canadian steel industry already developed would be protected against competition even from Britain.

But in Canada Britain encounters competition from goods made by American producers operating through subsidiary organizations. In fact, Ottawa Conference paid much attention to American branch factories in Canada. The tendency of American industry to emigrate to foreign countries is particularly evident in Canada, but is not confined to that market. Its movement into foreign countries has been under way for many years but its development on the present scale is a post-war phenomenon. It is estimated by the United States' Department of Commerce that before the war there were only 131 factories in Canada and 97 in Europe in which American capital was invested and by the end of 1929 these numbers increased to 524 and to 453 respectively. The reasons for this exodus of American industry are not far to seek. It is the outcome of a desire to take advantage of foreign wage scales and of proximity to foreign markets, with a consequent reduction of transportation charges. Another factor, probably of still larger influence, in stimulating such migration is the post-war competition in protective tariffs. As rates on imported goods went up through successive readjustments, the pressure on American industrialists to get in behind foreign tariff walls and compete on even terms for foreign markets has steadily increased. And now Britain must devise ways of minimizing or eliminating the competition of these American branch plants in Canada.

III

In 1931 when Canadian imports from abroad declined 27 per cent from the 1930 total, the percentage supplied by the United States dropped to 64·5, while that supplied by the United Kingdom rose to 16·5. This development was hailed by many in Great Britain as a sign of the inevitable shift in

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Canada to British made products. But the main reason for this shift is the treatment Canada has received at the hands of the United States. Her bitter resentment of the almost prohibitive rates on agricultural commodities under the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act of 1930,—which increased duties on 655 products,—has brought about an extraordinary recession of trade between Canada and the United States. Self-interest has persuaded the Canadians that they should buy where they hope to sell. The things they have to sell are largely the basic products of the land, and since many of these products are denied admission to the United States under practically prohibitive tariffs, the Dominion, purely as a matter of business, has had to find stable and permanent markets elsewhere.

It is necessity therefore rather than sentiment, that has produced in the Canadians a disposition to buy products of the British Empire. Within the empire, they believe, security and stability of trade is assured. Canada cannot be blamed for seeking to sell her products outside the United States any more than America can be blamed for the measures she has adopted. Nevertheless, the high duties imposed have caused the United States pretty heavy loss in her trade with Canada. Under such strained trade relations between Canada and the United States, the campaign to "Buy British" could not but influence the direction of the Canadian trade. And in whatever line of Canadian trade the United States has been losing, the British Empire has gained. America's loss, for instance, in the importation of raisins has been Australia's and South Africa's gain. Canned goods from Australia and oranges from South Africa have begun to compete with Californian products. The loss in the exportation of boots and shoes has meant an increased outlet for imperial goods. Thus the United States by her own action has made it necessary for Canada to seek closer economic ties with the rest of the empire. And it is no wonder if the Ottawa Conference found the colonies in a mood to seek in an inter-imperial trade pact a permanence and stability such as could not be attained outside the empire.

Since the idea of imperial solidarity based upon racial unity and political tradition, is obsolete at present, its place is taken now by the idea of mutual advantage proceeding from an agreement among the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations as equal and independent units. The British Empire represents one-quarter of all the peoples on earth, and the enormous buying power of this vast population draws empireward every unit that has something to sell. In addition, the bond made possible by a common sovereignty enables them to meet as a family, and trade butter for coal, oranges for wool, meats for steel goods. Albeit Canada would have been much less keen about the empire trade pact had not the American market for so many of her natural products been closed by the Hawley-Smoot Act and the consequent high tariffs. When therefore Canadians are urged to buy British goods it is because the British are buying Canadian goods,—or at least it is hoped they would.

IV

The inter-imperial trade pact is, as we have already noticed, an association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations for the improvement of its individual trading prospects, and is based on the belief that it would be better, other things being equal, to trade within the Empire. Though this scheme does not propose to shut off the trade of the extra-empire countries entirely,—for that would be suicidal,—yet it does seek to lessen purchases outside the Empire to a degree which will promote to advantage exportation among the empire units themselves. In spite of the assurance of goodwill towards other nations, some maintain that if the empire units succeed in establishing trade unity, they are bound to cut the exports of empire countries ; for, it is not possible for any British Dominion to buy from an extra-Empire unit that which she has been buying from a non-British country without affecting thereby the trade of that country adversely.

However, American opinion is very divided on this inter-imperial trade pact. Since Canada's location makes it easier and more profitable to trade with her neighbour

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than with the far-flung empire units, it is unsound economics to divert Canada's trade into unnatural channels. Besides, America could, if found necessary, expand her branch factories in Canada to meet the fiercer competition that would result from lowering tariff barriers to certain lines of British goods. Since the Britisher has to enter the battle badly handicapped by trasportation charges, the American plant in Canada, taking advantage also of any concessions given to Canadian goods, can still play a prominent rôle as a rival of the British. While some hold therefore that the results of this pact will have but a slight bearing on America's future business with Canada and the rest of the Empire, Dr. Paul V. Horn, Professor of Foreign Trade in New York University, sounds a note of warning to exporters against taking this inter-imperial trade move lightly. He maintains that England intends to knit her possessions together in close trade unity, and that the final result will be the erection of trade barriers which may deprive the United States of as much as 50 per cent of her exports to the British Empire. It may take two to five years to bring their agreements to their ultimate conclusions. But if and when this empire trade pact takes concrete shape, the extra-empire countries will face heavy drop in their trade with the British Dominions, and among them the loss of the United States will be the heaviest.

V

If such a situation does develop what course, it may be asked, is America likely to adopt? Some say that she might reduce or destroy entirely her tariff barriers. This would not only increase the likelihood of repayment of her loans,—since a larger part of the payment could be made in goods,—but also stimulate her export goods, since foreign nations, selling more to America, would then command credit with which to increase their purchases. Furthermore, this policy, under the new Democratic government, might help to re-open negotiations with Canada for a reciprocal trade pact, providing for free entry into the United States for some of Canada's natural products in exchange for free entry into Canada of certain kinds of American manufacture. Others think that it would be better for the United States to become a "self-contained" nation, planning its production exclusively for home markets. But this would involve a fundamental re-adjustment in the American industrial organization. It would mean the scrapping of much plant and equipment, the abandonment of cotton production, refined petrolium products and other manufactures which have been geared up to meet the demands of foreign markets.

Still others suggest that America should draw the extra-empire countries into a closer trade union with her, particularly Latin-American countries. If they are excluded from British markets, they too will naturally become more dependent economically upon the United States. Thus a pact of the extra-empire countries could be brought about for the promotion of trade among the members of this group as against the British. To avoid this situation some Britishers recommend that, after the consolidation of an Empire Union, merging the interests of Britain and the dominions into one great economic unit, attempts should be made to link up the industrial and economic interests of Britain and America. Whether the United States will choose to follow any one of these courses to offset the effects of the Ottawa pact depends largely upon the importance which the American people attach to the revival of their foreign trade. However, since the American Democrats are pledged to the free trade policy and Canada herself is not keen on breaking her connection with the United States, it is more likely that the two countries will enter into a reciprocal trade pact.

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DAVID HARE AND THE BEGINNINGS OF ENGLISH EDUCATION IN INDIA

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

DAVID Hare is known as an educational pioneer all over India. A native of Scotland, he came to India in 1800, carried on a watch-making business in Calcutta and made a fortune by it. He retired from business in 1814; and instead of going back to Scotland, remained in India and dedicated his life for the welfare of her people.

David Hare attended to all matters affecting the Indians. But his primary interest lay in the education of the people. His efforts were directed towards the improvement of vernacular education, which was very extensive at that time.*

The Indians had already come into contact with the Europeans, most of whom were business men. They perceived the Europeans' superior powers, due to the mastery of western literature and science. David Hare perceived the desideratum of the Indian people. He joined the movement for the establishment of an organized institution to impart English education as well as education in the sciences. We owe the conception of such an institution to Raja Ram Mohun Roy.† But Ram Mohun had already courted unpopularity by his religious and social views. So it fell to David Hare to push the idea onward so as to translate it into reality.

> "He it was who first persuaded and induced the wealthy members of the native community to subscribe towards the establishment of a fund for such an institution; he prevailed upon them to do so; he exerted himself to secure friends who might be able and willing to second his efforts; he got things ready into a train of operation;....."*

A meeting of the leading Indians, including the pandits and the Europeans, was held on the 14th May, 1816, at the house of Sir Edward Hyde East, Chief Justice, Supreme Court, Calcutta, for this purpose. Sir Edward presided over the meeting. The scheme of an institution was formulated by David Hare and presented by him at the meeting.† The proposal was welcomed by the Indians, specially by the pandits, and the establishment of a college was resolved upon. At the second meeting on the 21st May, a sub-committee was formed to give effect to the resolution. David Hare did not sit on the

* "The Institutions to which I refer will probably be found defective in their organization, narrow and contracted in their aim, destitute of any principle of extension and improvement; but of their existence the large body of literature in the country, the large body of learned men who hand it down from age to age, and the large proportion of the population that can read and write are proofs."
—Adam's Reports on the Vernacular Education of Bengal, 1835, 1836, 1838, p. 3.

† Sir Edward Hyde East wrote to his friend J. Harington, then absent in England, about the meeting held with the purpose of establishing a college for imparting English education.

"...About the beginning of May, a Brahmin of Calcutta [Rammohun Roy], whom I knew, and who is well known for his intelligence and active interference among the principal native inhabitants, and also intimate with many of our own gentlemen of distinction, called upon me and informed me, that many of the leading Hindus were desirous of forming an establishment for the education of their children in a liberal manner as practised by Europeans of condition; and desired that I would lend them my aid towards it, by having a meeting held under my sanction. Wishing to be satisfied how the Government would view such a measure, I did not at first give him a decided answer; but stated, that however much I wished well, as an individual to such an object, yet, in the public situation I held, I should be cautious not to give any appearance of acting from my own impulse in a matter which I was sure that the Government would rather leave to them (the Hindus) to act in, as they thought right, than in any manner to control them; but that I would consider of the matter, and if I saw no objection ultimately to the course he proposed, I would inform him of it; and if he would then give me a written list of the principal Hindus to whom he alluded, I would send them an invitation to meet at my house. In fact, several of them had before, at different times, addressed themselves to me upon this topic, but never before in so direct a manner."
—'Rammohun Roy as an educational pioneer.' Published in *the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, June, 1930.—Brajendra Nath Banerji.

* *The India Gazette*, June 14, 1830.
† *The India Gazette*, June 25, 1830.

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sub-committee. The Government of the day were indifferent to the cause of education. Whether they viewed the progress of the move with approval or not is still uncertain. The European members, including Sir Hyde East, however, retired in a body from the sub-committee, professing their sympathy with the cause and promising assistance, whenever needed, in their private capacity. The Hindu College was ushered into being on January 20, 1817.

David Hare might have followed the progress of the institution with interest, but no information is available regarding his connection with the college till a few years later. In the unpublished proceedings of the Hindu College (1816-1832) I find its managers soliciting the assistance of David Hare in a letter dated 12th June, 1819. It runs thus :

> Your sound judgment in matters of education and friendly regard towards literary Institution induces us to request the favor of you to become a Visitor of the Hindoo College. We shall feel infinitely obliged by your inspecting it at your convenience and communicating such hints and observations as may occur to you for its improvement.

It appears from the records that he did not accede to the request of the managers at that time.

The Calcutta School Society bore the expenses of thirty best scholars—ex-pupils of their schools—in the Hindu College. David Hare was appointed Secretary of the Society in 1821 and was also charged with the superintendence of these pupils. The managers of the Hindu College dismissed some of the School Society's boys in November, 1824, for their 'extremely irregular attendance.' The Society addressed a letter to the college authorities intimating that David Hare, who was in charge of these pupils, should be consulted before any steps were taken against them. The following extracts from the letter will show how worthily David Hare discharged his duties :

> "With respect to Nobin Chunder Ghose and Petember Das, (the School Society scholars), we respectfully beg leave to refer you to the accompanying copy of a letter which our Secretary Mr. D. Hare has addressed to us in his capacity of Superintendent of the boys placed by the School Society at the College under your management and we entertain no doubt that the explanation therein afforded on the very respectable authority of that gentleman will satisfy you that the irregular attendance of the boys in question has been unavoidable.
>
> We think it probable you are not aware that to this gentleman's superintendence the boys placed by our Society at the Vidyalaya have long been subject as you of course know with no view of interfering in any way whatever with the college but exclusively for the purpose of watching the conduct of the School Society's boys and in short of exercising over them that sort of surveillance which is so fully explained in the accompanying letter from that gentleman which you mention is solicited.*

A sincere and devoted worker, David Hare was soon appointed one of the managers of the college. He is found working in this capacity in the proceedings of a meeting of the College Committee on June 6, 1825. David Hare's active participation in the affairs of the college began from this time. From now on he made the cause of the college his own. The Hindoo College was removed to its new buildings to the north of College Square in May, 1826. The ground upon which the college stood was sold by him at a considerable sacrifice.

David Hare devoted his time and energy to the cause of its improvement. Ramgopal Ghose, the Rev. K. M. Banerji, Pyarichand Mitra and others who were students of the college, bore testimony to his devoted service. *The Bengal Spectator* (June 14, 1842, p. 46), conducted by them, wrote of David Hare after his death :

> "He took the warmest interest in the well-being of this Institution and the valuable services which he rendered to it will constitute one of the most prominent and never to be forgotten facts in the annals of his history. As a manager he was not content with visiting it periodically, but came and spent a great portion of his time there almost every day—enquiring after every pupil in regard to his progress, habits of attendance, health, conduct in the College and at home—reproving with a parental affection the inattentive and the ill-behaved, encouraging and rewarding the meritorious and the distinguished, settling all disputes between one boy aud another, and lending a patient ear to the requests and recommendations of parents and guardians. He also watched with intense attention the working of the details connected with the management of the Institution and did his best to remove defects and adopt improvements wherever such steps were necessary."

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* *Proceedings of the Hindoo College (1816-1832).* Unpublished.

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In appreciation of Hare's services to the cause of education, the students of the Hindu College as well as those of the School Society's schools presented him an address on February 17, 1831, craving his indulgence to sit for a portrait. Pyarichand Mitra could not reproduce the address and Hare's reply to it in his *Life of David Hare*. He rested content with only a brief summary of the latter. I have discovered both the address and the reply in contemporary newspapers. These are very important for tracing the history of English education in India. I take them from *The Government Gazette* of March 21, 1831 :

To

David Hare, Esqr.

Dear Sir,

Kindness, even when slightly evinced, excites a feeling of thankfulness in the minds of those who benefit by it. What, then, must be the sentiments which animate the many who have enjoyed the happiness of receiving at your hands the best gift that it is possible for one thinking being to bestow upon another—education ? It has been the misfortune and reproach of many an age to permit its best benefactors to go to the grave without one token of its respect or gratitude for their endeavours. Warned by their example, it is our desire to avoid it, and to let it be known that, however your eminent services to this country may be overlooked by others, they are appreciated by those who have experienced their advantages. We have, therefore, resolved upon soliciting the favour of your sitting for your protrait, a request with which we earnestly hope you will have no objection to comply. Far be it from us to suppose that so slight a token of respect is adequate to the merit of your philanthropic exertions ; but it will be a gratification to our feelings if we are permited to keep among us a representation of the man who has breathed a new life into Hindu society, who has made a foreign land the land of his adoption, who has voluntarily become the friend of a friendless people, and set an example to his own countrymen and ours, to admire which is fame, and to imitate immortality.

Waiting your kind compliance with the request contained in this address, and heartily wishing your health and strength to pursue the career which you have so long maintained,

We have the pleasure to be, dear sir,
Your most obedient servants,
(Signed by Dukinnundan [later, Raja Dakshinaranjan] Mookerjee, and 564 other young native gentlemen.)

MR. HARE'S ANSWER

Gentlemen : In answer to the address you have just presented to me, I beg to apologize for the feelings that overcome me ; and I earnestly request you to bear with me. A few years after my arrival in this country, I was enabled to discover during my intercourse with several native gentlemen, that nothing but education was requisite to render the Hindoos happy, and I exerted my humble abilities to further the interests of India ; and with the sanction and support of the government, and of a few leading men of your community I endeavoured to promote the cause of education.

Gentlemen : I have now the gratification to observe, that the tree of education has already taken root ; the blossoms I see around me; and if it be left to grow up for ten years more, it will acquire such a strength, that it will be impossible to eradicate it. To maintain and to continue the happy career already begun, is entirely left to your own exertions. Your countrymen expect it from you, for they look upon you as their reformers and instructors. It remains for you to gain that object, and to show the inhabitants of other countries in what manner they may render themselves useful.

When I observe the multitude assembled to offer me this token of their regard, when I see that the most respectable and learned native gentlemen have flocked around me to present this address, it is most flattering to me, for it expresses the unfeigned sentiments of their hearts. I cannot contain myself, gentlemen. This is a proud day to me. I will preserve this token of your sentiments of gratitude towards me unto my latest breath. I will bequeath it to my posterity as a treasure which will inspire them with emulation to do good to their brethren.

Gentlemen : Were I to consult my private feelings, I should refrain from complying with your request. It has always been a rule with me never to bring myself into public notice, but to fill a private station in life. When I see however, that the sons of the most worthy members of the Hindoo Community have come in a body to do me honour—when I observe that the address is signed by most of those with whom I am intimate, and whose feelings will be gratified if I sit for my protrait, I cannot but comply with your request.*

* The Address and David Hare's reply to it have also been included in Sj. Brajendra Nath Banerji's forthcoming volume of *Sambādpatre Sekaler Kathā*.

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SHELLEY'S ÆSTHETICAL PHILOSOPHY

By JAMES H. COUSINS

THE intellectual and æsthetical endowment of Shelley was at once so large, so balanced, and so synthetical, that when the poet became critic, he aised criticism to the level of creation, as n his immortal essay on poetry; and when he critic became poet, he raised a chant whose lyrical purity and harmonious accomaniment of thought became, even when not pecifically so in intention, the most trenchant riticism of the dissonances of life, by ontrast with itself.

It became also criticism in the indirect nanner of art by casting upon lines and assages the intuitive luminosity that may, when brooded upon, be condensed into the lear lights of intellectual affirmation. If Shelley had never written a line of prose expressing his ideas of art, it would be possible to derive his æsthetical philosophy not only from a synthesis of passages cattered through his writings, but, as we now propose to demonstrate, from a single passage in the third scene of the third act of *Prometheus Unbound*. The passage is :

And lovely apparitions, dim at first,
Then radiant, as the mind, arising bright
From the embrace of beauty, whence the forms
Of which these are the phantoms, casts on them
The gathered rays which are reality,
Shall visit us, the progeny immortal
Of Painting, Sculpture, and rapt poesy,
And arts, though unimagined, yet to be.
The wandering voices and the shadows these
Of all that man becomes, the mediators
Of that best worship, love, by him and us
Given and returned; swift shapes and sounds which grow
More fair and soft as man grows wise and kind,
And, veil by veil, evil and error fall.

Under the compelling interest of the drama it is easy to glide over this passage as a merely contributory element in the general movement, somewhat complicated in construction and grammatically lame in the opening lines. But if the passage calls to us to return and brood on it, we shall find in this vision of the Fire-Bringer (*i*) Shelley's own doctrine of the origin of the arts, (*ii*) their function in the cosmic operation, (*iii*) their relationship with the evolution of humanity, and (*iv*) the conditions of their progress.

This is an enormous thesis, the subject of philosophical speculation from Socrates and his predecessors to Croce and his successors. Yet Shelley casts it all, through the legitimate dogma of the creative imagination, into an unrhymed "sonnet's scanty plot of ground"; and by the power of the imagination lays it out with such quality of design and decoration that, like a Japanese garden, it communicates an imaginative vastness to the physically minute and simultaneously magnifies the spiritual stature of the beholder. This experience cannot be had by a hasty passage through the garden. It calls for close attention to the involutions and evolutions of the design, and to their several and conjoint intentions. To the cultivated eye and sensitive mind the garden may yield its fulness with intuitive instantaneousness. But even to these there is a special joy of the spirit in mentally separating the apparent complexity of the garden into its several plots for the fuller enjoyment of each, and for attaining through this analytical process the paradox of an ultimately simple and radiant understanding. We shall now essay this process.

First let us recall the circumstances under which Prometheus speaks the sonorous and luminous phrases which Shelley puts into his mouth. Through the exercise of "Gentleness, Wisdom, Virtue and Endurance" Prometheus has dethroned Jupiter who held the world in oppression. Anticipating the process of events in the new era which his freeing of the world had inaugurated, Prometheus visualizes himself living, with his wife Asia and her sisters Panthea and Ione, in an enchanted cave, observing the ebb and flow of things, themselves unchanged.

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To them (the embodiments of the freed and unified powers of redeemed humanity) in their place of observation beyond the fluctuations of the phenomenal universe, will come "the echoes of the human world." These will tell, among other things, of the advance of humanity in the external aspects of its life, including the arts, and the anticipation of that advance in the passage quoted summarizes Shelley's æsthetical philosophy.

The "lovely apparitions" which shall visit them are the "immortal progeny of Painting, Sculpture and rapt poesy," and other arts to be. Prometheus (the mouthpiece of Shelley) is here speaking, in the typical Shelleyan manner, from the archetypal side of life. He is not, in these words, speaking of pictures, statues and poems, but of the universal impulse to plastic and rhythmical creation which is the basis of art, which is also the basis of sex and of the not yet completely understood relationship between sex and art.

This impulse, acting on the variously endowed media of the artists, arouses the will-to-create within one or other of the interacting phases of appearance, form and motion. The first inner conceptions of the artists are the progeny immortal which shall visit the Promethean observers. The ultimate formal expressions of the artists are apprehensible by those at their own incarnate level. Prometheus visualizes them from the celestial side ; their phantasmal paradigms, not their concrete accomplishments ; the creative idea in the artist's mind, not the created object at his finger-tips. The parents of the ultimate forms of art are "mind" and "beauty." From the "embrace" of the mental and emotional powers of the artist father-mother come "the forms of which these (the visiting apparitions) are the phantoms," the subjective and as yet undefined anticipations.

The association of the intellectual and aesthetical powers of the psyche in artistic creation (the cognitive mode and affective mood of the modern psychologist) is elsewhere expressed in Shelley's poetry. A dozen or so lines before the passage that we are considering, Prometheus looks forward to his group searching for hidden thoughts. A pure psychologist would look for clean thoughts or logical thoughts. Shelley lo for *lovely* thoughts. He carries an aesthetic quality over into the mental domain. In t particular instance the mental process is substantive ; *thoughts* modified by aesthetical quality *lovely*. In the title of "Hymn to Intellectual Beauty" he turns the other way round, making *beauty* substantive, and *intellectual* quality modification ; and in the body of the po declares that the light alone of Intellect Beauty "gives *grace* and *truth* to li unquiet dream." In the chorus of spirits the human mind in the fourth act of *Pro theus Unbound* ("Our toil is done. . .") same association is seen in what might, o casual reading, be taken as mere poetic fancy. The spirits, which are embodimen of the freed mental powers of humani build "a world for the Spirit of Wisdom wield" by their singing which is an act aesthetical creation.

So much for the source and generation the arts ; Cosmic Powers from whom, throu the union of the mind with beauty, the form of art are brought forth. Shelley states qui plainly their place in the cosmic schem They are the "mediators" (the instruments expression and means of communicatio between the worlds celestial and terrestria the transmitters of the love of Man for G and God for Man. Love, says Shelley in t passage before us, is the highest form worship, and the arts are its channels. A therefore, is religion.

The converse of two identities should equally true. If art is religion, religion is a Between the apparently externally separat twain moves the single impulse of "that be worship, love." When it strikes predominan ly on the in-turned aspect of the contemplati and emotional nature of humanity, it emerg in the limitations of the theologies, dogm and ceremonials which reflect in religion t cosmic elements of form, appearance a rhythm.

Religion and art are essentially one, a their divorce leads to degradation in bo Religion that is not creative art can becom a sour and cruel fanaticism. Art witho religion becomes lifeless imitation. Echo and reflections they are of a reality whi

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interpenetrates them and shows something of itself through them even when they are farthest away from it. The search for this reality is one of the supreme joys of cultured life, and one of the straightest paths to the highest spiritual realization. Religion and art are, as Shelley indicates, God's revelation of himself to Man and of Man's reality to himself: they are also Man's revelation of himself to God, and of the God in Man to the God in whom Man is enfolded; a revelation "by him" (Man) "and us" (the celestials) "given and returned." This is the divine utility of art. Even if the expansion of consciousness which Shelley attributes to art meant nothing more than the expression of capacities beyond the present normal powers of humanity, there is a deep value in the feeling that "we are greater than we know." Shelley, in fact, declares that the arts are but special anticipations of the general future attainment of humanity, the voices and shadows "of all that man becomes." It is, therefore, a matter of importance to ascertain the conditions of their beneficent development.

The passage which we are studying opens and closes with indications of the way of artistic progress. The apparitions of the arts which appear before the prophetic eye of Prometheus are at first dim; but they become radiant when the mind, vitally associated with beauty, focusses its attention on them, and gives to what is at first a vague emanation the ultimate status of reality, not by impartation from without but by evocation from within. This is Shelley's conception of art-criticism, based on reality, associated with beauty, consciously deliberate, aiding the advance of creative art by being itself creative; a thesis which bears with drastic implications on the literary and art criticism of our time.

But Shelley sees also a general normal advance in the arts, not only *pari passu* but identical with the evolution of humanity towards higher expressions of its inner nature. He has said that the arts are all that man becomes. In the last two lines of the passage he says that man is all that the arts become; for the arts grow "more fair and soft" just to the extent that man, their channel of expression,

> Grows more fair and kind,
> And, veil by veil, evil and error fall. . . .

In other words, (to re-state the matter for the fuller realization of Shelley's closely packed thought) as humanity grows in wisdom, and as the humanitarianism which was incipient in his day in Europe develops into spontaneous and fully exercised compassion, not only will the evils that afflict humanity, and the errors that darken and misdirect its activities, gradually disappear, but the arts, which are man's most intimate revelation of his true nature, will naturally reflect the change in an increase of all that quality of consciousness that is concentrated in the word *fair*, and of all that faculty of feeling which is involved in the word *soft*.

We must not let the unworthy connotations that have come out of a century's vulgarization of these words obscure their Shelleyan significance: To Shelley the word *fair* meant all that was admirable. "That fair being whom we spirits call man" was not a mere reflection of the Greek physical ideal, nor was it a drawing-room compliment to appearance and complexion. It was not even said of the "fair sex" alone. The *softness* of which Shelley speaks carried for him the meaning of an increased responsiveness to reality through the capacity for love, which is his panancea for universal ill and the central power in the performance of the work . . . Promethean. This does not make for flabby sentimentality or the sex-complex, but for compassionate power, for the power of the liberated mind working in complete unity with the sensitiveness of the purified heart whose natural expression is "love and beauty and delight." And when Shelley thinks of Beauty, Power is looking over her shoulder, awaiting incarnation through the arts for the freeing of the world from its dark slavery.

> Man were immortal and omnipotent
> Didst thou, unknown and awful as thou art,
> Keep with thy glorious train firm state within his heart,

he declares in the "Hymn to Intellectual Beauty."

We may now put the Shelleyan aesthetic into a paragraph.

From ultimate powers inherent in the nature of the Universe come impulses which, through the mutual co-operation of the

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intellectual and aesthetical capacities of humanity, fulfil themselves in the forms of the arts. These art-forms, partaking at once of the nature of divinity which is their source, and of humanity which is their instrument, are the mediators between both. T capacity to act as such will increase thro both the particular service of an illumina criticism and the general advance of huma in wisdom and altruism.

THE CONTROL OF THE EXECUTIVE OVER THE JUDICIARY

By NARESH CHANDRA ROY.

THE independence of the judges is the *sine qua non* of good government. The executive agents, overzealous in their duties, are naturally prone to encroach upon the domain of individual rights and liberty. Whether such encroachment has actually taken place or not, it is for the judiciary to examine. The judge, in other words, has to hold a scrutiny into the actions of the executive. If he finds them contrary to the laws of the land, he is to declare them illegal and protect thereby the rights and interests of the individual citizens. One of the chief functions of the judge is thus to act as the task-master of the executive. He can carry out this function efficiently and impartially only if he is not in any way under the influence and control of the executive officers. If the judges are made subordinate to the executive, it becomes impossible for them to discharge this responsibility. They can no longer protect the people from the high-handedness of the executive agents. They will then exercise their judicial powers only by way of subserving executive expediency.

Independence, which is the breath of judicial life, has in no period of the British Indian history characterized the Subordinate Criminal Judiciary of this country. Since the days of early British rule, it has been subordinated tc the executive agents of the Government. Minor criminal justice has been vested in the chief Police officer of the district. The District Magistrate who has been responsible for the maintena of the peace and order in the area under charge has also been given the right of tryi the original criminal cases himself or havi them tried by other magistrates direc subordinate to, and controlled by, him. T judiciary instead of being the task-mas has practically been made the hand-m of the executive. An individual citi who has somehow incurred the displeasu of the Executive Government may be tak into custody at the instance of the poli He will then be hauled up before the co of a magistrate. If he is the District Mag trate himself, the case becomes absolut simple. He is the chief of the police a the representative of the Government in area. He automatically therefore takes same view as to the guilt of the accused the police. If the trying magistrate has direct relation with the police, even th the accused cannot expect a more impar justice. This magistrate although do for the time being judicial work is *excellence* an executive officer, innoculated w the virus of executive partiality for prosecution side. Even granted that he a straight man with some judicial fairne he cannot still be relied on for the protecti of the interests of the accused. He i magistrate absolutely subordinate to t district officer whose orders, even hints a suggestions, he has to carry out. Eve officer has a natural ambition of earning promotion and rise to the top of his servi

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THE WASHER-WOMAN OF THE GODS

By courtesy of the Artist Mrs. Sukhalata Rao from her book *Behula*

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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A subordinate Magistrate depends for his promotion on the certificate of his Chief who is at the same time the local head of the department of law and order. Under the circumstances the magistrates have in most of the important cases to take the same view as the police, otherwise they incur the displeasure of the District Magistrate which amounts in its turn to the stopping of their further promotion. The lower criminal courts thus instead of being the palladium of justice and the sure protector of popular freedom and individual liberty have been reduced in British India to be an effective instrument of executive power.

Situated as the magistracy is, it can at any time be mobilized by the Government for interests of their own. This danger is latent in the system in vogue. Mr. Wedgewood Benn, the Labour Ex-Secretary of State for India, revealed in the last Labour Conference at Leicester how pressure was being brought to bear upon him during his term at the India Office for interfering with the independent decisions of the magistrates in political cases. How far he was successful in resisting this pressure it cannot be calculated. But in political cases the Indian public has reasons to believe, that the facts of the cases and the laws of the land are not the only factors that enter into the decisions of the magistrates. We cannot say if there is any standing order to the magistrates that conviction is wanted in all such cases. But the trying magistrates do not wait for such orders in cases of a political nature. They know perfectly well what the executive Government actually want. They are consequently on the alert as soon as they are faced with a political case. Anxious to remain in the good books of the Government they are often prone to convict the accused sent up by the police.

The danger of combining criminal justice with executive functions was brought home about a hundred years ago to some officers of the Company. Public opinion had not then been properly educated and organized. But even then the evils of the system did not go unassailed. As early as 1837 Mr. Frederick Halliday condemned this executive control over criminal justice as dangerous to the interests of the individual rights and privileges. In the fifties, Sir John Peter Grant, another distinguished officer of the Company, took up his cudgels against the ruinous arrangement of placing the criminal courts under the direct control of the prosecuting officer. Till the early seventies the system thus came in for attack chiefly at the hands of the European officers. But in 1872 was published the famous note of Sir James Fitzjames Stephen on the administration of criminal justice in British India. He embodied in this minute the opinion that the removal of criminal justice from executive control would affect the permanence of British rule in this country. The exercise of criminal jurisdiction, he thought, "is both in theory and fact the most distinctive and generally recognized mark of sovereign power. All the world over, the man who can punish is the ruler." In case, therefore, criminal justice was made independent of the executive authority, the position of the district officers would considerably suffer and their prestige would be considerably diminished. But it must be borne in mind that the district officer was the corner-stone of the fabric of the British-*raj*. The undermining of his position would only amount to the collapse of the British dominion in India. It was essential, therefore, that the existing arrangement placing criminal justice under executive control should be continued even if the administration of justice suffered to some extent on that account. This reactionary opinion silenced henceforward all opposition to the system from the side of the officers of the Government. They now identified the existing arrangement with the continuance of British rule.

But while all attack on the executive control over the criminal judiciary was withdrawn by the British officers of the Crown, Indian public opinion which had now been considerably organized spotted out the anomaly of subordinating the criminal judiciary to the executive. It demanded henceforward with unvarying consistency the complete separation of executive and judicial functions. It urged from all political platforms the complete withdrawal

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of executive supervision from over the criminal courts. The high priest of this movement for separation was the late Man Mohan Ghose, a member of the Calcutta Bar. He enjoyed an extensive criminal practice both in the High Court and in the mofussil courts. As a defence counsel in most of the important criminal cases in the different parts of the province, he acquired an unrivalled knowledge of the vagaries of the mofussil magistrates. The evils of executive control over the trying magistrates were clearly brought home to him. From day to day he saw the danger to the liberty of the people which this control involved. It was at his instance that the Indian Association of Calcutta and, later, the Indian National Congress took up this question and started the agitation for making the judiciary an independent branch of the Government. He also submitted a memorial on this subject to the Governor-General, Lord Ripon. Nothing of course came out of this petition. Lord Ripon was indeed sympathetic but he had not the driving force to carry through the necessary reform in the face of the opposition of the Civil Service. He had burnt his fingers rather badly in the Ilbert Bill controversy and now silently dropped the idea of having another iron in the fire.

But although it was given cold shoulder even by the most enlightened viceroy of the 19th century, the question of executive control over the magistracy continued to agitate the public mind of India. Resolutions condemning this medieval system were passed from year to year by the Indian National Congress. In the different Legislative Councils also, it came in for criticism and attack at the hands of the non-official members and the official spokesmen found it increasingly difficult to defend the arrangement in vogue. In 1895, Mr. Ghose published two pamphlets concerning this question. In the first he embodied some authoritative opinions as to the anomaly of placing criminal justice under police control and in the second he embodied twenty cases of which he had personal experience, illustrating the danger to individual liberty and freedom from the control which the executive was allowed to exercise over the criminal courts.

The publication of these pamphlets thickened the agitation for reform still further. The way in which a prominent nobleman like the Raja of Mymensingh was harassed and insulted in 1892 at the instance of the district officer, had already convulsed Indian society and brought home to it the necessity of immediate withdrawal of executive control from over the courts of law. The two pamphlets of Mr. Ghose convinced the public still further as to the danger of the existing arrangement. On the top of these all appeared in 1899 in the columns of the Indian newspapers the judgment of Mr. Pennel, the District and Sessions Judge of Chupra, on the famous case, Queen-Empress *vs.* Constable Narsingh Singh. It revealed to the public on the authority of a responsible officer like the Sessions Judge of a district how a magisterial court could be used as a cloak for the high-handedness of the executive officers. The judgment took the country by storm and shook the whole of Anglo-India to its base. Judge Pennel had, of course, to pay the penalty for the independence he had shown and the justice he had meted out to the helpless accused. But it stimulated the public demand for the separation of criminal justice from the clutches of the executive.

In this year was submitted to the Secretary of State, Lord George Hamilton, the great memorial on this subject which Mr. Man Mohan Ghose had contemplated but which his untimely death in 1896 had postponed. It now went over the signature of Lord Hobhouse who had succeeded Sir James Stephen in the Law Membership of the Government of India and several other gentlemen who had long and practical experience of Indian administration. The noble array of signatories included the names of two ex-Chief Justices of Bengal, a retired Chief Justice of Ceylon, several retired Puisne Judges of the Calcutta High Court and several retired executive officers of the Government. The memorial explained the danger of the existing system to the liberty of the individual citizen and pointed out the opportunity of exercising tyranny and high-handedness which it opened out to the executive officers. It demanded that the

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courts of law should be made immune from all executive influence and control at the earliest convenience of the Government. The Secretary of State did not think himself competent to take the memorial into consideration without the opinions of the Government of India thereon. It was accordingly transmitted from the India Office to Simla and from there it found its way to the different provincial headquarters. By the provincial Governments again it was referred to the district and other local officers. Several years thus passed by in the leisurely collection of expert opinions on the issues raised by the memorial, the final consideration of which by the Secretary of State continued in consequence to hang fire. The Indian members in the Legislative Councils found it difficult to hold their patience any longer and in 1907 the Maharaja of Darbhanga and Dr. Rashbehary Ghose raised the question in course of the discussion on the financial statement. The control of the executive over the judiciary was one of the fallacies, complained Sir Rashbehary, "which, though doomed to death, are yet fated not to die." The Home Member, Sir Harvey Adamson, now promised that in the course of the year "the question will be brought to a solution." In pursuance of this promise, he acquainted the members of the Legislative Council in March 1908 with a provisional scheme for the separation of executive from judicial powers. Under the existing arrangement, the criminal courts could not, he admitted, inspire confidence of the people. Steps should hence be taken which might remove this popular suspicion as to the control of the police over the trying magistrates. He announced that the Government had decided to introduce at the earliest convenience the reform in a tentative and experimental way in the districts of the two Bengals.

This statement raised much hope in the nationalist circle. It was anticipated that the much-fought-for reform was at last attaining fruition. But while there was jubilation in the nationalist camp, the members of the Civil Service were laughing in their sleeve. Sir Andrew Fraser and Sir Lancelot Hare, the Lieutenant-Governors of the two provinces where the experiment was first to be made, now headed the Civil Service opposition to the proposed reform. They saw nothing in the proposal of Sir Harvey which might be useful to public administration in these provinces. They recommended that the scheme should be dropped without any further fuss. In the teeth of this concerted opposition of the Civil Service, the Government of India did not dare to proceed with the promised reform. They adroitly riggled themselves out of the situation created by the announcement of Sir Harvey Adamson in 1908. The late Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea reminded the Government indeed in 1913 of the promise they had made but the resolution he introduced for giving effect to the reform was opposed by the Government and defeated in consequence. A year later the war broke out and further consideration of the question was postponed *sine die.*

The introduction of the Reforms in 1919 gave a fresh impetus to the movement for separating criminal justice from the shackles of the executive. Early in 1921, Mr. Bhurgri moved a resolution to that effect in the Council of State. Sir William Vincent, the Home Member, did not take so pessimistic a view of the existing arrangement, but he pointed out that it was not now for the Government of India to discuss this question. Justice under the new regime was a provincial subject and it should consequently be tackled by the provincial Governments as best they could. If any of these Governments thought it wise to take criminal justice altogether out of the control of the executive, the Government of India would not stand in the way.

It was now the turn of the Provincial Governments to take up the question. On the 4th of April 1921, a resolution for removing the administration of criminal justice out of the clutches of the executive authorities was introduced in the Bengal Legislative Council by Mr. K. M. Chaudhury. He was confident that under the new regime the angle of vision of the officials had changed and that no time would be lost "in giving effect to this much-needed reform." Sir Henry Wheeler, the Home Member, made, however, a "halting, hesitating and ambiguous speech." He proposed that the whole subject should be examined afresh by a com-

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pecent committee. He wanted an authoritative pronouncement by some experienced experts as to how the separation could be carried out. The non-official members looked upon the proposal of the Home Member only as a method of shelving the issue. The amendment of Sir Henry was consequently defeated and the original resolution carried.

But the Government of Bengal, in spite of this attitude of the Council, appointed a Committee to elaborate a practical working scheme for separation of the executive and judicial functions. Sir Ewart Greaves, a Justice of the High Court, was appointed to be the President of the Committee and among the other members were Dr. Abdulla Suhrawardy, Mr. F. C. French and Sir Manmatha Nath Rai Chaudhury. The Committee after examining the evidence placed at its disposal submitted its report in January 1922. It saw "no practical difficulty in effecting a separation of judicial and executive functions." It actually drew up a scheme which would provide for a complete separation of the two powers. It was expected that these recommendations of the Committee would be given effect to by the Government without further delay. But the Government did not allow the report to be published at once. It sat tight upon it for about a year. Even when the report was published towards the close of 1922, the Government revealed no intention of giving any early effect to its scheme. One excuse after another was found by the Government for not carrying out the recommendations of the Committee which had been of its own choice. The Committee's report was, in fact, consigned to some pigeon-hole to remain forgotten there for ever. Twelve years of the new regime have thus rolled by without the control of the executive being in the least relaxed over the judiciary. The combination of the two functions was a part and parcel of the old despotic system which it was the intention of the Reforms to modify, if not to replace. The withdrawal of executive control from over the administration of criminal justice would have been the most fitting reform under the new regime. But this was not to be. The Civil Service has stood as a solid phalanx against any change in this direction.

The danger to individual liberty which the executive control over magistracy involves has always been great, but recently it has been made far greater still. Until recently two years' hard labour was the highest punishment to be awarded by a magistrate. But the outbreak of the Civil Disobedience movement and the terrorist outrages has led the Government to add to the powers of the magistrate in special cases. These Special Magistrates are no longer an extraordinary phenomenon. They have now become a normal feature of the day-to-day administration. A magistrate invested with special powers can sentence a man to rigorous imprisonment for seven years. But although entrusted with such wide powers, he remains still under the control of the chief executive officer of the district. His promotion in the service depends on the opinion of the District Magistrate. It is unlikely therefore that while making his judicial decisions, he will make himself responsible only to his own conscience. He will look upon himself, even while presiding over the special court, as an executive agent of the Government and as a subordinate of the district officer. He will consult their wishes and interests more than attend to the facts of the case and the law of the land.

Another convention which is fraught with grave danger to the interests of individual liberty and freedom has recently been brought under experiment. For some time past, some of the sub-judges have been given the powers of an Assistant Sessions Judge. Instead of making them full-fledged District and Sessions Judges and raising them thereby to "listed" appointments, the Government have introduced the practice of entrusting sessions powers to a limited extent to the sub-judges. Now when the sub-judges who had never had experience of the administration of criminal justice could be given such wide criminal jurisdiction, why could not the deputy magistrates who have exercised for long first class powers under the Code of Criminal Procedure be invested with the same authority? After a good deal of discussion, it appears to have been decided

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that some of the deputy magistrates will be henceforward entrusted with the powers of an Assistant Sessions Judge, and in fact some of these officers have already been invested by the High Court with this authority. So it comes to this that the deputy magistrates who are controlled by the chief executive officer of the district will no longer have their authority limited to a sentence of imprisonment for two years. Some of them at least will have sessions powers. To entrust a deputy magistrate with sessions powers amounts to the forging of fresh disadvantages for individual citizens. It is time for the people to be awakened to the danger involved in this new policy of the Government.

ART : AN UNTOUCHABLE IN INDIAN EDUCATION

By O. C. GANGOLY

It has been my misfortune, for the last few years, to set myself the difficult task of making an endeavour to rouse the conscience of our educational authorities to the importance of the study of the plastic arts as a vital factor in education, and to pursuade them to take some practical steps to introduce, in our curricula of studies, the fine arts, as a culture subject on the same footing as literature, science and philosophy. Although I had many personal interviews with various Directors of Public Instruction, Vice-Chancellors of Universities, members of Senates, and professors and teachers interested in the matter, I could not do more than extract a few half-hearted promises to do something, if and when opportunities occurred,—a courteous way of avoiding an 'undesirable' and embarrassing subject. In some cases, the response to my appeal, and the admission of the justice of the cause has been genuine and sincere. But in most cases, the attitude of indifference has been due to an innate prejudice against all forms of culture which do not come through the medium of written and spoken words. Most of the leaders of Indian education who guide the destinies of our academies and centres of learning today, are themselves the product of a system of education which has been exclusively literary in character, and has taught them the vicious habit of looking down upon all the products of the graphic arts, with a sense of contempt from the lofty pedestals of their piles of books.

These die-hards of literature have been very reluctant to accede to my demand, on behalf of the plastic arts, for a respectable place in our educational programmes, for regarding art as one of the highest and most essential factors, as the most liberalizing of the liberal studies, all the more valuable because of its remoteness from the practical,—of prime importance for its broadening effect on the mind and its refining influence on character, and as one of the instruments of training of the finest sensibilities of human emotion,—of *equal* importance as its somewhat pampered and over-fed rival—literature. Somewhat snugly armoured by a cultivated prejudice and ignorance, the gods of literature have refused to subscribe to the principle that the arts of forms stand for a mode of human expression of equal values with the arts of letters ;—they fail to realize that the graphic arts represent the highest expression of a race or individual, because they embody their highest ideals, their noblest aspirations, in a manner in which the arts of letters are incapable to express. Indeed, it is one of the fundamental basis of differentiation between two rival forms of human expression, *that the truth that are expressible through the medium of the graphic arts are not expressible through the medium of the literary arts and* vice versa. In

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this sense, art is more a valuable ally to literature, than a rival in the field of education, for it embraces matters and things which are beyond the scope and function of literature.

Those who theoretically accept this claim of the fine arts as an essential and vital factor in education, oppose all proposals for practical steps on the excuse that all the available resources of our universities, schools and colleges have been planned on a scheme of studies out of which art has been accidentally or deliberately omitted, and it is not now possible to re-adjust the scheme so as to admit this "untouchable" to our existing temples of knowledge. In other words, the vested interests created in favour of a purely literary curriculum shut out the rightful claims of the graphic arts. Whatever may be the excuses put forward on behalf of the older institutions, no shadow of a pretext could be offered to justify the conduct of the organizers of the new universities, which have been springing up like mushrooms in all parts of India and which sedulously copy the purely literary and scientific curriculum of the older universities,—conveniently and deliberately forgetting the rival claims of the graphic arts not only as a supreme medium of general culture and of higher education—but as the indispensable source of the training of the faculties which are capable of solving the insistent problems of bread-winning by rejuvenating and inspiring the development of the economic forces in the fields of applied arts and industries. For, in the realm of the industries, art is a vitally economic factor,—a valuable aid in the saleability of merchandise and industrial products, and the thousand and one articles of domestic use—which drain fabulous sums of money from the pockets of Indian consumers.

We have learnt to appreciate poetry and to *honour* our national poets as the leaders and inspirers of our cultural and spiritual aspirations, *because* we have been taught to read, interpret, and understand poetical forms of expression and the masterpieces of poetry in the curriculum of our schools and colleges. We have learnt to *despise* art and to neglect and ignore our natio artists,—who are equally, with the po the torch-bearers on the paths of spiritual progress, *because* we have b taught by our universities to look u painting, sculpture, and architect as forbidden fruits,—as idle luxuries, barriers to our achievements in intellect wisdom. As a result of the prejudices ca fully nursed in our universities, "m pictures" have no chance against stately to and ponderous cyclopaedias.

My persistent plea for a much-neglec cause, indeed softened the hearts of a f friends of Indian education, and I had t honour of being invited to co-operate with committee to revise a syllabus for a univers for its matriculation course, and to devi means to smuggle the claims of the fi arts on a harmonized and liberal sche of studies. While all the members of t committee subscribed to the principle th the fine arts should have a fair chan in a co-ordinated group of studies of t essential branches of knowledge in the rudimentary forms—on the insistence of renowned advocate of science, fine art ha to be pushed out of the general curricul and had to seek shelter in the programme s apart for women students as this emine scientist evidently thought the subject t effiminate to be introduced into the masculi curriculum and could only be tolerated a superflous 'accomplishment' for fema candidates. At the fag end of an unpleasa wrangle, I was not in a mood to confro this protagonist of science and a vehme opponent of art with the confessions the most distinguished personality in t field of science, Charles Darwin, whom I tak the opportunity of quoting here :

> "Up to the age of thirty, or beyond it, poet of many kinds...gave me great pleasure, and ev as a school-boy I took intense delight in Shake peare, especially in the historical plays. I ha also said that formerly pictures gave me co siderable, and music very great delight. But no for many years I cannot endure to read a li of poetry ; I have tried lately to read Shakespe and found it so intolerably dull that it nauseate me. I have also almost lost my taste for pictur and music...My mind seems to have become machine for grinding general laws out of larg collections of facts : but why it should hav caused the atrophy of that part of my brain alon

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on which the higher tastes depend I cannot conceive...If I had to live my life again I would have made it a rule to read some poetry, to listen to some music and to look at some pictures at least once a week, for perhaps the parts of my brain now atrophied would thus have been kept alive through use. The loss of these tastes is a loss of happiness and may probably be injurious to the intellect and more probably to the moral character by enfeebling the emotional part of our nature."

I hope the significant confession of this eminent scientist, which throws a flood of light on the basic psychology of education, will open the eyes of our experts of Indian education who love to conspire to keep out art from our educational curriculum.

During the last twenty years art has played a great part in the cultural progress of Bengal (a part in which the editor of this journal can claim a very distinguished share) and which spread to other parts of India, but this stimulus of aesthetic movement has been generated outside the centres of official academies, universities, or colleges, and such movements have been initiated and led by people of very little, if any, academic learning, or literary attainments. Indeed, the torches of aesthetic knowledge have not been lighted and carried aloft by be-gowned possessors of parchment-diplomas, not by the high-priests of academic learning, but by the unlettered devotees of knowledge, who teach with their brushes, and preach with their pencils,—the humble members of the depressed classes of Indian education.

When art could be elbowed out of the educational curriculum in former years of comparative prosperity, in these lean days of distress and consequent necessity of economy and retrenchment, to most university financiers, it is almost criminal extravagance to talk of any provision in the budget for any sum however paltry, for the study of this much-despised branch of knowledge,—in however modest a scale. To most people, art is a luxury item, which our half-starved universities could hardly think of indulging in, unless a generous donor came forward to make a fat donation for this special purpose. Indeed one Vice-Chancellor of a great university, yielding to my importunities, made a solemn promise, many years ago, to find a place for Indian art in the syllabus of his university as soon as a convenient donation came to the university. As a matter of fact, two donations came in succession ; but Indian art, as usual, was left crying outside the barricade,—a veritable untouchable in an Indian university, which claims to specialize in all departments of Indian culture. The real cause of this neglect is not a lack of funds or donations, or a lack of opportunity, but a deliberate refusal on the part of educational authorities to recognize the study of the subject as of equal importance and status to that of literature, or science. The strong literary bias, and prejudice in favour of science and other cognate subjects, bar the doors against the admission of the fine arts to our recognized syllabus of studies. If one may judge from existing conditions, anything like prosperity in educational finances is not likely to return within the next twelve years. So that on the basis of a four years' college course, a batch of three generations of students graduated from our universities will file out of the gates of academies in formidable battalions, to fill various places in the trades and professions, in the services (official, public or private), to assume public duties in legislative assemblies, in university senates, in archaeological surveys, in school committees ;—to discharge civic responsibilities in town councils, district boards, or village *panchayets*,—in blissful ignorance of the value of plastic art, as a cultural, social, and spiritual elevator of the mind, as an indispensable medium of civic and social virtues, as a valuable saviour of industrial schemes, as an inspiring ideal in town-planning projects, as a vital factor in the up-building of a truly human civilization,—as a dynamic force in paths of progress from the human to the Divine. Are the autocrats who govern the destiny of our education, the learned men who figure in our syndicates and senates, going to let loose on the community for the next three generations, another three batches of learned "barbarians," with all their God-given faculties for beauty and aesthetic sensibilities for ever maimed and paralysed,—lost to all sense of proportion, dead to all capacities to react to the colours and forms of nature, or of the masterpieces of art, ancient or modern, eastern or western,—

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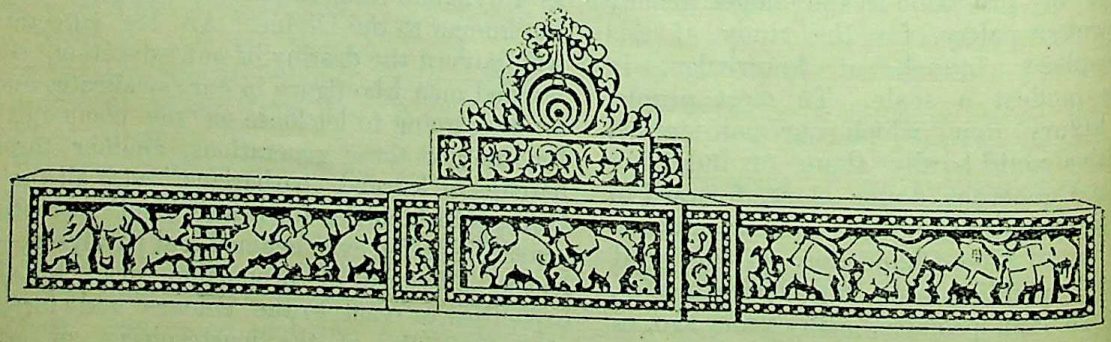
young hopefuls from our colleges, with ample doses of literature and science, well stocked with theories of economics, well fed on the doctrines of social sciences, well grounded on the speculations of philosophy of the West and of the East, with ample intellectual equipments,—but, alas with an infinite and undying capacity for building mean and dirty homes filled with impossible furniture and 'immoral' decorations ;—for spoiling our civic architecture by ill-designed and ugly town-halls, theatres and municipal offices ; for ruining our textiles by screaming colours and sickening patterns ; for deforming the shapes of our domestic utensils by imported atrocities in enamel wares ; for vitiating the designs of our carpets, rugs, and prayer-mats ; for perpetuating the horrors of costumes and sceneries in our amateur dramatic performances ; for disfiguring our civic halls and national galleries with criminal caricatures of our great men and women ; for desecrating the façades of our streets and public thoroughfares by pitiless placards, perfidious posters, sinful signboards, and abominable advertisements, which libel the features of our Gandhis, Deshabandhus and Tagores ; for callous disregard for our ancient historic arts and crafts which at one time had ready sales in the markets of Europe and in the demands of foreign tourists ; for patronizing and encouraging the wrong artist, the bad designer, and the ugly builder ; for driving out the goddess of beauty from all departments of domestic, civic, and national life and for undermining, for ever, the *morale* and the basis of all our civic, racial and national virtues, by divorcing beauty from goodness, goodness from truth, and truth from beauty.

The submerging and perverting of our innate aesthetic faculties for nearly half a century have spelled dire economic loss in multifarious avenues of life which can hardly be estimated in tables of statistics. How long should our educational programme be allowed to run its mad career of errors of tragic omissions and of sorrowful commissions. So long as this fundamental principle of admitting the claims of the plastic arts on an equal footing with literature and science is not recognized, things will go ahead in their never-ending vicious circles. If once the claim is admitted and the Fine Arts are given their legitimate place in our university curriculum,—no amount of financial crisis, or lack of funds or opportunity can shut out this indispensable branch of human knowledge. There is a tendency in academic circles to look down upon those branches of knowledge which have no recognized place in our university syllabus. And once the study of the subject is given its legitimate place in education,—the ground would be prepared for that appreciation of the importance of art in our daily life which is absolutely essential if we are to become a truly civilized people. Adopting the words of Dr. Johnson, we may say that as regards art, "the efficacy of ignorance has long been tried and has not produced the consequences expected. Let knowledge, therefore, take its turn."



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RETRENCHMENT

By HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE

If the report of the Bengal Retrenchment Committee has fallen flat on the public and has failed to arouse any enthusiasm in the Press it is because :

(*i*) The fate of the recommendations of the previous committee has made people lose all faith in the recommendations being given effect to by the Government ; and

(*ii*) the people are convinced that mere tinkering will not serve the purpose.

The inherent weakness of the enquiry will be evident from the Enquiry Committee's terms of reference in which we read that the Committee was appointed "to review the expenditure of Government and make recommendations as to any economies which in their opinion might reasonably be effected in view of the present financial situation." It thus appears that had not the present financial situation been embarrassing the Bengal Government would not have felt it necessary to effect retrenchment though it is an open secret that even in normal times they have not been able to allot necessary funds for education, sanitation and the industries, *i.e.*, for purposes of development. They consider proposals for retrenchment as a means merely to weather a passing squall and not as a means to secure necessary funds for the development of the province. The appointment of the Committee seems to have been made to silence clamour in the Legislative Council and its recommendations, therefore, need not be taken very seriously. And we are not surprised to find that the Committee have not endeavoured to present a complete picture of the administration that should be installed in an autonomous Bengal or the standard of pay on which such administration should be carried on. Yet the recommendations they have made regarding the basic pay of the services which now attract foreigners have evoked the wrath of Anglo-India.

The *Statesman* has made the following remarks on the recommendation of the Committee to reduce the scale of pay of the members of the Imperial Services :

> "The pay of these services was fixed ten years ago, after the Public Services Commission had laid down as a criterion that Government should pay its employees only so much as is necessary to obtain the right kind of recruit and maintain its officers in such comfort and dignity as may preserve their efficiency and shield them from temptation. Its business is to find good men and keep them good, not make them rich. The question that consequently forces itself to the front is, can the Government of India have only ten years ago fixed scales of pay at a level that enables Bengal to cut 48 lakhs out of 545 without impairing efficiency ?"

In reply to this one need only quote the remarks of the Inchcape Committee (1923) which runs as follows :

> "In 1920 when the cost of living was at its highest the rates of pay of nearly all classes of Government servants, including those on the Railways, was increased by about 100 per cent, no stipulation being made that the question would be reconsidered when the cost of living came down as was provided for in Great Britain. Comprehensive figures of the fluctuations in the cost of living are not maintained in the provinces except in a few cases, such as Bombay where the Labour Bureau prepares an index figure of the cost of living of the working classes.
>
> The index figure published from Bombay for October 1920, at which time most of the revisions of pay were under consideration, stood at 193 on the basis of a pre-war standard figure of 100. This index figure now stands at 156 from which it would appear that the cost of living in Bombay has fallen by nearly 19 per cent. There is no doubt that the fall in the cost of living is general throughout India, and we consider that the time has now arrived when the whole question should be made the subject of an inquiry and in this inquiry Local Administrations should be associated."

That there has been a further fall in the cost of living cannot be denied. And an attempt to reduce salaries cannot be reasonably objected to.

But the *Statesman* has adduced the same arguments as were trotted out by the Services before the Lee Commission. It says :

> "Not all officers, we are convinced, are favourably affected by the fall in prices. Those whose consumption is largely of imported goods

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have been prevented by the increase in customs duties from profiting by it. Those who have children in schools in England do not find school bills reduced."

The argument adduced can be applicable only if it is intended to perpetuate an arrangement which has outgrown its utility and which like every arrangement that is entered into to meet an emergency with success may be found top-heavy when the emergency is over.

The earlier history of the convenanted service is not without interest. Grades of rank were established with a scale of salaries which were merely nominal. At Madras about the beginning of the eighteenth century there was a President with a salary of £ 200 per annum, six Councillors at £ 100 each, six senior merchants at £ 40 each, two junior merchants at £ 30, five factors with £ 15 each and ten writers at £ 5 each per annum. The servants of the East India Company were, however, permitted to trade, which, in many cases, more than compensated for the very trifling amount they received in the form of direct remuneration; and it actually required two centuries to convince the Company of the obvious impolicy of this system. The first great change in the service was caused by the conquest of Bengal. The acquisition of territory naturally transformed these merchants and tradesmen into administrators and diplomats; but, nevertheless, the condition of the service continued much the same as before. Pitifully small salaries were still the rule and the servants of the Company engaged freely in private trade to remunerate themselves, and used the large powers, of which they suddenly found themselves possessed, for their self-aggrandizement. Lord Clive's mission of reform to India, and the efforts of Warren Hastings seconded by the Act of Parliament which ordained that no servant of the Crown or Company should accept presents from the Princes or other inhabitants of India, tended much to restrain the cupidity of the Company's servants, though, of course, they greatly reduced the advantages of the service. Lord Cornwallis saw clearly the anomaly of this state of things, and strove to prohibit private trade; but "honest, careful, conservative John" could not see the policy of spending a few more pence to gain ever so many more pounds, and halted and vacillated till the Ministry came to his aid, and, impressed with the Indian Governor-General's representations, introduced a clause in Charter Act of 1793, prohibiting the Company's servants engaging in private trade. "To raise the salaries of their servants to such an amount as should be worthy of their position, a fair remuneration for their important services and a suitable compensation for the sacrifice of home and the pains of exile, soon became a necessity; and the service from that time assumed a shape and aspect which it has retained to the present day."

With the increase in the number of uncovenanted officers a Commissioner was appointed with a view to revise civil salaries and appointments. And in the elaborate note prepared by Mr. Ricketts he said that the criteria that must be considered should be the condition of the country or colony to which an official was appointed, the income which would enable him to maintain a respectable position among those with whom he would have to associate, the attractions or disadvantages occasioned by climate, society, distance, necessary expenses and many other circumstances on which the desirability or unattractiveness of a place depended. At the time the note was prepared there were few Indians who held high posts and all that Mr. Ricketts laid down was that the salary scale should be sufficiently high to attract Europeans to the Indian services.

Then came the Public Services Commission presided over by Sir Charles Aitcheson which expressed the following opinion:

> "The general conditions of service accorded to officers of the Convenanted Civil Service, who are recruited in England, do not appear in any way suitable to natives of India obtaining office under the Statutory rules or otherwise appointed in India. The conditions were framed to meet the circumstances and requirements of an Agency which it is considered necessary to import from England and seem to the Commission to be wholly inapplicable to such an Agency as may be recruited in India."

Thus it is clear that for the convenanted service a standard of remuneration was set up which is much in excess of what is required to obtain suitable Indians. India can supply the Services with suitable men and

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she need not maintain a standard of salaries required for men "whose consumption is largely of imported goods" and whose children must be educated in schools in England.

Both Mr. Ricketts and after him the Aitcheson and Islington Commissions admit that the salaries of Indian members of the Services should be governed by Indian conditions. And as the policy of British rule in India is "that of the increased association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India" it is of the utmost importance that India should discard "an agency which it is considered necessary to import from England" and the salaries of the Services should be fixed at so much only as is not in excess of what is required to obtain suitable officers in India so as not to impose on the country a burden which she should not bear.

Unfortunately for the country the Lee Commission arrived at a patchwork compromise—the Indian members accepting the proposal for increment of salaries of some Services and the European members agreeing to the proposal for Indianization, though there had been an increase in the salaries only before the introduction of the Reforms costing India £25,40,000 a year. The increase had been as follows :

Indian Civil Service	£ 3,60,000
Indian Police Service	1,36,000
Indian Educational Service	1,00,000
British Officers of the Indian Army and of British Troops in India	17,00,000
Indian Medical Service	2,50,000

It is a significant fact that the evidence before the Lee Commission was never made available to the public.

In a recently published article Mr. A. D. Moni has said :

> "All the Commissions that dealt with the question of salaries in India accepted the principle that the salaries should be governed purely by Indian conditions. The Islington Commission, in particular, said that to maintain a scale of pay which was in excess of requirements was to impose an unnecessary financial burden on the country. The principle on which the present salaries are based...was that the salaries should be high enough to recruit Europeans of the right sort. But with the rapid Indianization of the Services, the need for the present scale of salaries does not exist... The present scale of salaries has brought the Indian universities into contempt, for there is annually a great exodus of Indian students to England in search of English degrees, which they think, would enable them to be started on Rs. 300 on their return. And we find the spectacle of Indians returning from England with cheap degrees or without degrees claiming to be started on salaries which approximate very nearly to those of the Imperial Services. This is not a satisfactory state of affairs, and what we want at the present moment is a proletarian view on national affairs. The new constitution will go to pieces if we continue to maintain the present financially ruinous civil administration."

MANCHURIA AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

By S. C. GUHA

On the night of September 18-19, Japanese soldiers stationed in the railway area of the South Manchurian Railway suddenly attacked the Chinese troops in their barracks in Mukden, and between that night and the two succeeding weeks the entire Chinese army with the exception of provincial forces were forced to retire south of the Great Wall, leaving the Japanese complete master of the country. Within a day or two of this *coup* by the Japanese the city of Mukden was deserted by Chinese civilians in panic and the civic services were arranged according to plans by a Japanese official, Colonel Doihara, who restored order within three days of taking office. With the help of General Tsang Shih-yi, the Chinese Civil Governor of the province, several hundred police and most of the prison warders were brought back and for one month an Emergency Committee, mostly composed of the Japanese, helped Colonel Doihara. After a month, on October 20th, the municipal administration was handed over to a Chinese lawyer who had studied for eleven years in Japan. From September 20, 1931 to January 7, 1932 the Japanese put up puppet governments in the various provinces and finally got Manchuria, including Jehol, declared independent of China by the Self-Government Guiding Board created by themselves which had its headquarters in Mukden, on the 18th February 1932.

Mr. Henry Pu-yi, the deposed Manchu Emperor of China, who had been living under the protection of the Japanese since his deposition agreed to become the titular head of the newly

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created state, and on March 9 was installed as Regent. This puppet government has concluded an alliance with Japan on terms which make Manchuria a province of Japan for all practical purposes. It even professes to maintain an open door for all Powers that recognize it. At present the Japanese officers occupy all the key positions in the state under a nominal Manchurian ministry.

The main body of Chinese troops was driven south of the Great Wall, but the armies under the commands of provincial governers in the northern and eastern provinces were cut off, and a very large proportion of their disbanded soldiers are now fighting in guerilla formations all over the newly proclaimed state. Besides these there remain scattered in the area a large element of professional bandits who are very difficult to handle and still more so to suppress.

China Appeals to the League of Nations

The 12th session of the League Assembly was in session in Geneva and on the 21st September 1931, the Chinese delegate to the Assembly, on instructions from his Government, asked the Secretary-General, Sir Eric Drummond, under Article 11 of the Covenant, to "take immediate steps to prevent the further development of a situation endangering the peace of nations." The situation with which the Council on which both China and Japan were represented was faced, was a grave infraction of the Covenant of the League of Nations as well as of the Kellog-Briand Pact by which both the parties in the dispute were bound. If the juridic position was so clear, the Powers who dominated the actions of the Council were brought before an embarrassing situation by one of their own. Here was a first-class Power having a permanant seat on the League Council cutting the very foundations of the League from under the feet. Besides, all and every one of these Powers had this or other interest to 'protect' at the expense of China. The Rights Recovery Movement in China had already brought them enough trouble and by strengthening their military forces in violation of the Nine-Power-Treaty of Washington, they have in a lesser degree taken the same steps as now taken up by Japan on a grand scale. The difference lay in degree but not in kind. France was always anxious about her posision in Indo-China. The logic of the French of which they are so proud does not cross the French boundaries and the attitude of France was always accomodating to Japan. During the course of the Sino-Japanese dispute—in modern international phraseology occupation of a foreign country does not constitute a war unless it is so declared by the parties—France helped the Japanese with arms, and when at the instance of the French Communist Party a consignment of arms falsely declared as agricultural machinery for shipment to Japan was discovered at Marseilles, the matter was promptly hushed up at the instance of the French Ministry of Defence.

This negative attitude of France alone was sufficient to act as a brake in the administering of international justice, as the Council could only act on unanimity, in the determination of which the aggressor (as it happened in this case) also had the right to vote in case he happened to be a member of the Council. The attitude of England was governed more by practical considerations than by any desire to maintain an international principle. So after nine days the Council, on the 30th September, 1931 passed a milk-and-water resolution requesting "both parties to do all in their power to hasten the restoration of normal relations between them" and accepting a statement from the Japanese Government "that it has no territorial designs in Manchuria" and that Japan "will continue, as rapidly as possible, the withdrawal of its troops *which has already begun*, into the railway zone in proportion as the safety of the lives and property of the Japanese nationals is effectively assured", and refrained to fix a time-limit for the evacuation of the Chinese territory.

The Council of the League of Nations again met on the 13th October and in a twelve-day session failed to achieve anything simply because Japan refused to pass a death sentence on herself. By the time this session of the Council ended, Japan had reorganized civil life in Manchuria, and succeeded in destroying the last vestiges of Chinese sovereignty on the Manchurian soil, and was fostering a home rule movement in Manchuria.

The Council again met on November 16 in Paris under the presidency of M. Briand and spent four weeks in *studying the situation*. On December 10, it passed a resolution (originally proposedly Japan on November 21) by which it decided to appoint a Commission of Enquiry of five members. Japan accepted this resolution "on the understanding that paragraph 2 of the resolution was not intended to *preclude the Japanese forces from taking such action as might be rendered necessary to provide directly* for the protection of the lives and property of Japanese subjects against the activities of bandits and lawless elements rampant in various parts of Manchuria. It will be noted that by the time this resolution was accepted, Chinese forces, driven off from the main line of communication with China were operating independently against the Japanese in remote parts of Manchuria and henceforth the Japanese began to term these as bandits, and all military actions were taken on the strength of this reservation.

In accordance with the above resolution, M. Briand appointed a committee of five members, who were accepted by both the parties

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dispute, consisting of H. E. Count Aldrovandi taly), General of Division Henri Claudel rance), The Rt. Hon. The Earl of Lytton ngland), Major-General Frank Ross McCoy J. S. A.) and H. E. Dr. Heinrich Schnee. ermany). General Claudel was a former ommander of the French Foreign Legion; Lord ytton was Governor of Bengal and temporary iceroy of India; General McCoy was the ommander of American troops in Nicaragua; and r. Schnee was the Governor of the former erman East Africa. The appointment of this mmission was finally confirmed by the Council January 14, 1932, about four months ter the Mukden incident. As the U. S. A. as a signatory to the Kellog-Briand act, the inclusion of its representative as approved by all concerned, and the tate Department accepted the invitation appoint General McCoy. Before the Com- ission could begin work Lord Lytton was ected its Chairman, and the Commission took circutions way to reach the spot of enquiry order to gauge American opinion. In e interval the separatist tactics of Japan had orne its fruit; the Self-Government Guiding oard created by Japan proclaimed its inten- ion to create an independent state in Manchuria, ut the Harbin outbreak of January 29 and e ambiguous attitude of General Ma postponed e proclamation of independence for a few days.

The smaller Powers in the League awoke to e danger of the situation, and when on anuary 29, 1932, China submitted a further ppeal under Articles 10, 11 and 15, they gave eir moral support to China. This however id not affect the situation, and when on ebruary 12, 1932, China requested the Council o proceed under Article 15 of the Covenant, the ouncil refused to move further. Six days ater the Self-Government Guiding Board eclared independence under the protection of apanese bayonets.

During the interval one important declaration was made by the State Department of the U. S. A. It declared that no change brought about by illegal and forcible methods shall be recognized.

Before the Lytton Commission arrived at Tokyo on the 29th February, 1932, fighting broke out in Shanghai. The Chinese Govern- ment at Nankin was content with paper appeals to the League, for which nobody cared, and which the Powers dominating the League were trying to avoid. But the heroic defence by the 19th Route Army (Canton) of the Woosung forts upset all the calculations of the Japanese. This defence by the 19th Route Army supported by the 87th and 88th Divisions, the so-called Bodyguard Army, continued till the end of February and any advance of the Japanese in the Shanghai area was only possible after the Japanese forces had been very considerably increased. Here the direct interests of the Great Powers were involved and political pressure on both sides sufficed to bring about a compromise, and military operations of any importance ceased after eight weeks of hostilities. The difference between the developments in Manchuria and Shanghai are very remarkable and explains the attitude taken by the League.

The Shanghai incident, however, had had serious effect on the Chinese: the ease with which Manchuria had been conquered lead the Japanese to expect a similar victory in the Shanghai area, but instead the original expeditionary force of 3000 marines had to be supplemented by three divisions and a mixed brigade before any tangible military gain was in sight. This failure of the Japanese strengthened Chinese *morale* beyond the conception of the imperialistic Powers. A continuation of the Sino-Japanese dispute in China proper would not only have involved them in a first-class struggle (the entire naval forces of the U. S. A. were mobilized in the Pacific on the pretext of a naval manoeuvre) but its result would perhaps have ended the domination of foreign Powers in China.

Findings of the Lytton Commission

Manchuria covers an area of 380,000 sq. miles, a surface equal to that of Germany and of France put together. The total population of 30 millions is composed of 28 millions of Chinese or Manchus completely assimilated with the Chinese. Of the remaining 2 millions 800,000 are Koreans (and as such Japanese subjects since the annexation of Korea by Japan), 150,000 White Russians, 230,000 Japanese and the remainder made up of unassimilated Manchus and Mongols. In 1911, at the time the Manchu dynasty was overthrown, the population of Manchuria was only 18 millions. The increase in the last twenty years is due mainly to Chinese immigration. The colonization of the country by the Chinese is gradual and steady and the population is growing at the rate of a million a year.

The country is known in China as "the Three Eastern Provinces" and consists of the "Kirin Province in the East, Heilungkiang in the North and Liaoning or Fengtien in the South. The country is contained in the plain formed by the Changpai Range in the S. E. and the Great Khingan range in the N. W. The north part of the plain belongs to the basin of the Sungari river and the southern part to the basin of the Liao river. The watershed between them is a range of hills dividing the country into a northern and a southern part. To the Chinese Manchuria is an integral part of China. During all the treaty negotiations the *de jure* authority of the Chinese has never been questioned. Manchuria forms the first line of China's defence. It serves as a buffer between China and Japan. It gives seasonal

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employment to Chinese labour as well as an outlet for colonization. It is looked upon as the granary of China.

The majority of Koreans are congregated in the Chientao District on the Korean frontier while the rest are scattered over the rest of Manchuria. The Japanese are mainly concentrated in the settlements along the South Manchurian Railway belonging to Japan and in the Kwantung leased territory in Liaotung Peninsula. The mountainous regions are rich in timber and minerals, especially coal. Important deposits of iron and gold are also known to exist, while large quantities of oil shale and dolomite, magnesite, limestone, fireclay, steatite, and silica of excellent quantity have been found. The soil is generally fertile, and development in earlier times was entirely along the river system, and recently along the railway lines. In 1929 only 12.6 per cent. of the total area was under cultivation, whereas in 1931 28.4 per cent was cultivable. The value of the agricultural products of the country in 1928 was estimated at over £130 millions sterling. The agricultural product consists of soya bean mainly cultivated by the Chinese and rice cultivated by the Koreans. Besides, Pongee or Tussah silk is also another important article of export of Manchuria. Without the influx of Chinese farmers and labourers, Manchuria could not have developed so rapidly and provided Japan with a market for her manufactured articles, a field of investment, and supplies of food, fertilizers and raw materials.

During the last century Manchuria was the the meeting ground of conflicting state policies, but later her industrial and natural possibilities made the country coveted by imperialist domination. After her defeat in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95, China was obliged to cede the Liaotung Peninsula to Japan by the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895. But deplomatic pressure by Russia, Germany and France obliged Japan to return the territory to China, Russia also helped China to 'pay the indemnities of war, and in return for which Tsarist Russia was allowed to construct a branch of the Trans-Siberian Railway across Manchuria in a direct line from Chita to Vladivostok. The Russo-Chinese Bank (later the Russo-Asiatic Bank) was formed by the terms of the contract of September 8, 1890: the Company was to construct and operate the Railway for 10 year after which it was to become the property of Chida free of charge, China having the right to purchase the railway after thirty-six years at an agreed price. During the contract, the Company was to have absolute and exclusive right of administration of the lands. Tsarist Russia gradually succeeded in exercising in the Chinese Eastern Railway area, with its rapidly developing railway towns, rights equivalent to sovereignty. China had also consented to hand over free of charge Government lands needed by the railway, w private lands might be expropriated at cur prices. The Company had furthermore, b permitted to construct and operate the teleg lines necessary for its own use.

In 1898, China leased out, for a perio 25 years the southern part of the Liaot Peninsula, which Japan was forced to ret to China by pressure from Russia, Germ and France. Russia also secured the righ connect the Chinese Eastern Railway at Har with Port Arthur and Dalny (now Dairen) u conditions similar to those of September 1896. Two years later Russia occupied M churia on the ground that the Boxer Ri had endangered her nationals and delayed withdrawal of her forces, in spite of the prot of other Powers. The aggressive designs Tsarist Russia became a menace to Japan interests in Korea and in 1904 Japan decla war on Russia, China remaining neut By the Treaty of Portsmouth (September 1905) Russia was forced to transfer exceptional rights in South Manchuria favour of Japan, including the South Manchur Railway. "Both parties agreed to rest to the exclusive administration of Ch all portions Manchuria occupied or un the control of their respective troops, w the exception of the leased territory. B reserved the right to maintain (under cert specified conditions) guards to protect th respective rights in Manchuria, the number such guards not to exceed 15 per kilomete Besides the sphere of influence in Manchu was settled once for all between Russia a Japan, behind the back of China and w the consent of England, which was th an ally of Japan, Russia contenting hers with a free hand in North Manchuria, a Japan in South Manchuria. The conflict state policies were there unified at the exper of China which bowed before the blast.

After the Revolution of 1917 in Rus China exercised her rights in the Russian sph of influence: she revoked the privileges confer in 1896. In 1920 she assumed responsibility the preservation of order in that area. concluded an agreement with the reorgani Russo-Asiatic Bank for the administration of Chinese Eastern Railway. In 1919 and 1920, U. S. S. R. declared its policy towards China be complete reliquishment of special rights wh the Imperial Government had acquired China, notably in North Manchuria. By 19 before the Central Government was organized Moscow, General Chang Tsao Lin had practic liquidated Russian interests. The Sino-Russ Agreement of May 31, 1924 regularized *fait accompli* and the Chinese Eastern Railw henceforth became a purely commercial conc in which China also had financial interests.

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Japan however continued to encroach upon Chinese sovereignty till the climax was reached during the World War with the presentation of the 21 demands. The Treaty of Portsmouth above-mentioned was concluded without China's consent. The spoils of the Russo-Japanese were therefore reguralized by the Treaty of Peking (1909). By this Treaty "China gave her consent to the transfer to Japan of the Kwantung Leased Territory, which was formerly leased to Russia, and of the Southern Branch of the Russian controlled Chinese Eastern Railway as far north as Changchun. In an additional agreement, China granted to Japan a concession to improve the military railway line between Antung and Mukden and to operate it for 15 years.

In August 1906, the South Manchuria Railway Company was organized by Imperial Decree to take over and administer the former Russian Railway, as well as the Antung-Mukden Railway. The Japanese Government acquired control of the Company by taking half of the shares in exchange for the railway, its properties, and the valuable coal mines at Fushun and Yentai. The company was entrusted, in the railway area, with the functions of administration and was allowed to levy laxes: it was also authorized to engage in mining, electrical enterprise, warehousing, and many other branches of business.

After securing such extensive rights, Japan annexed Korea in 1910 and this gave her another handle to further her encroachments in Manchuria. Russian competition was eliminated, and the two imperialist governments helped each other in strangling China. In 1915, the Government of China was forced at he point of the bayonet to accept the group of exceptional demands above referred. Other Great Powers were then engaged in a life and death struggle amongst themselves, and the World War over, they assembled in 1921-22 when they defined their future attitude towards China. Japan was obliged to forgo most of the concessions included in the 21 demands. The U. S. A., the British Empire, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Portugal, China and Japan agreed "to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial and administrative integrity of China," to maintain "equality of opportunity in China for the trade and industry of all nations" by refraining from taking advantage of conditions in China "in order to seek special rights and privileges" there and by providing the "fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government," challenged to a large extent the claims of any signatory State to a "special position" or to any "special rights and interests" in any part of China, *including Manchuria.*

The Signatories to the Nine-Power-Treaty however failed to put the decisions in practice. Japan continued to govern "the leased territory with practically full rights of sovereignty. Through the South Manchuria Railway she administered the railway areas, including several towns and large sections of such populous cities as Mukden and Changchun; in these areas she controlled the police, taxation, education and public ulitities. She maintained armed forces in many parts of the country, the Kwantung army in the Leased Territory, railway guards in the railway areas and consular police throughout the various districts. "The Washington Treaty did not alter the attitude of Japan towards China, especially in Manchuria. With the advent of the Kuomintang with its prgramme of 'Recovery of Rights' and Japan looking on Manchuria as conquerred province wrested from her by deplomatic pressure the conflict was bound to occur.

In pursuance of her policy to hold South Manchuria as a *de facto* annexed province, Baron Tanaka's Government issued the following statement in 1928:

"The Japanese Government attaches utmost importance to the maintainance of peace and order in Manchuria, and is prepared to do all it can to prevent the occurrence of any such state of affairs as may disturb that peace and order, or constitute the probable cause of such a disturbance.

"In these circumstances, should disturbances develop further in the direction of Peking and Tientsin, and the situation become so menacing as to threaten the peace and order of Manchuria, Japan may possibly be constrained to take appropriate effective steps for the maitainance of peace and order in Manchuria."

This was further supported by a definite statement from Baron Tanaka that the Japanese Government would prevent the "defeated troops or those in pursuit of them" from entering Manchuria. The announcement of this far-reaching policy brought forth protests from both the Peking and Nanking governments, the Nanking note stating that such measures as Japan proposed would be not only "an interference with Chinese domestic affairs, but also a flagrant violation of the principle of mutual respect for territorial sovereignty."

To this background was added the disputes of financial and political origin, the political nature of the South Manchurian Railway, the unapplied provisions of the Nine-Power Treaty which Japan continued to evade with the tacit approval of the Great Powers and China sought to apply, the activities of the consular police and the railway guards and the problem of Koreans in Manchuria.

The economic and operating character of the railways have been overshadowed by the dictates of state policies. The South Manchurian Railway, although nominally a private corporation, is, in fact a Japanese Government enterprise. Its functions include, not only the management of its railway lines, but also exceptional

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rights of political administration. From the time of its incorporation the Japanese have never regarded it as a purely economic enterprise. The late Vicount Goto, the first President of the Company, laid down a fundamental principle that the S. M. Ry. should serve Japan's "special mission" in Manchuria.

The Lytton Commission goes further and finds that since its formation, the policy of the railway company has been to finance the construction of *only* such lines as would be connected with its own system: thus by means of through traffic agreements, to divert the major part of the freight to the S. M. Ry. for sea board export at Dairen in the Japanese leased territory. Very large sums have been expended in financing these lines and it is doubtful if their construction, in certain cases, was justified on purely economic grounds, especially in view of the large capital advances made and the loan considerations involved.

To evade a direct conflict and to recover the rights, China began to construct her own railway lines. The situation became critical as both strategic and economic considerations were involved. The Chinese attempted to overcome the Japanese monopoly and to place obstacles in the way of its development, thus reducing Japanese influence on their own soil. To this railway policy of China on the Chinese soil Japan objected on the ground of the 1905 treaty. The Commission finds that "the *alleged* engagements of the Chinese plenipotentiaries of the Conference of 1905 regarding the so-called parallel railways is a declaration or statement of intention on the part of the Chinese plenipotentiaries." As such it cannot have any binding force on China, especially after the Nine-Power-Treaty of 1922.

On the question of Railway loans, known as the Nishihara loans, the Commission finds in favour of China and is of opinion that they are political loans. On the issues over the Kirin-Kwainei Railway project and the Tunhua-Kwainei line the Commission holds that the documents produced show that "neither of them, was a definite loan contract agreement obliging China, without condition and before a specific date, to permit Japanese financiers to participate in the construction of the line." The contracts were signed under very irregular circumstances, and under duress of compulsion.

Of the demands arising out of the Sino-Japanese Treaties and Notes of 1915, (the twenty-one demands) some were voluntarily given up by Japan, and others replaced by new ones. So far as Manchuria was concerned, the controversies were over the following provisions:

(*i*) The extension of the terms of Japanese possession of the Kwangtung Leased Territory to ninety-nine years (1997)

(*ii*) The prolongation of the period of Japanese possession of the S. M. Ry and the Antung-Mukden Railway to ninety-nine years and 2007 respectively).

(*iii*) The grant to the Japanese subjec right to travel, reside and conduct busin the interior of South Manchuria and to parti in Sino-Japanese agricultural enterprise Eastern Inner Mongolia.

(*iv*) The grant to Japanese subjects the to lease land in the interior of S Manchuria—*i. e.* outside those areas :open treaty or otherwise to foreign residence trade.

The validity of all these claims depe the validity of the Treaty of 1905 an Chinese continually denied that they binding of them.

Further complications arose out of Jap attempt to buy more land by the of the 1898 Treaty, but in practice acco to the "Buy-up Manchuria" programme 1924 Russia withdrew her railway g but Japan continued to maintain them in viol of the treaty. These guards are regular sol who in violation of the treaty provisions, c on police functions into adjoining dist conducted manoeuvres outside the railway and these resulted in considerable dama Chinese property. Closely associated with railway guards are the consular police tained by Japan "contrary to the general pr in countries having extra-territorial trea The difficulties also arose over the gra land to Koreans in Manchuria, due to irreg nationality laws in the two countries.

Without a single exception the Commis finds against Japan on all counts. recommandations of the Commission are ther very interesting. They do not advise the Coun seek to restore the *status quo* in Manchuri that might offend Japan. They pro to maintain law and order in the co by a police force and to declare Manc a self-governing unit. It now remains fo League to decide its own future.

What Shall the League Do?

Had the League been a super-state administer justice it could have been of help to China in her distress. In the en ment of its dicisions, her only arms ar arms lent by the Great Powers, who them are imperialists and maintain their powe injustice practised on weaker Powers. attitude in all cases is determined by the b of interests involved in individual cases. the points in dispute could be settled reference to the Hague Court. But agains aggressive attitude of Japan it is hel After the unanimous findings of the L Commission that the measures taken by were not dictated by legitimate groun defence of self-interest but according to viously conceived plan, which was p

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operation on a very slight excuse, during the last session of the Council, the League was very lenient towards Japan. Her Commission was delayed by Japan, and before the Commission arrived on the spot Manchuria was declared independent. A few days before the report of her Commission was signed Japan presented the League before a *fait accompli* by recognizing the fictitious State of her own creation. The League Commission finds no trace of spontaneous desire on the part of the Manchurian population for separation and still it proposes the creation of an autonomous State under the nominal suzerainty of China. Her Commission finds that Japan has violated the League Covenants, the Nine-Power Treaty and the Kellog-Briand Pact of Peace. The course prescribed by the League Covenants are clear. Unfortunately they are not put in operation. Political pressure will be put on both China and Japan to accept a compromise which will perhaps save the face of the League without bringing justice to China and the appologists of the League shall find the work performed sufficient to ensure its existence.

RAM MOHUN ROY CENTENARY MEMORIAL

By TARAKNATH DAS, M. A., PH.D.

It is understood that the hundredth anniversary of the death of Raja Ram Mohun Roy will be celebrated this year (1933) in India and other parts of the world. In this connection, I wish to suggest that the people of India should not be satisfied with only holding memorial meetings or bringing out a new edition of his works, but should do something of more permanent value to honour the memory of a great Indian.

Raja Ram Mohun Roy was the greatest Indian of his time. In many ways, he was the greatest of modern Indians. He was the first Indian ambassador to England from the court of Delhi. He was the foremost religious leader and scholar of comparative religion. He saved Hindu society from a very serious crisis that was facing it, by interpreting the teachings of the Upanishads to counteract Christian missionary attacks. He was the greatest of the pioneer Hindu social reformers and a champion of education for women and the masses as well as higher scientific education. Over and above these sterling qualities, he was the founder of the Bramho Samaj.

When one is free from sectarian and communal bias or religious bigotry, he sees in the work of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, a great heritage for modern India. This being the case, there should be a national organization to perpetuate the memory of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, which should undertake the work of promoting the three fold activities of the greatest of modern Indians: (*a*) promotion of international cultural co-operation between India and the rest of the civilized world; (*b*) furtherance of the cause of the study of comparative religion and spread of the spirit of appreciation of truth in various religions; and (*c*) promotion of national wefare of the people of India through the spread of education among women and the masses and spread of scientific education in general.

As Raja Ram Mohun Roy was the founder of Bramho Samaj movement, some people may think that any movement for the preservation of the memory of Ram Mohun Roy may be left to that community to promote. But Raja Ram Mohun was a Hindu by birth. He was so much appreciative of Christianity that many Christian missionaries regarded him as a virtual Christian; and he was so much respected by the Mussalmans for his knowledge of Persian and Arabic and the Quran that although he was a Hindu, he was the special pleader of the Mogul Emperor at Delhi before the Directors of the East India Company and the British Government in England. Therefore responsible persons representing various communities in India should form a national committee for the Raja Ram Mohun Roy centenary memorial.

The latest census report shows that there are 352,837,778 people in India. If a national committee for the Ram Mohun Roy centenary memorial is formed, then it may without much difficulty raise at least Rs. 350,000 (three lakhs and a half) rupees. Whatever sum may be raised by the national committee, special care should be taken to

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use it as a permanent trust fund, the capital of which should not be spent but the income should be used for the three distinct purposes mentioned above. As a matter of suggestion I may say that the income of the trust fund should not be used for some new enterprises, but it should be used to strengthen existing institutions and movements which are trying to carry out these three kinds of activities. To be more concrete, I may say that the establishment of a chair of comparative religion—Ram Mohun Roy professorship of comparative religion—in connection with Calcutta University or the Visva-Bharati, will admirably promote Raja Ram Mohun Roy's ideal of appreciation of truth in all religions. Aiding the existing movements for the education of women (such as Nari Siksha Samiti), supporting the cause of education of the backward classes by establishing Raja Ram Mohun Roy scholarships for worthy students from the so-call depressed classes and other social serv activities would further the ideal of R Ram Mohun Roy as a social reform Establishment of a few Raja Ram Mohun R travelling scholarships will aid the ca of cultural co-operation between India a the rest of the world.

Lastly, this trust fund (Raja Ram Moh Roy centenary memorial fund) should be administered that it will grow, through cont butions and donations; and eventually will be a source of doing great service humanity. I am fully convinced that movement to perpetuate the memory of R Ram Mohun Roy, on a permanent basis, w be a success and of immense value to Ind if responsible persons as Lady Abala Bo Acharya P. C. Ray, Rabindranath, and othe take the imitiative in the matter.

San Remo, Italy.

M. K. GANDHI TO C. F. ANDREWS

Yeravada Central Prison

My dearest Charlie

I have your letter. God's grace has been wonderful. Those days were days of basking in the sunshine of His presence. There was not one step taken out of self will. Never have I experienced such an immediate, definite response to prayer.

Yes, it was well you stayed there. I knew what it would mean for you to remain there. And yet I did not take a moment to decide in reply to your cable. Vallabbhai and Mahadeo too have never any doubt about the correctness of the decision. Indeed it is wonderful how they instinctively felt the soundness of all the fateful decisions that had to be taken during those terrible days.

But the work has only just begun. It is a life and death struggle for me. The fast has to be a fast to the finish or untouchability has to go now. It is a tremendous task. I must test the affection of the millions who have flocked to those meetings. I have to wrestle with God Himself. But He is both indulgent and exacting. He will have full surrender or none. The late fast was possibly only a prelude to what is yet to come. But no more of this speculation. His will not mine be done. I can but try to prove worthy of the sacrifice if it has to come.

And you have still to be there. The untouchability you speak of is far subtler and wears the cloak of respectability. Ours in India looks what it is and therefore in a way less difficult perhaps to fight.

I have almost regained my lost strength.

Our love to you and all the members of t ever growing family

20. 10. 32.

Yours
(*Sd.*) Mohan

Yeravada Jail
Poona.

My dear Charlie,

I have two letters to answer. Of course yo decision is right. Your problem of untouchabili is in a way more complex than mine. U touchability is a dying cult and has an ev growing army of reformers to deal it death blo Yours shows no signs of dying and clai many supporters in the name of science. A you have very few workers. But as you a I have repeatedly found, what is difficult man is easy for God. Any way we have to do our part of work, and I shall pray success in your work.

I assure you I do not want to kill 'brot ass.' He is in God's safe keeping. If He me to starve him, neither your effort nor mine c save him. For the present he is flourishing goat's milk and plenty of fruit with some ho made bread thrown in.

Gurudev is still at it. That little fast brou me many undreamt of treasures. Gurudev w the richest find. If some one had said "fast find Gurudev" I should have done it witho a second thought. I was dying to find a co in his heart. Thank God, I found it throu the fast.

Love from us all.

4. 11. 32.

(*Sd.*) Mohan

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BOOK REVIEWS

BOOKS in the principal European and the Indian classical languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

FALL OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE. *By Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Vol. I, 1739-1754. M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta. Rs. 5.*

That Sir Jadunath Sarkar is fully qualified to write the history of any period of the Mughal Empire in India does not require to be pointed out afresh. In two volumes, of which the work under notice is the first, he has attempted to tell the story of the fall of the Mughal Empire from the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739 to the British conquest of Delhi and keepership of the puppet but still legitimate Padishah in 1803, and his attempt has been entirely successful. The work is written in a simple and attractive style, and the interest of the story is throughout sustained. Prof. Sarkar is the first historian to attempt to synthesize the Persian, Marathi, English, French, Hindi, Rajasthani and Sanskrit sources relating to this period of Indian history, which preceded the British period. He is right in holding that this "our immediate historic past, while it resembles a tragedy in its course, is no less potent than a true tragedy to purge the soul by exciting pity and horror. Nor is it wanting in the keepest instruction for the present. The headlong decay of the age-old Muslim rule in India and the utter failure of the last Hindu attempt at empire-building by the new-sprung Marathas, are intimately linked together, and must be studied with accuracy of detail as to facts and penetrating analysis as to causes, if we wish to find out the true solutions of the problems of modern India and avoid the pitfalls of the past."

The paper, printing and binding of the book are excellent.

EVERYMAN'S DIARY, GHOSH'S DIARY (ENGLISH) in three styles and sizes, and GHOSH'S DIARY (BENGALI), for 1933. These are all published by M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta. They are neatly printed on good writing paper and, besides serving the purposes of diaries, contain much useful information.

BEHULA, AN INDIAN MYTH. *By Mrs. Sukhalata Rao. Illustrated with twelve water-colours by the authoress, reproduced in colours. With an Introduction by Rabindranath Tagore. Published by Karunabindu Biswas for U. Roy & Sons, 117-1 Bowbazar Street, Calcutta.*

The subject-matter of this book has been taken from Bengali books on Behula and the snake-goddess Manasa. It is well written and very neatly printed on good thick paper. The pictures by the authoress have been finely reproduced. As regards the story, Rabindranath Tagore writes in his introduction :

"Mrs. Sukhalata Rao has caught in the web of her story the spirit of the village epic of Bengal, Behula, which has sprung from the heart of our people and has lived in oral traditions and folk-lore, sung and performed by the local operatic troupes of this province. It gives us the picture of the ideal wife, her heroic sacrifice and conjures the atmosphere of home life in its humble majesty, touching simple hearts with the beauty and depth of its sentiments.

"I feel sure that this English version of the story will find a large and appreciative audience."

HINDUSTAN YEAR BOOK, 1933. *By S. C. Sarkar. M. C. Sarkar and Sons, 15, College Square, Calcutta.*

This book of 171 pages is a "yearly hand-book of facts, information and statistics, etc., of India and the world," published for the first time. It is accurate, generally speaking. But there may be a few inaccuracies here and there. For instance, on page 11 Muslims are said to number 209,020 000 in the world, but on page 13 the total Muhammadan population of the world is given as 259,333,000.

THE TIMES OF INDIA ANNUAL, 1933. *Price Rs. 2.*

It contains many stories and articles, and pictures in colours and monochrome. It is an interesting annual. The paper and printing are good. We note that Sir Harcourt Butler, with his "vast" experience of India, in describing the *Ram-lila* at Allahabad

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writes: "Finally came Rama and Lakshmi gloriously apparelled in green, yellow and red...."

The reader must not suppose that by Lakshmi the writer means Sita, who is worshipped by Hindus as an incarnation of the goddess Lakshmi. For, a few lines below the above-quoted sentence come the words, "then various canopies ending up with one for Sita, wife of Rama, sitting under an asokh (*sic*) tree." It would, of course, be quite easy to suppose that that humble scapegoat, the printer's devil, has substituted "Lakshmi" for "Lakshman." But it is equally likely that the great Sir Harcourt himself is responsible for the laughable mistake.

BARODA ADMINISTRATION REPORT, 1930-31.

As interesting and informative, with its coloured map and coloured and black and white charts and graphs in addition to the text, as the reports for previous years. Strong cloth-binding.

TRAVANCORE ADMINISTRATION REPORT, 1930-31. Coloured map, and many charts and graphs. An interesting and informative hand-book, bringing out the progressive character of the State.

BARODA CENSUS REPORT, 1931. *Part I—Report. By Satya Vrata Mukerjea.*

BHAVNAGAR CENSUS REPORT, 1931. *Part I—Report: Part II—Imperial and States Tables. By Ramanlal K. Trivedi.*

These volumes of the Census of India, 1931, which are the first to reach our hands, are those of two Indian States. They are both elaborate and worthily produced, and will have to be consulted occasionally for years. We congratulate the governments of these States and Messrs. Mukerjea and Trivedi on being among the first in the field without sacrificing the authoritative character of the reports.

THE HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS OF SOUTHERN INDIA (*collected till 1923*) *and Outlines of Political History. By Robert Sewell, Author of "A Forgotten Empire"; and Edited for the University of Madras by S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, M. A., Hony. Ph. D. Published, under orders of Government, by the University of Madras. Price Rs. 10 inland, 1 guinea foreign. With a map of South India.*

This book is the last work of the late Mr. Sewell, who was an authority on historical chronology. It takes into account all the important historical inscriptions, published up to 1923, bearing on the history of South India. It is a more or less exhaustive digest of these documents so far as they are of any historical or chronological value. We have in the body of the work a reliable chronological basis, and on that basis a considered abstract of historical matter contained in the inscriptions of South India. Mr. Sewell has brought his vast reading to bear upon the work and thrown important light upon various points. It will prove very useful to all students of South Indian history.

MAHATMA GANDHI: SKETCHES IN PEN, PENCIL AND BRUSH. *By Kanu Desai, with an Essay by Father Verrier Elwin. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.*

The first edition of this excellent work was noticed in the last March number of this *Review*. Nothing more need be added to the praise bestowed on this work in that notice.

PORTFOLIO OF WATER-COLOURS. *By K Desai. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.*

Mr. Kanu Desai's work as an artist is familiar readers of this *Review*. They will find in the pic reproduced in this portfolio much from which can derive pleasure and profit.

REALM OF LIGHT. *By Nicholas Roerich. Era Library. Roerich Museum Press, New Price Three Dollars. With the "Roerich Banner Peace" in colours.*

Nicholas Roerich is an artist of great distinc and an archaeologist, scientist, philosophic thi cultural leader and traveller to boot. He is a le exponent of the movement for international through culture. The message contained in this may well be summed up in the following wor his:

"You shall know that in *that* country, w Knowledge and Beauty will be reverenced, there be peace. Let all ministers of war not be offe if they have to concede their priority to the mini of public education. In spite of all homunculi spy from their holes, you shall fulfil your dutie great Culture and you shall be fortified by realization that only homunculi will remain as enemies. Nothing can be nobler than to have homunculi as your enemy. Nothing can be purer more elevating than the striving for the h country of Great Culture."

RED RUSSIA. *By Theodor Seibert. Tran by Eden and Cedar Paul. George Allen and U Ltd., London. 15s. net.*

For an indefinite period the Soviet Russian sy will probably control a quarter of the world, strongly influence another quarter, and will per be a thorn on the side of the remaining half. H it is necessary to have reliable information rel to this country. Much information of this descri is contained in this book. The author is a pra journalist and can hold the reader's attention. spent four years in Russia as representative of important German newspapers. Speaking Ru fluently, he was not under the necessity of he through the ears of interpreters, who might or not be trustworthy. He travelled widely, an had no axe to grind, being neither socialist anti-socialist, neither Marxian, nor anti-Marxian a shrewd observer, both independent and c His summing up is against the Bolshevik sy especially as it has developed since Lenin die Stalin rose to power; but he holds that in respects Bolshevism has transformed Russia effectively and more speedily than any other m could have done; and he has much that profound interest to say about the relations be Soviet Russia and the western world.

REVIEW OF RURAL WELFARE ACTIVI IN INDIA, 1932. *By C. F. Strickland, C. I. E. a preface by Sir Francis Younghusband and a word by Lady Irwin. Oxford University London. Price Re. 1.*

It is a booklet of 58 pages of small si professes to describe what Government, Chr missionary bodies, and indigenous non-official ag are doing to promote the welfare of Indian vil Though it cannot be said that the accou consistently unbiased throughout—Rabindranath T has shown in the last issue of this *Review* that

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not so far as Sriniketan is concerned—it will be of some use to village welfare workers.

WAR OR REVOLUTION. *By Georges Valois. Translated by E. W. Dickes. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. London. Price 6s. net.*

The thesis of this book is that society to-day is based on the right to make war, which is fundamentally the right of the strongest to take possession of the product of the labour of others. The present decade may find the world faced with the task of establishing a new warless order of society as the only way out of the present crisis. This must be the work of the producers, supported, not by force, but simply by a revolution in men's way of thinking. The author's conclusion that a civilization founded on labour is the end of war. "We shall," says he, "enter in this life into this new world, into this world in which labour will be the basis of all law. We shall do so with our mysticism which gives us the knowledge that the greatness of man can come only from labour ; and that labour, leading man from progress to progress and up to the highest liberation that he can know, will permit him one day to decipher the enigma of being and moving." We agree, taking labour to mean not merely physical labour but all kinds of useful endeavour.

MENCIUS. *Translated by Leonard A. Lyall, formerly of the Chinese Maritime Customs, Translator of "The Sayings of Confucius," "The Chung-yung, or the Centre, the Common." With coloured Frontispiece. Longmans, Green and Co., London, etc. 1932. Price 12-6 net.*

Mencius is perhaps the most interesting of the ancient Chinese philosophers to us moderns, for he wrote on questions which confront the whole world today. He called for peace and friendship among nations. He taught that lands are won by good government, not by war, and that government is founded on the home and on teaching every man to do his duty. In this book his words are translated into simple straightforward English. It is an elevating work.

KEMALIST TURKEY AND THE MIDDLE EAST. *By Dr. K. Kruger, Professor, College of Technology, Berlin—Charlottenburg. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Price 7-6 net.*

This book is an almost encyclopaedic, though short, study of modern Turkish nationalism in all its aspects, historical, economic, political and cultural, concluding with an able discussion of Turkey's past and prospective relations both with Europe and America, and with the whole Islamic world. The author describes also how the adoption of the Roman alphabet led to increased import of type-writers, with the consequent growth of a demand for shorthand typists, which has had its influence not only on business methods but on the employment, education and status of women.

THE SOLITARY WARRIOR: *New Letters by Ruskin. Edited by J. Howard Whitehouse. With seven plates, six being reproductions of unpublished drawings by Ruskin and one that of a portrait of his by Samuel Lawrence. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 7s 6d. net.*

This book contains a large number of letters by Ruskin, none of which has previously been published. They are of special importance and interest. Many belong to the middle period of his life and show the influence which produced *Fors clavigera.* They are full of vivid pictures and discuss intimately many fundamental problems.

THE MODERN ATTITUDE TO THE SEX PROBLEM. *By Kenneth Ingram. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London. 5s. net.*

Mr. Ingram thinks that the modern age has a serious contribution to make to the sex problem in at least two important respects. He analyses and criticizes some of the previous attitudes which have been adopted, as, for example, the Victorian and the popular religious standpoint. There are some persons who are disposed to think that the Free Love "gospel" is to some extent representative of modern thought. But Mr. Ingram gives his reasons for denying that this is so. He subjects Mr. Bertrand Russell's views on marriage and morals to justly trenchant criticism. He advances the interesting theory that, with the intellectual development of woman, the two sexes are becoming more alike, and that what he describes as a "bisexual" standpoint may emerge. We cannot of course support all his views.

LEISURE IN THE MODERN WORLD. *By C. Delisle Burns. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London. Price 8s. 6d.*

Certain modern social changes have tended to give leisure to some classes of men who did not in the past enjoy leisure. The results of such leisure have been important. The author describes these changes and results. His position is that we are going through the first stages of an entirely new kind of civilization, in which culture and the control of public policy will no longer be practically the monopoly of a leisured class." The cinema, the radio, the motor car—used by those who work for a living—tend towards social equality upon an entirely new basis. New ideals of character and of social intercourse are being developed. Social changes which are due to new mechanisms usually make "educated" or superior persons very angry. The resistance of old standards to new ideals is part of the subject-matter of this book.

HANDBOOK OF STUDY AND TRAVEL FOR INDIAN STUDENTS GOING ABROAD. *Compiled for International Student Service. By P. D. Runganadhan, B. A., Secretary (I.S.S.) for Indian Students Abroad. With an introduction by Harold J. Laski, M. A., Professor of Political Science in the University of London. Published for International Student Service, 13 Rue Calvin. Geneva, Switzerland, by Association Press, Y. M. C. A., 5 Russell Street, Calcutta.*

It is a very useful handbook. Prof. Laski says in his introduction that the compiler or author has "rendered an exceptionally useful service by compiling this little book. It contains information hardly accessible without much laborious searching through many university calendars which are not easily collected. My own experience of Indian students leads me to believe that if they will think over its advice very carefully, they will be much more likely to benefit by their experience of Europe and America than is otherwise possible."

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SPEECHES AND DOCUMENTS ON THE BRITISH DOMINIONS, 1918-1931: *From Self-Government to National Sovereignty. Edited with an introduction and notes by Arthur Berriedale Keith. Oxford University Press. Price 2s. net.*

This little book will be very useful to students of the constitutions of the British Dominions, journalists and other publicists. Dr. Keith's introduction of 33 pages is valuable. The existing constitution of the British Empire—to call it the British Commonwealth of Nations, is no consolation to Indians—is neither logical nor easily intelligible. The editor has tried to indicate opposing views by giving copious extracts, which also serve the purpose of showing the evolution of the Dominion constitutions. The Dominions have passed from self-government to the substance of national sovereignty, though they cannot as yet declare war or make peace. India has still to attain self-government.

GANDHI'S FAST: *Its cause and significance.* DISARMAMENT OR DISASTER? *Price one penny each.*

These are well-written pamphlets published by The No More War Movement, 11 Doughty Street, London, W. C. 1. They are well worth perusal.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PRINCIPLES OF CIVICS. *By Sudhir Kumar Lahiri and Benoyendranath Banerjee, M. A. The Book Company Ltd. 4-3A, College Square, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-12.*

This introductory book on civics is meant to give the Indian reader a clear grasp of problems relating to citizenship. The authors have succeeded in making it useful and interesting. The last two chapters, on education for citizenship and the civic ideal, are particularly stimulating and helpful. The conditions for good citizenship mentioned by the authors are indeed essential: "Unless the people of a state feel that the state is their own, and by the promotion of the objects of their commonwealth they promote their own good, and until the popular will is reflected in the government of the country, the active qualities of citizenship cannot possibly develop. Moreover, it is of vital importance that no disability that stands in the way of progress and development of individuals or groups of men, should be allowed to exist. As Woodrow Wilson says: 'Limit opportunity, restrict the field of originative achievement, and you have cut out the heart and root of all prosperity...Anything that depresses, anything that makes the organization greater than the man, anything that blocks, discourages, dismays the humble man is against all the principles of progress'." The passages from great authors quoted at the top of each chapter are very well chosen and are politically inspiring.

SOME SECRETS OF STYLE. *By Henry Bett, M. A. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Price 7s. 6d.*

Some of the more important factors in English style, such as sound, meaning, derivation, position, emphasis and movement, have been described in an interesting manner in this book. Text-books of prosody and phonetics are apt to bore their unwilling readers by dry technicalities. The author has, therefore, been wise in treating of his subjects in a popular way. He has given many illustrative quotations from the great English writers, and some effective examples of transcription from one style in another. Those who are really interested in literature will find something here to instruct and amuse, and the book would be a valuable guide to young writers.

A STUDY IN CREATIVE HISTORY: *The Interaction of the Eastern and Western Peoples to 500 B. C. By O. E. Burton, M. A. (N. Z.) George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London. Price 10s. 6d. net.*

This book is a study of the interweaving of national expressions, which go to the making of international life, in the whole of the known world up to 500 B. C. The date 500 B. C. selected as the end of an era cannot of course be rigidly adhered to over such a wide field, but, in the opinion of the author, in the two cases Buddhism and Confucianism where the mark has been overstepped by perhaps fifty years, the freedom taken does not make for any confusion.

The author has considered history as the interaction of the Eastern and Western peoples. He has aimed at producing a work which will enable the serious reader to get a reasonably clear comprehension of the main movements of thought as they emerge clearly into history. In his opinion the outstanding developments prior to 500 B. C. were the emergence of the Prophetic school in Israel, of Mazdaism in Persia, of Brahmanism and, subsequently, Buddhism in India, and of Confucianism in China. He has covered a wide field, and has collected data from many sources. He has also given interesting studies of the various religions and religious systems of ancient times as well as quotations from actual source-documents.

THE LIFE OF A MOGUL PRINCESS—JAHANARA BEGUM, *Daughter of Shahjahan. By Andrea Butenschon. With an Introduction by Laurence Binyon. George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., London. Price 10s. 6d. net. 26 Illustrations.*

The story is connected with the closing years of Shahjahan when his sons, whom he had sent to rule over distant provinces for fear of their ambition, rose against him and against each other. The authoress plunges into the heart of this crisis. By choosing the tragic story of Jahanara, a daughter of Shahjahan, she is able to picture to us the succession of terrible events from within. Unable to take an active part in them, the Mughal Princess witnesses all and suffers most from her secret passion. The authoress communicates to the reader the storms that shake the heart of her heroine, sensitive alike to the beauty of things and persons, to physical and mental agitation, to the glory of the race from which she comes and the ancient grandeur of the land she now belongs to. Above all, the reader is made to feel the terrible power of a cold, unscrupulous will, as Aurangzib, throwing off the mask of subservience, advances step by step over the bodies of his brothers, to seize his father's throne.

The illustrations, which are all fine, are meant to throw light on certain points in the book and to convey to the reader some idea of the surroundings and the atmosphere in which the Princess moved.

INDIA IN TRANSITION. *By D. Graham Pole. The Hogarth Press, 52 Tavistock Square, London. 8s. 6d. net*

Major Graham Pole has as intimate a knowledge of India as stay-at-home Englishmen can possibly [illegible]. He is Vice-Chairman and Honorary Secretary

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of the British Committee on Indian and Burman Affairs. He was a member of the Burma Round Table Conference, and is the author of *I Refer to India*. He is a regular contributor to *New India*. In the work under notice he has written a historical survey of recent political events and has added a survey of the more important economic and social conditions. It should be of great value to those who want a straightforward account of the events which have led up to the so-called Round Table Conferences.

THE NEW BOER WAR. *By Leonard Barnes. The Hogarth Press, 52 Tavistock Square, London. 7s. 6d. net.*

The author explains in the preface that the term "Boer" in the title, which strictly means "farmer" and no more, is not used with any special connotation of race; nor is the term "Afrikaner" so used in the text. According to him, the enemy of British native policy in Africa is not merely the Dutch-speaking South African, but the Dutch-speaking South African reinforced by the bulk of the European settler class, of whatever race, throughout British Africa. The "war" of which the author speaks is thus in no sense a racial one. Indeed, many men of British stock are among the determined votaries of what he has called "Africanerism." His book is an attempt to show what the people and the Government of Great Britain might still do to avert the crisis in the relations between the black and the white races towards which events in South Africa are rapidly moving. It gives a detailed description of conditions in the Protectorates for which the British Government is responsible, discusses their bearings on native policy in Africa generally, and suggests lines on which improvement might take place.

ENTERTAINING GANDHI. *By Muriel Lester. Iror Nicholson and Watson Ltd., 44 Essex Street, London. Price 5s. net.*

The name of the book indicates its subject-matter. The scene of the book is laid in the heart of East London. Before proceeding to London to take part in the second so-called Round Table Conference, Mr. Gandhi had written, "When I come to London, I want to stay with the same sort of people as those to whom I've given my life here." So he stayed at Kingsley Hall, and the people of the East End of London opened houses and heart to him. Navvies and dockeies, factory girls and unemployed walk unconcernedly in these pages—as well as such people as Tolstoi's daughter, Charlie Chaplin, and the Princess of Italy and Romain Rolland. The book gives a good idea of how Mahatma Gandhi spent his time in London and what impression he made on the common people there. It also conveys a clear impression of what the *Ashram* at Kingsley Hall is like. An interesting and elevating work.

TRUTH ABOUT INDIA. *Can We Get It? By Verrier Elwin. With a preface by Laurence Housman. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London. 1s. net.*

Father Elwin has written this book to show people in Britain how the present situation appears in India. He reveals many things that have happened in recent months that are not generally known in Great Britain The book is a powerful, generous hearted appeal to the British public to face their responsibilities.

MAHATMA GANDHI AND INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ. *With a Foreword by Ramananda Chatterjee. Edited by B. Sen Gupta and R. Choudhury. Modern Book Agency, 10 College Square, Calcutta. Second Edition. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The first edition of this book was favourably noticed in this *Review*. The second is a generally revised, considerably enlarged, and partly re-arranged edition. A conspectus of India's efforts towards Swaraj from the eighties of the last century has been added in order to show the historical background of the present struggle. A few illustrations also have been added.

X

ESSAYS IN ORDER. No. 1. *Religion and Culture by Jacques Maritain; No. 2. Crisis in the West by Peter West; No. 3. Christianity and the New Age by C. Dawson; No. 4. The Bow in the Clouds by E. I. Watkin; No. 5. The Necessity of Politics by Carl Schmidt; No. 6. The Russian Revolution by Nicholas Berdyaev; No. 7. The Drift of Democracy by M. de la Bedoyere.*

The purpose of this series is lucidly explained by Christopher Dawson in the introduction to the first volume. Starting from the chaos that prevails in the intellectual and moral spheres of life in the contemporary life of Europe, the authors endeavour to bring unity and order to a distracted world. "The disorder of the modern world," we are told, "is due either to a denial of the existence of spiritual reality or to the attempt to treat the spiritual order and the business of everyday life as two independent worlds which have no mutual relations." All are agreed that order must be restored, that life as a whole must be organized but the principle on which this organization should proceed is not a matter of agreement. While some maintain that the order to be restored shall be exclusively a material one, others claim that the order must also be spiritual. There seems to be little possibility of restoring order on premises of materialistic implications. "Our confidence in material order is diminishing in proportion to our loss of faith in nineteenth-century ideals" (pp. 17). "The attempt of the nineteenth century to prescribe ideals in literature and ethics, while refusing to admit the objective existence of a spiritual order, has ended in failure, and to-day we have to choose between expulsion of the spiritual element from human life or its recognition as the very foundation of reality." In rehabilitating this faith in the spiritual element as the foundation of reality and as the requirement for the restoration of order, the Catholic tradition has a valuable contribution to make and this series is planned with the purpose of setting forth the implications of this tradition.

The series is well arranged. It includes authors of various nationalities, thus testifying to the Catholic character of the enterprise. The volumes we have before us are well written. The style is attractive. Readers will find in these volumes the Catholic point of view lucidly stated.

ST. IGNATIUS: *By Christopher Hollis, London. Sheed and Ward. 1931. Pages 287.*

To the many biographies of the founder of the Jesuit order, the present one is added on the justification that it is a psychological inquiry into the source, and springs of action which constitute the life of the man 'Ignatius.' "An essay in interpretative biography some might call this book" (page 5). "My

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interest is a psychological rather than a historical problem" (page 2).

The author admits that the historical work has been done to perfection by the great historians of the Society. He pursues a different objective. "The fundamental life of St. Ignatius was his spiritual life. It is true that the living of this spiritual life forced him into contact with the political problems of his day and that he there showed himself possessed of a capacity which places him in the very first rank of European statesmen, but these gifts which put him into the company of Richelieu and of Chatham were the least of his gifts" (page 3).

As ambition is the spring of action in some people, and craving for money the urge of life in others, the love of God was the dominating desire of Ignatius' life. "That he founded the Society, that he was almost the rebuilder of Europe—these in the life of such a man were but secondary things" (page 285). "The first truth about St. Ignatius is that he was in love with God. Not until that first truth is understood can any of the further truths about him be properly comprehended" (page 284). "The energy of the saints has left everywhere its dents upon the world." This saying of Francis Thompson is well applied to St. Ignatius. Let us remember his greatness as an organizer and as a ruler of the men, but let us remember how small he thought those gifts, how small indeed they were in comparison with his greatness as a lover—sicut palea, like chaff" (page 285).

Within the limited scope of the inquiry, the book makes fascinating reading but in vain would the reader look for an objective valuation of the life and work of St. Ignatius. The author is contented to point out that his work was the outcome of a dominating desire to love of God.

P. G. BRIDGE

TEN YEARS OF TYRANNY IN ITALY. *By Pietro Nenni. Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd. Pp. 218.*

The book is an attempt at giving us an idea of the political conditions of Italy during the immediate post-war years,—the internal chaos in the country which ultimately gave birth to and brought within our ken the star of Fascism.

Apart from the introduction which narrates the fact that entitles the author to write the volume, the book is divided into eight chapters, covering nearly 200 pages, which are as follows :—1. Mussolini the Red, 2. The Disturbances of the post-war Period, 3. The Occupation of the Factories, 4. The Socialist Crisis, 5. The Fascist march on Rome, 6. The Matteotti Case, 7. Mussolini's 'Second of December,' 8. A General Survey of Fascist Italy. At the end there is an epilogue containing the author's open letter to his readers.

The book falls in with the other books of its kind written by those members of the disbanded Socialist party of Italy who, living in exile in various parts of Europe, particularly Switzerland and London, are trying to get back that power and control over the destiny of their nation, which, but for their own mistakes and lack of courage, would have been theirs.

The author himself recognizes this fact when he says : "I have pointed out on the evidence of facts the fate which inevitably overtakes the political parties when they allow themselves to be diverted from the path of action to that of academic discussion."

The author was an active worker of the Socia party and as such he has been able to present with an account of the march of events in th troublesome days which is at once lively and illumi ting, all the more so because of the anecdotes a conversations which he has introduced in the mi of his narrative. But the party-bias of the wr is rather strongly apparent on many pages of t book and hence, in spite of the evidence of facts which he speaks, it is robbed of much of its va as a criticism of the Fascist movement as a whole.

Moreover, the author has minced certain matt and purposely suppressed those incidents which wo indicate the blemishes in the conduct of the Itali Socialist party. He has laid emphasis on the crim committed by the Fascists but he conceals the f that Fascist acts of violence were often provok by the Socialist acts of violence, nor do we think th he is likely to win the sympathy of his readers asserting that the position which Mussolini occup today in Italy is due to no merit of his own.

The author's general survey of Fascist Italy is wilful misrepresentation of facts. No matter wheth we like or dislike Mussolini and his Governme the fact is there that under the Fascist regime the is an appreciable increase of the national efficien of the Italians, and to try to belittle the real achie ments of Fascism in power is nothing but absolu jobbery.

One word about the name of the book. The ti in the original is "guerre civile en Italie." What c be the intention of the translator in giving t name which the book bears in the translation ?

P. RAY

THE INDIAN FEDERATION. *By B. Sarma, M.A., Ph.D. Upper India Publishing Ho Ltd., Lucknow. Price Rs. 10.*

This book is neither a handbook nor serious contribution to political science. It w not appeal to the general public because attempts at being a serious and detailed study places and it will not appeal to the scholars becau it is too elementary in all other aspects. The bo including the index, covers 395 pages, and is divi into two parts. The first part is devoted to appreciation of the theory of federalism and t author has taken 120 pages of the book to this e The treatment of this portion is absolutely eleme ary. There is not a single paragraph the conte of which are not already well-known to the stude of even the under-graduate classes. If such discussion was at all required, the author sho have boiled down his ideas and thoughts to twe five to thirty pages. He has not been justified any account to take so much space only by of refreshing the memory of his readers.

In the second part he discusses the possibility applying the principles of federalism to Indian c ditions. He begins with an introduction w covers more than fifty pages of the book. introduction to be useful should have been short compact. It should have drawn out into clear r the interplay of unifying and separatist force Indian history. But the introduction appe under the caption "The Historical Background" is long disjointed chapter. It merely lays down s commonplace facts of Indian history without attempt being made at an evaluation of their portance and significance. The portion that d

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with the financial aspect is a mere summary of Dr. Ambedkar's book on the evolution of provincial finance in India. In the chapters which follow, the writer has tried to discuss the constitutional problems of India in all their aspects. In so doing he has introduced into the book topics which have at best only a distant bearing on the subject with which he is mainly concerned. He professes to be an idealist in communal matters, but all the same he goes out of his way to embody in his book long discussions on the communal question which do not fit in at all with the scope of the work under review.

The arrangement of the book is the most disappointing thing in it. It is of a discursive nature. As one goes through one chapter after another, one feels that the writer has read a good deal on the federal constitutions as they are being worked abroad. But he does not seem to have found time to think over the materials that he has collected. Lord Bryce once complained that people read too much and thought too little. The present book illustrates very aptly the evil consequence of that habit.

KAUTILYA

AKSARA: *A forgotten chapter in the History of Indian Philosophy. By P. M. Modi, M. A., Ph. D., Samaldas College, Bhavnagar.*

This is a dissertation for the doctor's degree in the University of Kiel. In it the author claims that the term *Aksara*, so frequently found in Indian thought, stood for a philosophical doctrine which has been much obscured, if not entirely forgotten, by subsequent writers. His suggestion is that the word *Aksara*, in the Gita, the Upanisads, the Brahmasutras and the Mahabharata has been wrongly explained in a variety of senses by Indian commentators. The term had acquired a technical meaning almost from the beginning. And it was ignorance of this original meaning that led later commentators to introduce such ambiguity and looseness in its interpretation. Dr. Modi seeks to ascertain this forgotten meaning by the examination of an array of texts.

It seems doubtful, however, if he will succeed in persuading many Sanskritists to accept his meaning. When, for instance, he contends that 'the word *Pradhana* is consistently used for *Purusa*' (p. 97) he probably claims too much. He refers to the Mahabharata, xiv. 19. 47-49, among other passages, in support of this contention. Nilakantha, the commentator of the Mahabharata, does not accept this meaning and it is not evident that Dr. Modi's is the only possible interpretation. And the meaning that he attributes to *Aksara, viz.*, that it is 'the ruled' 'the *maya*,' 'the *dharma*' (p. 14) or that it is 'the animate Nature' (p. 15), also requires more evidence than he has given.

Want of space forbids us to go into a detailed examination of his arguments and of the passages referred to by him. After all, the settling of the meaning of a particular word, however, important does not give us a new philosophy. And the book is a criticism of certain texts rather than the enunciation of a systematic philosophic doctrine. Still the comments are suggestive and deserve notice.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

BOLSHEVISM, THEORY AND PRACTICE—*Waldemar Gurian, pp. 402, price 10-6. Sheed and Ward.*

There are a great many books on the U. S. S. R., some good, some bad, and many indifferent, but there are very few which are so well worth the trouble of reading as Dr. Gurian's. Dr. Gurian is a comparatively young man, having been born in Leningrad in 1902, and it is to be hoped that he will be able to maintain the high standard he has attained in this book in his future publications.

Dr. Gurian first of all states the psychological and social background of Bolshevism, then its early history, and what are the ideals at which it aims. Finally Dr. Gurian contrasts the Bolshevist doctrine with the religious ideal, showing clearly the points both of agreement and difference.

It is a truism to point out that only greatness arouses opposition, and the success of Bolshevism is shown by the hatred and fear with which it is regarded by certain peoples and Governments of Europe. Such people, however, are apt to forget, that merely proclaiming that a thing is wrong will only convince those who are already convinced. Before one can successfully attack any idea or movement one must first study to find out what it is exactly that one wishes to destroy. "It is impossible to understand Bolshevism without knowing its philosophy. No doubt its success and the practical results of that philosophy have been closely bound up with particular historical and social conditions. But their philosophy is not simply the result of these, the expression and justification of a change in the classes governing Russia. On the contrary, it has to a very large extent determined the external development" (p. 206). This is a book then, that can hardly be too strongly recommended to those who wish to understand the implications of Bolshevism, and should be read both by those who agree with the Russian experiment, and also by those who disagree.

THE MAKING OF EUROPE: *Christopher Dawson, pp. 320, with illustrations. Sheed and Ward, 15s.*

There exists today a school of young Roman Catholic writers whose books are always worth reading whether one agrees with their contentions or not. The two best known writers of this particular type are Jacques Maritain, and Christopher Dawson. They may lack the dogmatic brilliance and invective which charactizes the outbursts of G. K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc, but their books are, as a rule, far more worth studying. The underlying theme of all their writings is that the cure for the present disorders is a return to the "good old days" of Europe before the Reformation. The idea is not blatantly trumpeted forth, but it is the inevitable conclusion to which their books would lead.

In the present case the author attempts a sort of study in social biology, in which he shows the origin and growth of a cultural organism, and he has chosen for his period one of the most neglected periods in European history, namely the interval between the fourth and the eleventh centuries. He shows that despite the apparent confusion and emptiness, the period witnessed the growth of European unity. It is an interesting theme, and has been dealt with in an interesting manner, but what would be still more interesting is the working out of the implications contained in the idea in connection with the present state of affairs in Asia.

CHRISTOPHER ACKROYD

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OTTAWA TRADE AGREEMENT

By NALINI RANJAN SARKAR

THE Trade Agreements negotiated at Ottawa constitute an economic event of great magnitude and importance. To characterize them as marking the adoption by a few countries of the British Empire of a new tariff policy is almost to miss their entire significance. They have introduced into the course of international trade a cross current of some strength and influence. They will cause great changes in the direction of world trade and bring about an economic re-grouping of countries and most probably also a re-shuffling of world tariffs. They will possibly set in motion new economic currents whose direction and effects cannot even be anticipated.

The decisions of Ottawa cannot be viewed in isolation. Forming as it does an important organized economic unit of the world, such a fundamental change in the fiscal policy of the British Empire as is proposed by the Ottawa Conference is bound to have striking consequences on world trade. The most characteristic feature of the depressing times through which we are passing, and likewise its most dangerous aspect, is the contraction in world trade estimated not only in money values but also in volume. If we admit that a revival of the dried-up channels of international trade is essential for the recovery of the world, the ultimate test of the success or failure of the Conference is whether the trade of the world is likely to expand as a result of the deliberations at Ottawa, and whether it will facilitate and increase the mass of profitable interchange of commodities. I have read a lot of claims made on behalf of the Conference by its protagonists and supporters, but not one business man, economist or statesman of repute has so far claimed that the Trade Agreements signed at Ottawa will contribute to an increase in world trade. It seems to me that the failure to take a larger view of world conditions, needs and problems is the cause of the tragic economic misdirection of Ottawa. It difficult to see how mere changes and adju ments in existing tariffs of a group countries can achieve an increase in the to volume of world trade. By quotas a preference it may be possible to incre trade between members of the Empire diverting it from foreign countries. T reactions to it are obvious. If Emp countries reduce their purchases from no Empire countries the ability of these latt to buy from the Empire is thereby reduc Gains within the Empire are most likely be offset by losses outside the Empire. It the volume, not the direction of trade, whi is ultimately accountable for econo progress. Viewed from this angle Otta certainly cannot be considered to have ev attempted to make the possibilities of wor revival brighter.

On the contrary, there are positi reasons to believe that the results of Otta may constitute a strong hindrance in t path of economic recovery. It is universa admitted that one of the chief causes of t present shrinkage in world trade is restrictions imposed upon the internatio movement of goods by tariff barriers. imposing fresh restrictions and heighten existing tariffs the Ottawa Conference aggravated the situation instead of easing The tariff index of the world is higher to- than it was in August last on account of Ottawa impositions. Other countries certainly resent the preferences in some ca and may even translate their resentment i action. People who minimize the possibi of retaliation are perhaps not aware of diverse ways in which imports from a cer country can be hindered without actu imposing tariffs.

There is yet another important consid tion that is generally overlooked by supporters of the Agreement. The productive capacity of the world is fa

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excess of the effective demand. This fact is greatly responsible for the destructive competition in export markets. Imperial Preference may possibly succeed in displacing the commodities of certain non-Empire countries from Empire markets. Their place may now be occupied by products from Empire sources. What will be the result? Having lost the Empire markets the non-Empire producers of such commodities will be forced to concentrate more strongly upon the foreign markets. Let us take the example of linseed. It may be possible with the help of the new preference to capture a part of the British market from Argentine. On account of that very fact Argentine will be forced to sell more intensely in non-Empire markets, where Indian linseed may either lose quantitatively or in price, perhaps in both If that happens the benefits of preference will be completely wiped off, and I think it will happen, for two reasons. It is hardly likely that Argentine will restrict production until she has tried every possible means of maintaining her trade. She will most probably sell right down to her cost of production before she decides to abandon a market or restrict production. In the second place, if we assume that the real cost of production in India and Argentine is the same, the former has some advantage in freight in selling to the U. S. A. and West European countries. This advantage will certainly be fully used by her in increasing her trade with these countries to offset the possible loss in the British market. Therefore in proportion to the intensification of competition in non-Empire markets as a result of the exclusion of foreign commodities from Empire markets countries like India who have to sell over 2/3 of their exports in non-Empire countries, will have to face diminution of their trade with non-Empire countries or a reduction in price, if the demand is relatively elastic.

The new duties have introduced a certain amount of inflexibility and rigidity in our fiscal system and have destroyed for all practical purposes the possibility of entering into tariff agreements with other countries. It would not be difficult to establish that some Indian commodities may benefit from an offer of tariff preference from a non-Empire foreign country. Even so it would be practically impossible for this country to accept it or take advantage of it because she would not be able to offer anything in return unless she breaks the Ottawa Agreement. We have lost more or less completely our bargaining freedom at Ottawa. The new duties have destroyed the possibility of entering into closer trade relationship with friendly customers like Japan, the U. S. A., Belgium, Germany, etc.

A proper appraisal of the benefits of the Indo-British Trade Agreement requires a statistical examination of the direction of our trade. In the total trade of India the most significant fact is the diminishing importance of the United Kingdom and the Empire and the increasing importance of non-Empire foreign countries. Our trade relations with the Empire have been declining and those with other foreign countries have been growing.

VALUE OF MERCHANDISE (EXPORT TRADE)

In Crores of Rs.

	Pre-War average	Post-War average	1928-29	1929-30	1930-31	1931-32
United Kingdom	56.3	73.04	72.4	69.6	54.2	45.3
British Empire	92.1	125.1	119.9	114.6	89.5	71.5
Other Foreign Countries	132 0	176.9	218.0	203.3	136.2	89.1
Grand Total—	224.1	302.0	337.9	317.9	·225.7	160.5

VALUE OF MERCHANDISE (IMPORT TRADE)

In Crores of Rs.

United Kingdom	91.6	146.4	113.2	103.1	61.3	44.8
British Empire	101.5	165.5	136.6	124.5	76.0	56.7
Other Foreign Countries	44.3	88.5	116.7	116.3	88.8	69.7
Grand Total—	145.8	254.0	253.3	240.8	164.8	126.4

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Percentage Shares in India's Trade

Exports.

	Pre-War average	Post-War average	1928-29	1929-30	1930-31	1931-32
United Kingdom	25.1	24.2	21.4	21.8	24.0	28.2
British Empire	41.1	41.4	35.5	36.0	39.6	44.5
Other Foreign Countries	58.9	58.6	64.5	64.0	60.4	55.5
Grand Total—	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Imports

United Kingdom	62.8	57.6	44.7	42.8	37.2	35.5
British Empire	69.7	65.2	54.1	51.7	46.1	44.8
Other Foreign Countries	30.3	34.8	45.9	48.3	53.9	55.2
Grand Total—	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The main feature of India's foreign trade as revealed by these figures is the tendency to import a larger proportion from, and to export a larger proportion to, other foreign countries. India's exports of merchandise to the U. K. have been steadily declining after the War, especially during the three years 1928-31. In the year 1930-31 whereas the U. K. purchased only 24.0 per cent of our total exports, non-Empire foreign countries purchased as much as 60.4 per cent. The following table of the percentage shares of the principal countries in the total merchandise trade of India forcibly illustrates the direction in which it has developed.

	Pre-War average	Post-War average	1928-29	1929-30	1930-31	1931-32
United Kingdom	40.0	39.5	31.4	30.9	29.6	31.4
British Empire	52.3	52.3	43.4	42.5	42.4	44.7
Other Foreign Countries	47.7	47.7	56.6	57.5	57.6	55.3

The share of the United Kingdom in the total trade of India has been steadily declining after the War, whereas the share of other foreign countries has been increasing. Economically the United Kingdom and the Empire count far less than before the War. Compared with the pre-war year 1913-14 imports from Britain declined by about 29 p. c. in 1931-32 in spite of the fact that India granted her substantial preferential duties in iron and steel after that date.

Exports : Private Merchandise

Value and Percentage.

Value in Crores of Rs.

	1913-14		1929-30		1930-31		1931-32	
	Value	Percentage	Value	Percentage	Value	Percentage	Value	Percentage
United Kingdom	58	23.4	69	21.8	54	24.0	45	28.2
British Empire	94	38	114	36	90	40	72	44.5
Other Foreign Countries	155	62	204	64	136	60	89	55.5
Grand Total—	249	...	318	...	226	...	161	...

It is evident from these figures that non-British markets are more valuable than British market. The new duties would discriminate against a large group of countries which together not only buy a larger porportion of our exports, but have always bought from India more than they have sold to India. We are discriminating against this important group of customers who return to us more than they receive from us, in favour of a country that has until 1931-32 sold to India more than she has bought from India. To call this a method of extending India's export trade is a gross perversion of economic facts.

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BALANCE OF INDIAN MERCHANDISE TRADE WITH VARIOUS COUNTRIES

	Imports from		Exports to		Net Balance	
	1930-31	1931-32	1930-31	1931-32	1930-31	1931-32
U. K.	61.29	44.81	54.23	45.33	−7.06	.52
Germany	12.38	10.20	14.23	10.09	1.85	−.11
Japan	14.51	13.34	23.87	14.03	9.36	.69
U. S. A.	15.12	12.84	21.14	14 29	6.02	1.45
Italy	4.51	3.59	7.93	5.50	3.42	1.91
Belgium	4.67	3.02	7.57	4.47	2.90	1.45
France	2.89	2.17	11.17	7.72	8.28	5.55

It is noteworthy that among this group of India's foreign customers the U. K. was the only country that bought from India less than she sold to India. For the first time her purchases from India exceeded her sales to India in 1931-32. This was entirely due to the boycott of British goods. If that were relaxed the position would be immediately reversed. But even in 1931-32 India's favourable balance was much larger in the case of France, Belgium, Italy, U. S. A. and Japan. To select for tariff discrimination those who buy more from us than they sell to us can hardly be called economic wisdom. To do so in the name of trade expansion is mere economic cant. In the long run such a policy will involve loss of markets and trade. It will drive these friendly customers away from us. If we decline to buy from them and shut out their goods by fiscal discrimination they will decline to buy from us. The new duties will weaken our trade with the absolutely larger and faster developing non-British markets for the sake of problematic expansion in the British market which is not only smaller today, but is also shrinking relatively as time goes on. The new tariff changes run right in the face of the well-known trend of our foreign trade development.

We will now make a rapid survey of the commodities in which India will receive preference in Britain. In commodities like groundnut, rice, goat skins, manures etc., our total exports to all countries are much greater than the total imports of Britain from all countries. Even if as a result of the preference India were able to capture the entire British market (a highly problematic eventuality) she would still have to seek non-British foreign markets for the larger part of her products. In these markets Indian products will meet with keener competition from foreign countries whose products have been excluded from Britain. Under these circumstances it is certain that on account of the natural competition among Indian producers they will not get anything more for their exports to Britain than they will get for what they sell outside. All that preference can do for this group of commodities is to render the competition from foreign countries less severe in the British market; but that very fact would intensify their competition in the neutral market where we shall either lose quantitatively or in the price, perhaps in both. Again, by keeping out of the imperial tariff ring we no not stand to lose much in this group of commodities. In some of them India has a monopoly (jute, shellac, myrobalans), while in others she enjoys a preponderating position among Empire producers. Exclusion of India would raise the price of these important raw materials, and Britain is not likely to do so.

There is another group of commodities in which total British imports exceed by far the total exports from India. Examples are coir, tanned hides and skins, tea, linseed, pig lead, cotton manufactures. There are apparently large possibilities of expansion in the British market for our exports of these commodities. But the chances are that this expansion will be achieved rather by the diversion of trade from neutral markets than by an absolute increase in exports. Considering that in tanned hides and skins the Empire is already supplying 78 p. c. of the imports of the U. K. and that India's exports to the U. K. form 73 p. c. of the total imports to the U. K. and 89 p. c. of the total exports of India the possibility of expansion is extremely limited. We are probably supplying to the U. K. as much as we can, and preference cannot secure any appreciable increase in our sales.

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In linseed, although Britain probably made a sacrifice when she agreed to discriminate against Argentine, its actual value to India under the existing circumstances is not so considerable. Argentine is a formidable competitor. Her production and trade in linseed have been expanding more rapidly than those of India. In freight rates she has an advantage over us. Everything considered, a 10 p. c. preference does not appear adequate to overcome the competition from Argentine and to ensure a larger market in Britain.

Britain is an important market for Indian tea, but in recent years Java tea has been able to displace Indian and Ceylon tea to an appreciable extent. But as the British market has reached the maximum consuming capacity, therefore if anyone of the suppliers is to improve its position it must be at the expense of the others. It is certain India cannot improve her position at the expense of Ceylon, because during the past years even against the competition from Java, Ceylon lost comparatively less, whereas India lost heavily. It is significant that between June 1919, and May 1924, when the preference was 2d. per lb. in the first three years and 1½d. in the last two years, imports from India and Ceylon declined, while those from Java increased. It does not therefore seem very likely that the new rate of preference 2d. per lb. will enable the Indian tea to fully overcome the competition from Java. Moreover, Ceylon, a big producer and a strong competitor, will be enjoying the same preference. When you consider that between 1924 and 1929 when competition from Java began to be felt Ceylon actually improved her position in the U. K. while India was losing slowly, it is almost certain that any small gains at the expense of Java under the new duties will go to Ceylon and not to India. Although the preference may not positively cause an actual expansion in the British market for Indian tea, the absence of it, it must be admitted, will, in the long run, diminish our sales to Britain. To that extent the preference is of value. But in view of the fact that about 85 per cent of the capital invested in the Indian tea industry is reported to be British it would not be correct to say that India will enjoy the full benefit of the preference. The larger proportion of it would go to Britain herself in the form of dividends.

The British preference for Empire is really valuable, but India cannot take much advantage of it, at least for some time because she grows very little of cigarette tobacco that is gaining favour in Britain whereas other Empire countries, especially Rhodesia and Nyasaland, have made vast strides in the production of this particular type of tobacco. When you consider further that India's exports of tobacco amount to about 1 per cent of her production it is evident that she cannot suffer much loss by standing out of the imperial tariff ring.

The preference for wheat is also what I may call a dud preference from India's point of view. An export trade is not necessary for our wheat, because during the last 3 years India has been a net importer of wheat. Secondly, it is not desirable to encourage export of wheat in the absence of a pronounced net exportable surplus. Lastly, competition from other parts of the Empire like Canada and Australia is so keen that the preference would be practically valueless. Canada, who supplies about 70 per cent of Empire wheat imported into Britain, is far more advantageously placed from the point of view of freight, and to her will go most of the benefits of the preference.

On the imports side the preferences that have been given to Britain will lead to a rise in prices and impose a fairly heavy burden upon the mass of Indian consumers. For a long time to come Britain will not be able to replace completely other suppliers and until then (if it ever will be) the Indian consumer will have to pay more, because in most cases the price of Indian imports from Britain will be higher than the world price. The relative high level of prices in Britain and the comparative inelasticity of the British wage system (not to speak of the relative inelasticity of her entire economic organization) does not encourage us to hope that ultimately prices will be reduced and the burden upon Indian consumers lifted, but rather leads one to conclude that the burden is likely to be more or less permanent.

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Let us examine a few specific commodities:

Metals—Preference of 10 per cent has been given by raising the standard rate of duty by 5 per cent and reducing the duty on materials of British origin by 5 per cent. Copper, brass and aluminium are of such universal use that the new duties would raise the price for the mass of poor Indian peasants. The peculiar conditions existing in the Indian aluminium utensils manufacturing industry are such that the new duties will be a serious handicap. The British and Canadian owned factories in India will be at a distinct advantage over the Indian-owned factories. These latter will now be forced to obtain their raw materials from their competitors.

In the case of chemicals a partial increase in the duty on non-British goods is bound to raise prices, because under existing conditions a large proportion of India's requirements will have to be imported from non-British foreign countries. In 1931-32 it was 45 p. c. The rise in prices will increase the cost of production of many new Indian industries using imported chemicals. Increased price for chemicals would also seriously hamper scientific advancement.

The standard rate of duty on toilet soaps and toilet requisites has been raised in order to give British goods a preference, and hence a rise in prices in these commodities also is inevitable. The great mass of Indian consumers is poor. Their meagre incomes have already been seriously reduced by the heavy fall in the price of their agricultural production, and are already bearing the burden of a policy of protection. The new duties will inflict upon them an additional burden which they can hardly bear.

Imperial Preference is open to serious objection from another point of view. Economically India is unduly dependent upon Britain, a dependence which has helped to stifflle our development in commerce, industry and banking and to intensify our political subjection. We should not forget so soon the great economic lesson taught by the War—the undesirability and positive danger of too great a dependence upon any one country either as a market for our goods or as a source of our imports. A wise nation should not put all its trade eggs in one basket. It is economically unhealthy to check the growing diversity of our foreign trade. India needs a more balanced distribution of her international trade. India is predominantly a producer of primary products which are subject to relatively wide variations in volume from year to year. So are most other parts of the Empire. A heavy crop in any one year might so overburden Empire markets that prices would collapse more seriously than if foreign markets were available to absorb at least some of the surplus production. The weight of economic evidence points to the fact that crises are more likely to arise and to be of greater intensity in restricted than in extensive markets.

By penalizing the trade of such pre-eminent industrial nations like Germany, the U. S. A. and Japan, India would be depriving herself of the active stimulus of intimate trade contacts with their superior industrial technique and methods—a stimulus which this country so sorely needs. Tariff discrimination against their goods will indirectly hinder India's full economic development and bring about a partial economic isolation.

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UNITY

By R. V. M. G. RAMARAU
Yuvaraja of Pithapuram

THERE can be no general prosperity in an age of bitterness and chaos. Therefore, it is the bounden duty of every Indian to contribute his mite to the removal of misunderstandings and hatred and the creation of a united India—an aid, not a menace, to the much-hoped-for international peace and solidarity.

The most fundamental and important factor for the attainment of national unity is the recognition of the truth that, underlying apparent differences, there is essential unity among all the people, irrespective of caste or creed or race, and the individual has no significance apart from the rest of society. Any attempt at the unification of the country is sure to prove futile, unless the various parties possess mutual confidence and sincerity of heart. Suspicion should have no place; and the various sections should recognize, as a Chinese philosopher says, that human nature is essentially good. That is the right spirit in which one should approach this great problem of unity. Therefore the political movement which attempts to unify India must necessarily be given a spiritual basis; for then alone, and not till then, will our much-hoped-for ideal descend from the region of abstract idealism to the plane of practical politics.

The historic fast of Mahatma Gandhi has roused the slumbering conscience of the country, which, if kept awake, may soon remove ugly differences and unite the country into one solid whole. As a result of this great awakening, the Poona Pact came into existence and the cruel custom of untouchability, that has vivisected the Hindu community, is rightly challenged. In its wake followed the Allahabad discussions at the Unity Conference. Then we are told that an All-Parties Conference will be held in Allahabad. Whatever may be the fate of these conferences, one thing is quite clear, namely, that the majority of the people peace-loving and peace-minded and are ea to unite into a real nation. Some people shout against these pacts and conferen but that need not be mistaken as the intent of the country not to unite. What na is there in this wide world that is so compl ly united as to possess a population thorou unanimous in aspirations and demands where not a single voice of dissent is t heard? That is an Utopian state of aff a thing which is next to impossibility this imperfect world of ours. We are very much concerned with stray cases, long as the majority is overwhelmingly the right side. Any attempt to belittle desire of the people to unite is sure to pr most unfortunate, even fatal. That does n mean, on the other hand, that one shou exaggerate a hollow unity.

It may take a long time for the peo of a country to form themselves int solid nation. But when the proper time co this process of unification gathers g speed and in an unexpectedly short t a hitherto disjoined people may unite u one banner; and the moral reaction of a process is generally irresistible. Let hope that the proper time for such a u will soon come, if it has not already c Then the people of India will come toge with a determination to unite by arrivin a substantial agreement on all the outstan questions. Every one should meet every else with a preparedness more to give tha receive; and they should approach the sub of unity with sincerity void of any selfish In that spirit alone Indian unity can b accomplished fact. Even then, it may be possible to do perfect justice to all sections; for perfect justice, as anyth else perfect, is more an aspiration tha achievement. But one need not be distur over that; for in a sound nation, whe

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one section slightly gains or another loses, it is immaterial, as 'it is all in the family,' as the saying goes, and as unity is beneficial to all concerned.

It is obvious that an all-India unity is impossible without Hindu-Moslem unity. The bitter experiences of the past need not be narrated once again. It is high time these two peoples of the same soil understood each other better. The highest form of Islam hardly differs from the purest form of Hinduism. Whether it is Allah or Brahman, we are all the children of the same father. What is good in Hinduism is, broadly speaking, good in Islam. And one can never understand how the true interests of the Moslem villager really differ from those of his Hindu brother. If the crops are good, both Hindu and Muhammadan peasants rejoice, and the gain and prosperity of the country is verily the gain of both the communities. The same red blood is coursing through the veins of the Hindu and the Mussalman alike, and compassion and humanity are the valuable possessions of both the brothers—Hindu and Muhammadan. Then what is the cause for so much discord? It is nothing else than the superficial misunderstandings based on false notions. When once these misunderstandings are cleared, the way towards mutual co-operation becomes easy and plain. Then neither the statutory majority of one community in one province, nor the constitutional safe-guards for the minority community in another, will be of much importance, if at all of any value. As long as there is suspicion between the Hindus and the Muhammadans, these statutory provisions and safe-guards will be much in demand. Still, real peace cannot be had in spite of the cleverest piece of legislation, as long as the relations between the two communities remain strained. Good relations alone are the best guarantees always. It is to be hoped that the day is not far off when the Hindus and the Mussalmans would peacefully strive for mutual well-being.

What is said of the Hindu-Moslem relations can profitably be applied to the Moslem-Sikh relations as well. Why this alone? It can be applied to the relations between all communities, whatever religion they may profess. If the fundamental truths are understood, the Hindus, the Mussalmans, the Sikhs, the Christians can live together in friendship and sweet reasonableness, for all true religions teach the same ultimate truth, though they may slightly differ in their methods of teaching. Whatever may be their religion, these various communities must realize that they are all Indians, living on the same soil and under the same sky.

In the same way the Anglo-Indians should make common cause with the rest of the people and do their best to bring about unity in the country. This country is as much theirs as anyone else's. They should not be treated as an alien people; for they are verily our countrymen, and their all is in this country. The rest of the Indians should treat them as fellow-countrymen, and it is certain that they will respond. It is always the duty of the majority community to take the initiative in the process of unification, by dispelling all the doubts of the minority community by showing genuine good-will towards them.

And the domiciled Europeans and others must not and cannot stand aloof. They have their interests in India, whether mercantile or economical or even spiritual, which last is so manifest in the various activities of the missionaries, belonging to several organizations, mostly foreign. Therefore, it is but proper that they should not behave like foreigners or antagonists. They should share our joys and sorrows. And they should mix freely with Indians. They must throw open their clubs and similar other organizations to the Indians as a gesture of their recognition of the equality of all communities. These Europeans must come into contact with the Indians and learn how much in common there is between them. Then, they should join hands with the rest of the Indians and do their best for the advancement of the country. And the Hindus and Mussalmans should interpret the domiciled Europeans' anxiety for safe-guards and protection in a liberal spirit. It is natural for a minority to be eager to protect their interests; and it is up to the majority to set them at ease in this respect. So the Hindus and Mussalmans must take these Europeans

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into their confidence and treat them as one of their own folk.

As we lay stress on unity among the various communities, with equal emphasis we stress the importance of unity in the constituent units themselves, as a necessary condition of national unity. "Charity begins at home," goes the saying, and therefore the unity among the major sections would be a mirage if the units are internally torn to pieces with discord and sub-sectional feelings. For example, therefore, the Hindu community should get rid of the glaring sectional feelings that exist in its midst, as a first step towards the unification of India. The caste system should shake off its rigidity, and that abominable blemish of untouchability must disappear, if the Hindus are really anxious to be recognized as one whole. So, it is the sacred duty of every Hindu to try to put an end to untouchability, which has most lamentably and injuriously divided the Hindu community. Under the plea of religion, religion in its most bigoted and narrowest sense, the so-called untouchables are kept aloof and inhumanly subjected to terrible atrocities.

Reformers, by self-sacrifice and personal example, must try to persuade the orthodox section to recognize the equality of the *Harijans*. And the orthodox section must understand the realities of religion and discard useless forms. Sooner or later untouchability must be extinct and the orthodox people, let us hope, will appreciate the efforts of the reformers.

There is another question which needs serious attention. Unfortunately the chasm between the landlord and the peasant or the commoner is growing wider. All lovers of peace and unity want to bridge this gulf. And as in all other such cases, the cause of this bitterness is reciprocal misunderstanding. The landlord should work for the well-being of the peasant and sympathize with him; while the peasant should appreciate aright the position of the landlord and unite with him in a loving spirit, as a co-worker in the service of humanity. The landlord should keep pace with the advancing times; but the peasant must know that the landlord cannot but accept the limitations of his position and responsibility in life and th with so much stake in the land, he has to circumspect. Just as the commoner m precipitate things in his undue enthusia so also the landlord may retard things in over-caution. For that, neither need treated as the natural enemy of the oth At the basis there is, there can be, irreconcilable disagreement between th Their true interests could and should largely common; and rightly occupied, ea will find his prosperity in the contentm of the other. Let us bury the past w the dead. The question is, not who fired t first shot in this battle, but how to end The only way is through love and good-w The weal and the woe of landlords and the peasants are identical; and they are brothers. So with all the emphasis that at one's command, one should appeal to b the landlord and the peasant to sink th differences and to stand together in promoti the general weal. Landlord and peas have their own good points; and wisd lies in recognizing them, and patriotis consists in employing them for the good of a

Likewise, the unity between the employe and the employee is very essential for th integrity of a nation. It is the primary fun tion of the capitalist employer to give liber wages to the employee or labourer. A work is as essential to the success of an enterpri as capital itself; and the capitalist shou realize this, and do all that is in his power f the amelioration of the worker, both econom cally and physically. At the same time th labourer should not work harm to the capit list. By all legitimate means the work could demand a proper share in the wealth the country, and his demand should be m with promptitude. But bettering one's cond tion need not necessarily result in the ruini of another. Suppose the capitalists a reduced to bankruptcy, then naturally indu trial enterprise will receive a serious set back and consequently labour will not be in deman thereby increasing unemployment. Therefor the economical prosperity of the count depends on the reciprocity of healthy relatio that should exist between the employer a the employed.

Thus there must be an all-round uni

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among the various sections of the people of India. That unity alone will shape India into a solid nation ; and the demands of a national India cannot easily be ignored by any Government in Britain. This naturally leads us on to the question of the relations between India and Britain. As existing at present the position certainly is quite undesirable. This is undoubtedly the crux of the whole problem. The unity of hearts which has started within India must naturally outgrow the national limits and should go on uniting the people of various nations. For after all, nationalism is but a stepping-stone to a higher unity, namely, internationalism. Therefore, that it would be proper if India and Britain came to an amicable settlement, is beyond doubt. A thousand Round Table Conferences are sure to fail if the contracting parties negotiate in a spirit of suspicion and distrust. What is wanted is good-will on both sides. In mutual co-operation and genuine friendliness England and India must solve all the outstanding problems that are confronting the two countries, so as to benefit both. Even in our political fight, which, let us hope, will end soon, let us not hate the Britisher ; for hatred and violence ought to have no place in a civilized world. At the same time the Britisher must acknowledge the great worth of India, and should render to India all her legitimate rights. Let the Britisher yield to India in all her just demands ; and the latter will not be wanting in reciprocity of practical friendliness. Now the British Government should reduce to the utmost degree possible the scope and the practical application of 'emergency' legislation, so as to ensure alike security for the innocent and clemency for the misguided, and restore to freedom large number of those now under duress ; and the Congress should, on its side, abandon non-co-operation and civil disobedience. Then the two nations would be united with the links of right understanding and friendship, and advance hand-in-hand in the great march of mankind to the goal of peace on earth and good-will among men everywhere under the sun.

ITINERARY OF THE PERSIAN TOUR

K. N. CHATTERJI

IF Persepolis is the epitome of Achaemenid art so is Isfahan that of the Islamic art of Persia. There may be individual specimens outside Isfahan which surpass those of their own class in that city, but nowhere else, in or outside Iran, is there such a wonderful collection of remains so characteristic of art of Islamic Persia as in the metropolis of Shah Abbas, the great Safavid king.

Scholars tell us that there has been a continuity—though not unbroken, as measured by time—in the flow of the Iranian traditions of art, and there is ample evidence in the monuments and art treasures of Iran, accumulated and dispersed over a period of nearly two and a half millenniums, in support of their statement. Foreign dynasties, outside influences, successive schools, all have left their indelible stamp on the artistic activities of the various periods, but throughout there can be traced the same capacity for adaptation, of fusion of different systems, and of artistic balancing of motifs collected from far and wide over a score of centuries.

The strange part of it is that there does not seem to be any artistic creation that can be said to be definitely and exclusively Persian. In the beginning we find Egyptian design and motif leavening those of Mesopotamian origin, with perhaps a tinge of the Ionian Greek in the mixture. But the resultant Achaemenid art of Persepolis and Susa undeniably had an expression and character that was new in the history of art. Next came the Seleucid and Parthian periods during which Persia did little

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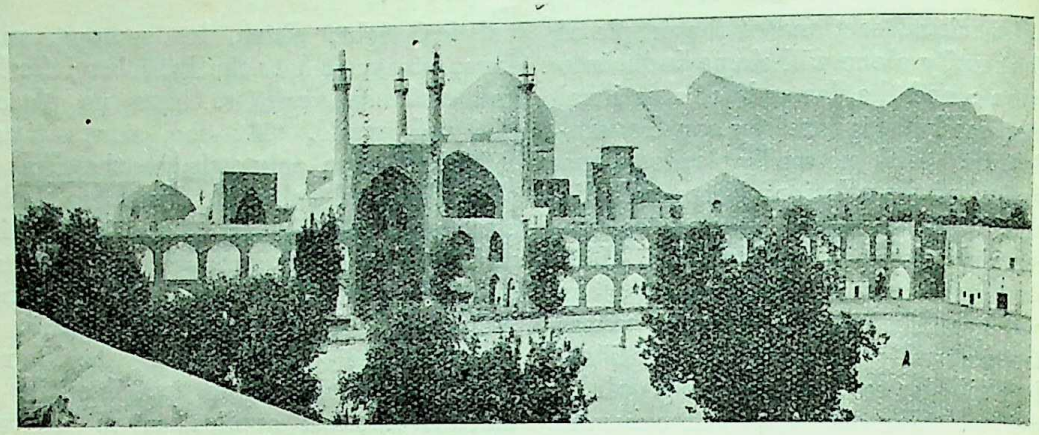

Isfahan : Masjid-i-Shah

but absorb a part of the Greek elements that are plainly seen in the scanty remains of that age. Then followed a chapter in the history of Aryan Iran that culminated in the forming of a typically Persian culture. The Graeco-Roman civilization of Byzantium, added to the noble traditions of the Achaemenid period, provided an ample foundation on which was gradually built this noble edifice of Sassanian civilization in all its glories of the arts, crafts, literature and philosophy. Contacts with India and the Scythians* further enriched the resources of its artists and craftsmen.

The destruction of the Sassanian empi through the Arab-Muslim conquest near shattered to pieces all that was noble an great in the culture of that period. Indee Iran has never again reached the heights which it attained during the Sassanian peri so far as art and culture are concerned. B the springs from which flowed the stream aesthetic inspiration of Iran had its source too deep down in the heart of the people to be completely choked up, and with th clearing up of the debris caused by th Islamic onslaught, Iran again started forwar in the development of a culture that retaine most of its older tradition transformed and adapted meet the new requirement Then came the vario modifications and creatio which followed successiv contacts with new influence The Abbasid Caliphate, t Samanids, the Buyids, t Turkish Ghaznevids, Seljuk and Khwarizmians, all help in building the new structu with materials old and new.

Isfahan : Courtyard of Masjid-i-Shah

The Abbasids add Egyptian and Byzantine Syr Coptic motifs and forms the existing ones and develo ed the floral and geometric systems of decoration well as the arabesque. During the Turki regimes the older Iranian traditions Manichaen art were rehabilitated in combin tion with those of the existing Abbas

* Indian sculptors are said to have been engaged on some of the rock sculptures of that period, and animal motifs in the Sassanian metal work plainly show the influence of Scythian craftsmen.

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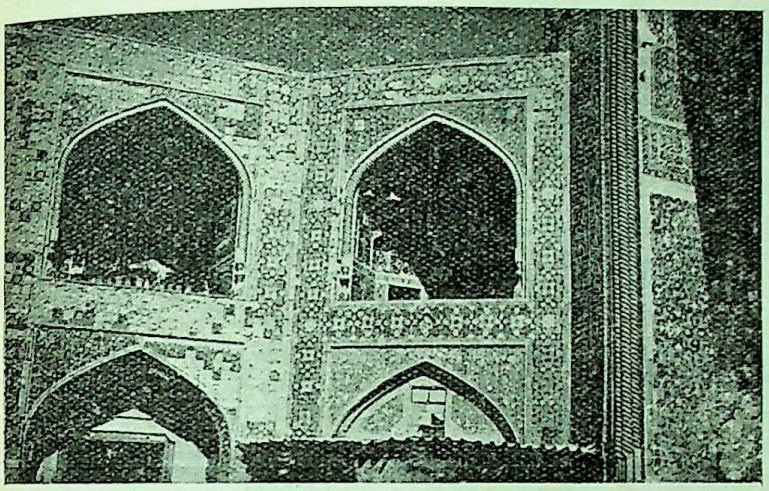
schools, and the influence of Chinese art began making itself felt.

Then came another catastrophe in the form of an invasion by an uncivilized but extremely warlike people—the Mongols under Jenghiz Khan. The tree of art, just about to blossom, was again cut down though, happily, its roots had sunk so deep that it revived. But its growth was stunted. After Jenghiz and Hulagu came the Ilkhan dynasty of Mongols, remarkable for its racial and religious tolerance since from Jenghiz to Arghun they were all Buddhists.

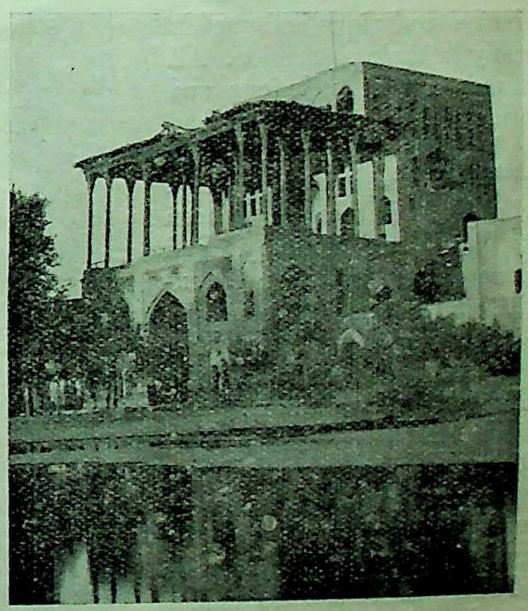


Isfahan : Ornamental tiles in Masjid-i-Shah

The Ilkhan dynasty left its imprint in the realm of art in the distinct and profound Chinese influence they introduced in the remoulding of the Persian art of their regime. Ceramic decoration, too, in the form of coloured tile-mosaic, came to the fore in architectural decoration during this period. In short the Ilkhan period pointed the way that neo-Iranian art was to take in the following centuries and it is within this period that the influence of the older Indian schools made itself felt through the channel of Central Asiatic and Chinese Buddhist art. From this time onward the fusion of Persian and Sino-Mongolian art—the latter an offshoot of the Buddhist art of Indian—proceeded in a marvellously harmonious fashion.

After the Ilkhans and the short regime of feudal Persia came another storm in the shape of a fresh Mongol (Turkish) conquest under Timur, who ravaged and sacked the country with a ruthlessness that would have been unpardonable even in an ignorant savage. Terrible massacres, rape *en masse* and an orgy of destruction accompanied the conquests of this pious and enlightened Moslem though all his wars were waged against other Moslems in Persia, Russia, India or Asia Minor.

Luckily for Persia Shah Rokh, the fourth son of Timur, proved to be as generous and humane a ruler as his father had been the reverse, and Herat and Samarkand, the seats of the new government, became the twin forums of Persian art and literature. Bihzad the artist and the calligrapher Sultan Ali both adorned the court of the Timurids. The use of enamelled bricks and faïence mosaic in architectural decoration and the harmonius fusion of the Chinese, Abbasid and the truly Persian elements in the sphere of painting also took place during this



Isfahan : Ali Qapu Palace

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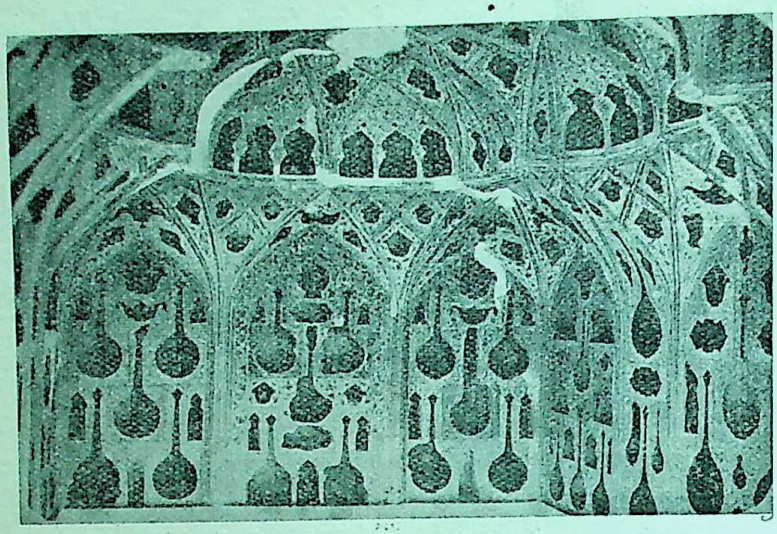


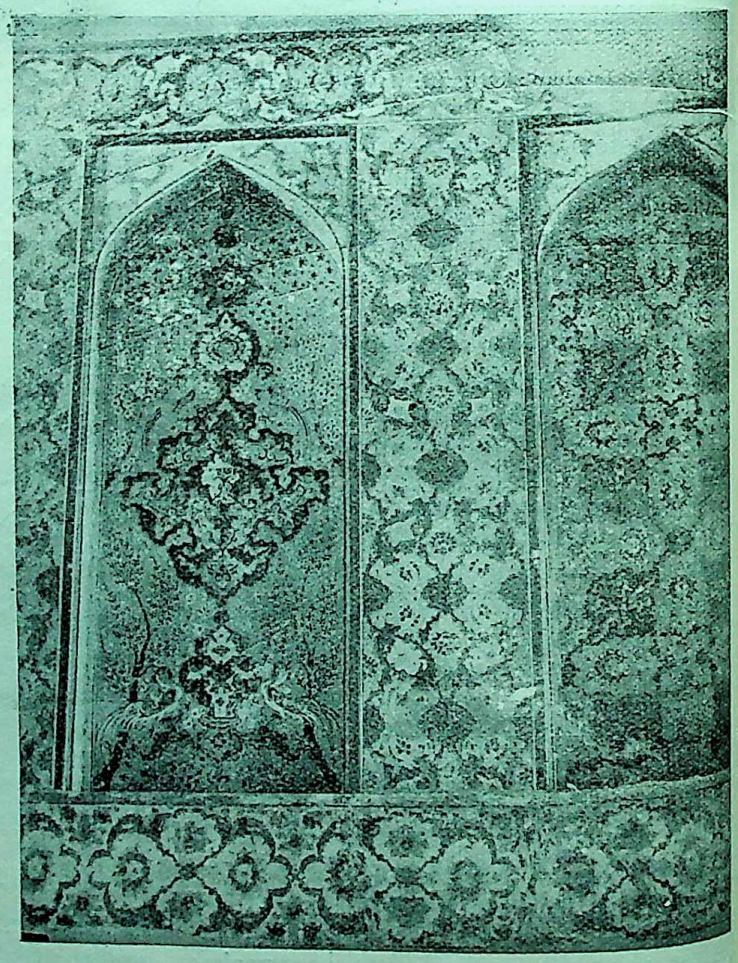
Ali Qapu : Fantastic recesses for porcelain vases etc.

period and during the Uzbeg regime of the Shaibanids.

The time was ripe for the flowering of Persian genius. A homogeneous style in art had been evolved by the Persians through their extraordinary power of assimilating foreign influences and combining them with the technique and motifs already in their possession. All the mastery of technique and craftsmanship necessary had also been acquired, and, in this wonderful *melange* of foreign technique and forms, had been introduced a delicacy and balance of composition, an exquisite refinement of form and a supremely elegant matching of colour that later became the hall-mark of Persian art.

The last Timurid, Babur, had been driven out of Persia by the Shaibanid Muhammad—thereby indirectly laying the foundations of the Mogul empire in India—whose successors had carried on the Timurid tradition of patronage of the arts, crafts and literature. But all the same they were foreign rulers in the land and as such there was some amount of constraint felt by the patronized.

This constraint was removed by the rise of the Safavids, a noble family of pure Persian origin. The first Safavid, Shah Ismail I., raised the standard of revolt in Azerbaijan, the place of his origin. He was a Shi'ite and as that was the national creed of the Persians, he was the fittest person to stand for Persian nationalism. All Persia rallied round his standard and soon Iran was free of foreign domination. Though Shah Ismail's life was spent



Ali Qapu : Decoration on Gutch

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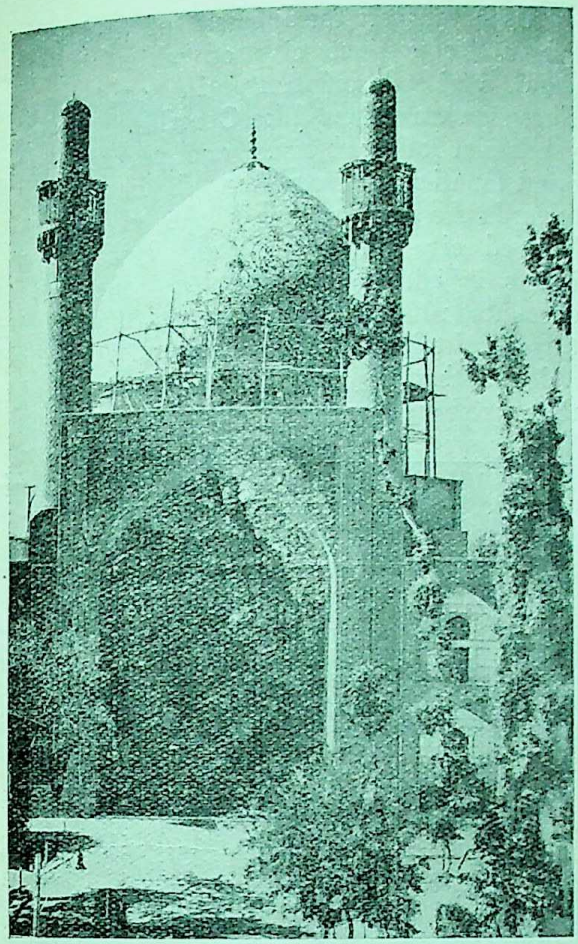
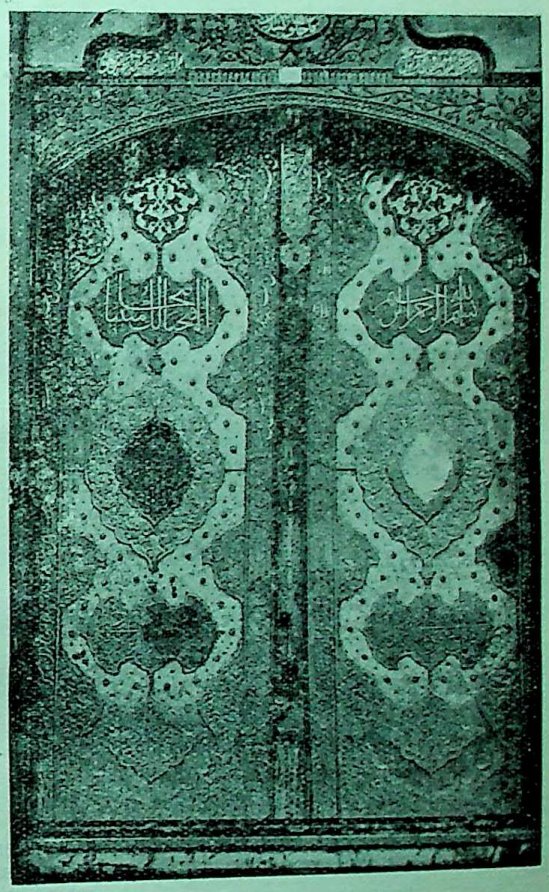


Isfahan : Madrasa Char-Bagh

in fighting in defence of his country, Iran was now free and mistress of her own destiny.

Thus Persian art of the last period entered on its golden age. Under the Safavids Persian civilization became a radiant and shining force, and their court at Isfahan became an artistic centre of the highest order. This splendour was maintained for a period of two centuries after which this unfortunate land again experienced a series of catastrophies in the form of Afghan revolt and invasion, the campaigns of Nadir Shah and the anarchy following his assassination. There was a lucid interval—all too short—during the regime of Karim Khan Zend and his successors but it was followed by a general decay of the country and its culture under the weak and effete Turkoman Qajar dynasty which was absolutely powerless to restore to Persia either her political status or the glories of her art. Now a new era seems to have dawned, let us hope to be followed by a renaissance.

Persian art ascended to the zenith of its glory during the reign of Shah Abbas the Great (1587-1629), and Isfahan was the centre of this new world of art created by the genius and guiding power of this tolerant and highly cultured King. The European, Armenian and Chinese, all alike found a welcome in the kingdom, so long they had something to add to the splendour of the court of Shah Abbas. And dazzling indeed was the splendour of Isfahan after it had been rebuilt and embellished by the Shah.



Door of Madrasa Char-Bagh

The centre of the city was marked by a great open space, the Maidan-i-Shah, round which stood the "Gate of many colours," Ala Qapy, which opened into the royal palace, the Mosque of the Sadr, the clock house, the royal Mosque or the Masjid-i-Shah and the Quisariya or the Imperial market. The royal palace, the eastern end of which opened on

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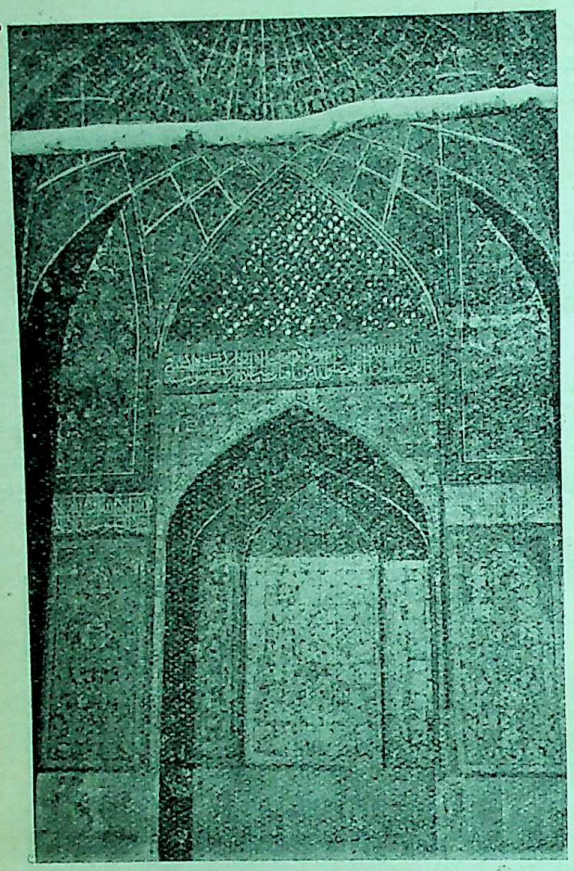
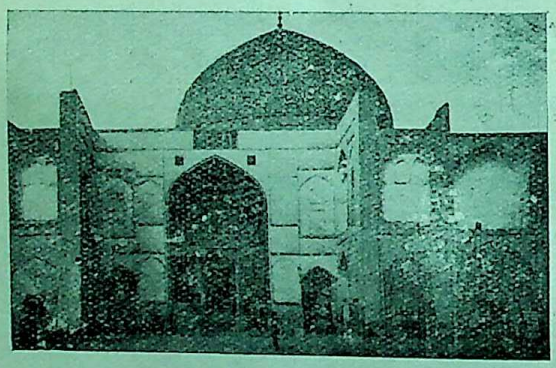


Madrasa Char-Bagh—Interior Decoration

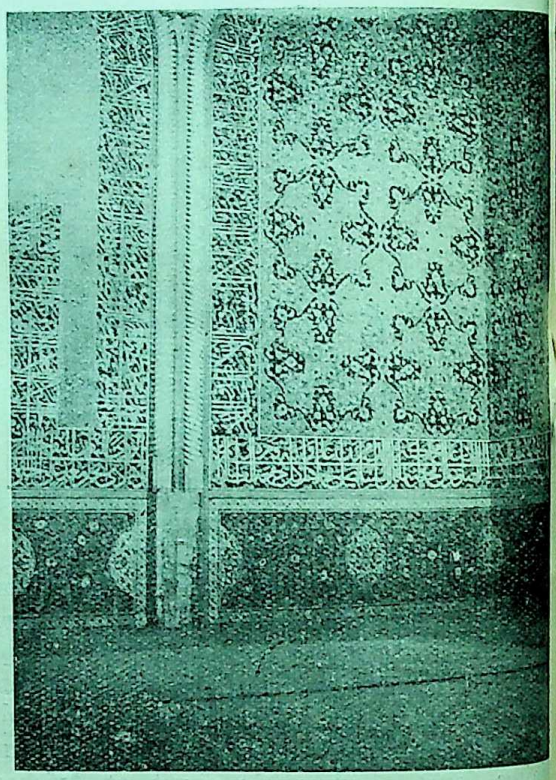


Isfahan : Masjid Sheikh Lutfullah

to the Maidan had running along its southern side gardens and parks about which were scattered pavilions the most famous of which is that of the Forty Columns or Chahil Setun, the walls of which are adorned with paintings. In another part of the city Abbas I planted an avenue of monumental proportions, the Char Bagh or "Four Gardens," running from the neighbourhood of the park of the Chahil Setun to the garden of Hazar Jarib or "Thousand Acres" which was also lined with palaces, stone water-pools and playing fountains.*

* René Grousset

Unfortunately the Isfahan of to-day is longer the radiant city of which we h such vivid descriptions in contempor European travellers like Chardin. Time, vandalism of barbarous conquerors and blind fanaticism of mullahs, all have work towards the destruction of the glories of beloved city of Shah Abbas. But still w is left is enough to convince one that accounts referred to above were not m travellers' tales. On the contrary, it is beyo a doubt that if those accounts erred at they erred on the side of modesty.



Masjid Sheikh Lutfullah—Interior Decoration

The Masjid-i-Shah is really a group seven mosques built on the plan of the clas cal Persian mosque which, according to R Grousset, is copied from that of the Chris basilicas of Syria. According to this the "the court of the ablutions corresponds to atrium, the *liwan* to the narthex o basilica—here also having the same functi as the aisle in a French Gothic Cathedr the grille to a sort chancel screen, the *mih* to a miniature apse and the minaret to a tower."

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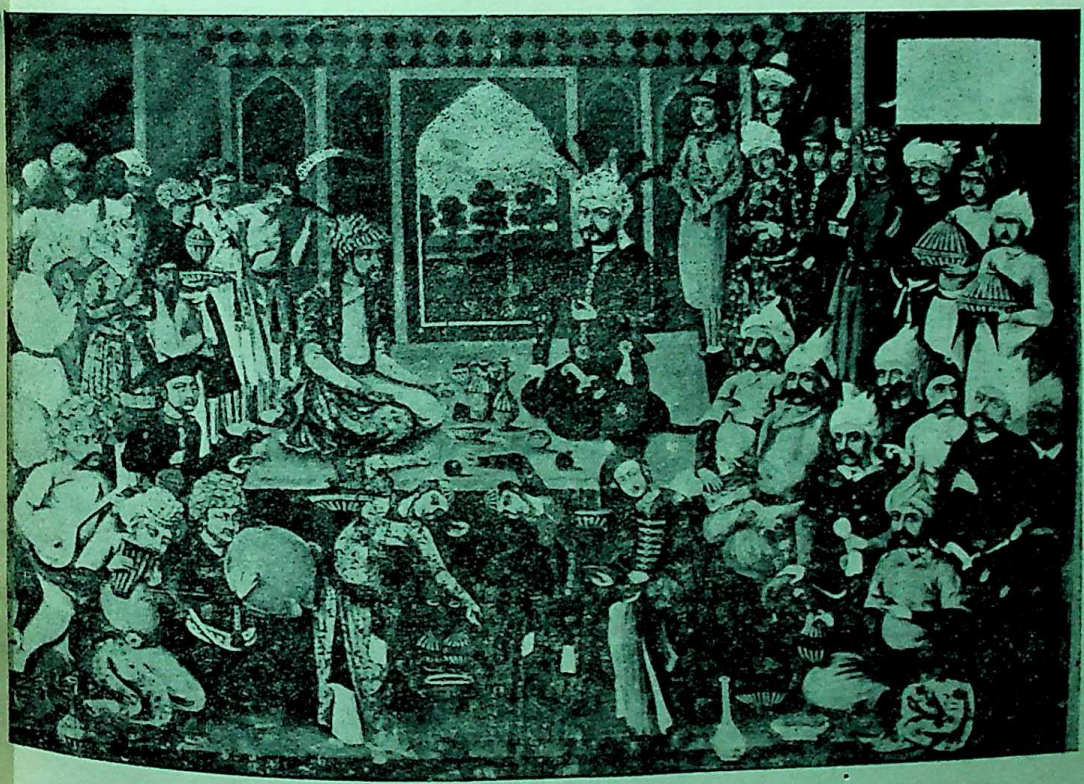
FRESCOES FROM CHAHIL SETUN

The Court of Shah Abbas the Great



Shah Tahmasp receiving an Embassy (from India ?)

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Plate II

FRESCOES FROM CHAHIL SETUN

The Mogul Embassy at the Safavid Court

Another frescoe from Chahil Setun

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FRESCOES FROM CHAHIL SETUN

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Plate IV

FRESCOES FROM CHAHIL SETUN

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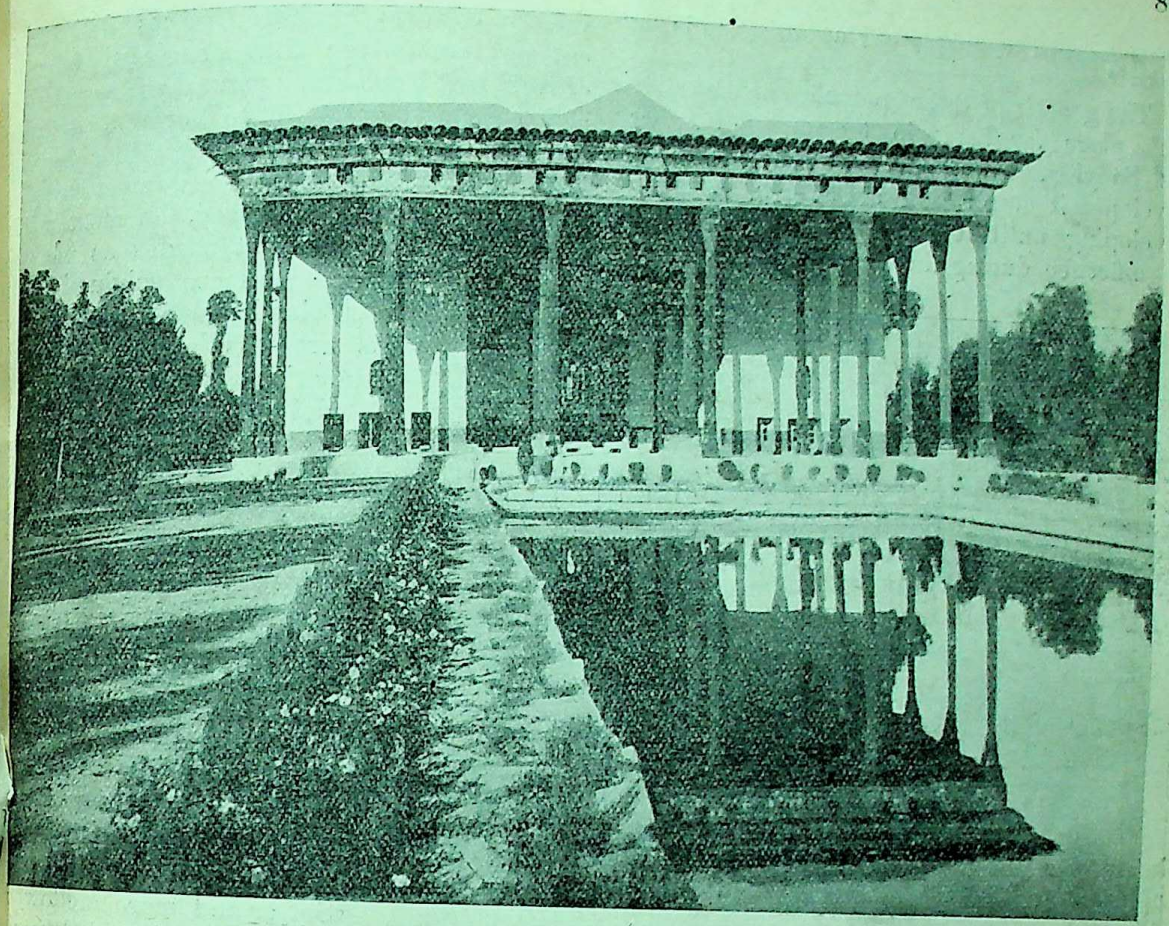

Isfahan : Chahil Setun Palace

The spacious central courtyard of the Masjid-i-Shah, square in shape, has four great liwans arranged like the arms of a cross, the one at the entrance having a gigantic arch open across its whole width and to its full height. Each of these liwans at the sides and the entrance have two halls running parallel to each other behind them that have mihrabs and cupolas on them, that is to say, these six halls form six distinct mosques as does the great sanctuary on the far side of the court. The whole is an exquisite combination of wide spaces, immense arches and massive yet beautifully proportioned architecture—a monument to the classical purity and balance of conception of the Safavid architects.

The decorations in this mosque consist in the main of coloured tile-mosaic which adorns the structures all over with a dazzling array of geometrical forms in a bright yet pleasing combination of colours, the predominating one being blue. But there are so many tones and shades of other colours besides the deep lapis and the turquoise of the blues used, that the effect is that of a carpet of many colours in which the colours and shades have been so blended as to form a perfect symphony.

The deep blue with sprigs of yellow and green flowers which forms the general tone of the entrance is quite a different shade from the softer blue that adorns the honeycomb mouldings and this difference of tone is brought out with supreme art by the pointed arches of green grooving running across the intervening space...still different is the iridiscent blue which adorns the two side panels of the door with its decorative motive of a peacock's tail set off with a blue medallion and four green bobbin shaped motives; or the greenish blue, sprigged with yellow, of the projecting jambs . . . . or again the sky-blue which serves as a background to the great inscription in white from the Koran which frames the door, a blue which is lent a most striking value by the decided green of the minarets. We may unreservedly admire the perfect harmony with which these varied fancies, all these shades of blue and green are marshalled and blended with effortless ease in the grandeur of the whole,

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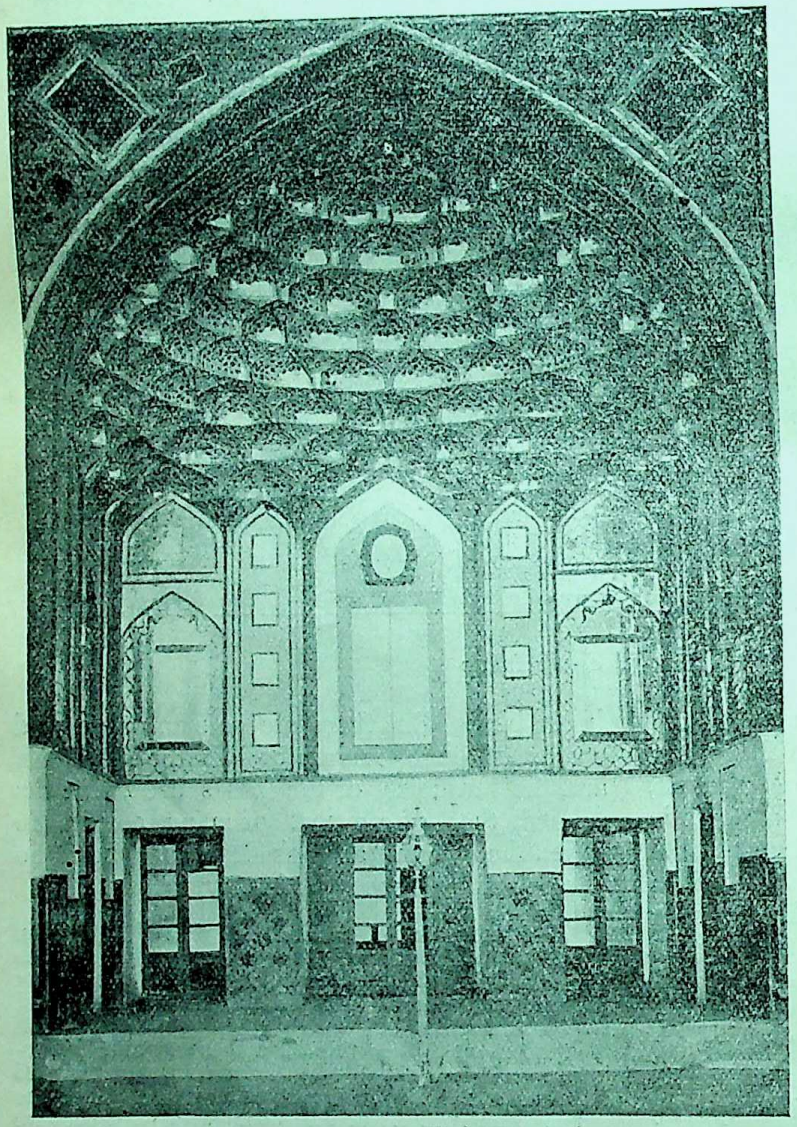
that celestial symphony of blue rising up in the sky."*

The genesis of these polychrome mosaics took place far back in the days of Assur and Babylon, but in Persia the Seljuks first developed it into a fine art which went on developing until it came out in all its magnificence during the time of the Safavids.



Foyer, Chahil Setun

There are three different types of these tiles. One consists of plain or lustre tiles of single colours—often of two tones—made into cross or star forms sometimes combined with floral or animal patterns. The second variety consists of shaped pieces delicat cut out from large tiles of glazed faïe of different colours, and then assemb and cemented together to form a defi design. Each large piece of faïence hav been fired under conditions most suit for the colour or tone desired, the most v and brilliant shades as wel those much more subdued c be obtained at will and so this process the mosaic fai designer's palette was as com as desirable, although process of fitting toge entailed the highest degree patience, skill and labour well as expense. The inter of the deep cobalt blue, limpid brightness of the l emerald green, the vivid col ing of the turquoise blue, go yellow, fawns and saffron various tones and the shee the blacks and milk whites th form the gamut of colou generally in use, have to be to be believed.

Softer and more mellow the colours of the third v used in colour tile decor These are known as *haft* (seven colours). In these s colours are fired together same tile with an outli manganese separating them one another. By means o system the design could be of much smaller units, t giving much finer detail is possible in the case mosaic faience. True th not have the fire or sh mosaic faience but a co tion of the two produce finest effects as is found sanctuary of the Masjid Sheikh Lu where the quiet and soft tones of the se surfaces of the dado and the two great in *haft rengi* provide a beautiful c to the brilliant mosaic faience which the rest of the surface.

The Masjid Sheikh Lutfullah ha

* Rene Grousset.

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Frescoe in Chahil Setun depicting Nadir Shah's battle against the Indian trocps

some beautiful inscription friezes, which form another of the decorative elements used by the Persian decorative artist. Calligraphy entered into the decorative scheme of the Persian artist all the more easily since he had the material ready to hand in the form of the Arabic Kufic script and the closely allied forms of Persian writing. There was an endless variety of forms from which he could choose at his pleasure to suit his schemes. Sweeping lines, curves sharp and broad, massive rectangular forms and long flexible shapes, there were all these to be adapted and inserted in the design without entailing the least break in the pictorial rhythm.

Architectural surface decoration in the Safavid period had many other elements besides the above. Stucco, that is unfired clay plastered on to the surface and then shaped, moulded, and coloured, was one of the earliest mediums of decoration in Persia, dating

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Frescoe in Chahil Setun

probably from pre-Achaemenian days. The Sassanids, the Seljuks and the Safavids have all used it to a lesser or greater degree. It is generally agreed that the fourteenth century saw its highest perfection in Persia as can be seen from the fragmentary work still in situ in the Masjid-i-Jami of Isfahan. The carving of the hardening plaster in this class of work was done free hand in Persia thereby giving an inimitable expressive quality to the work.

During the Safavid period this art attained the height of its splendour. The delicate polychrome relief work known as *gatch* which adorns the ceiling of the great audience-hall of Chahil Setun and most of the interior wall surface of Ali Qapu—the two palaces of S Abbas—challenge the Persian broca carpets and book covers with their elega and splendour of design and colour. Ind the interior decoration of Ali Qapu its immense variety of floral, still life, animal motifs, with their richness of colou and with the luxurious—almost pro —distribution of ornament all over the w almost defy description.

There is another unusual method of dec tion in evidence in the Ali Qapu palace. upper part of the walls and the domed ceil of a room are covered with a multitude niches of fantastic shape and size of which meaning and purpose is not apparent to casual observer. But on closer inspection is found that they are shaped recesses ma to hold vases and vessels all over surface, and thus to introduce the acti ornamental article and not its painted ima into the general scheme of decoration.

Last of all, while on the subject interior decoration, we come to mu paintings. Just as in the case of Persia carpets brocades and silk tissues, we have here a wide range of subjects, from conve tionalized flowers, foliage and geometric patterns to extremely naturalistic animal The flowers are generally conventionaliz

Chahil Setun

forms of sunflowers and lilies, more rarely narcissi, tulips, violets etc. The flower vase

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vine leaves, peacock's tails, chain patterns, arabesques, rosettes, medallions, all are displayed and the composition as a rule—though crowded to a certain extent—shows unerring taste and a faultless eye for balance.

Ali Qapu palace is singularly rich in these decorations. The walls, corridors galleries and ceilings, all are covered with a thousand different variations of all these motifs in fantastic forms and riot of colour. Further we find beautiful compositions of animal groups, startling in their realism in contrast with the decorative treatment of the still life motifs. Deer, antelopes, gazelles, foxes and birds of all kinds are treated here with the same chaste elegance as in the Persian miniature paintings of that period. There are a few human figures too, but they have suffered most from religious fanaticism and the vandalism of uncultured conquerors. Such is the condition of the half-obliterated remnants of the panels attributed to Riza Abbasi.

Chahil Setun

Frescoe in Chahil Setun

Fortunately the frescoes of the Chahil Setun were not destroyed but were merely plastered over, and so they are responding to the loving care with which they are being restored. These wonderful frescoes, the principal amongst which are in six gigantic panels, two showing the battles of Nadir Shah, one a battle of Shah Tahmasp and the remaining ones show court scenes of the Safavids, Shah Abbas and Shah Tahmasp, and also the reception of an embassy from India, in which the Indians are painted almost in the style of contemporary Mughal paintings. In this connection it may be stated that there are other undeniable proofs of Indo-Mughal influence in the paintings of the Safavid period, probably the result of the work done by Persian artists like Farukh Beg —who worked for a time at the court of Akbar.

There are a number of smaller pictures at Chahil Setun which are more interesting from the point of view of the art lover. The stiffness and constraint for space, observable in the larger pictures, which are perhaps an unavoidable adjunct of such scenes, is not at all to be seen in these gems of Persian art of

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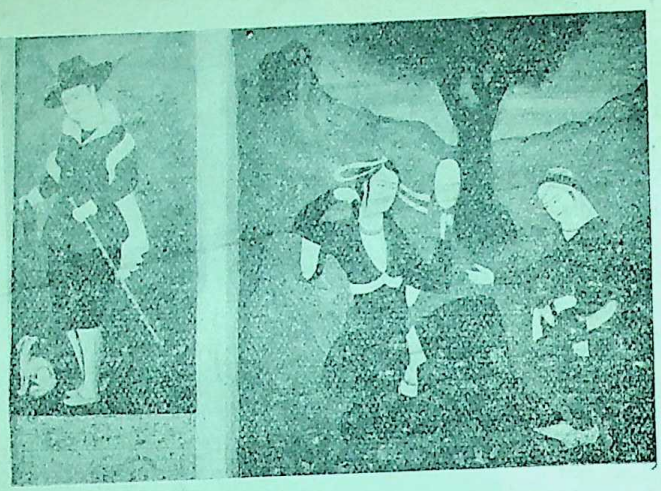

Frescoe in Chahil Setun

the Safavid period. Beautiful women, gay cavaliers, stately princesses, amorous lovers, lovers dreamy, all convey an impression of freedom and of the soaring of the artist's fancy in the treatment of scenes of this idyllic character. The grace of the female figures, the treatment of the landscape and the rich colouring, all are reminiscent of the Persian miniatures of Riza Abbasi, Sultan Muhammad, Agha Mirak and Muzaffar Ali, the last of whom is reputed to have painted some of these frescoes. The colouring too, including that of gold leaf, runs through the identical gamut as in the miniatures.

The Chahil Setun palace with its beautiful garden, long, rectangular stone-pool, its magnificent audience hall—with the tall soaring wooden columns that gives the pavilion its name of "Forty Pillars"—its noble foyers and lunettes, is the setting most fitted for these lonely frescoes. One may imagine that the princess with the dreamy eyes or the cavalier dressed in the European costume of Louis XIV period, or the Prince Charming dallying with the youthful maiden, once lived and roamed in these very surroundings. If they looked on wine while it was red or succumbed to the charms of their divinely beautiful companions, we may be sure that even in their indiscretions they were as graceful and fascinating in life as in the artist's fancy.

It is impossible even to attempt a complete survey of all the wonders that still exist in the poor devastated ruins of the once glorious Isfahan. The wonderful doors carved, lacquered and painted like the book-covers of rare manuscripts, the Archæmenid column bases of Chahil Setun, the beautiful latticed windows, the dazzling splendour of the mirror rooms, and a hundred other elements that formed part of the Safavid decorator's repertoire, require far more space and ability than is at the writer's command.

But one thing is apparent to the thoughtful visitor. The prohibition against the depictation of human forms—which the learned say was not an edict of the Prophet—has hampered—and later on has actually destroyed—Persian art in a way that cannot but be regretted by all who can see what might have been.

Each successive Muhammadan invasion entailed a vast and almost criminal destruction of priceless objects and monuments of art. The growth and developement of art took place only in spasmodic impulses during the lucid intervals. There can be no doubt that had this developement and progress been uninterrupted, the world of art would be immeasurably richer by now.

One cannot but admire the indomitable spirit of Aryan Iran that kept its eye on its ideals and moved forward, gathering fresh inspiration and enriching the world with its cultural gifts at every step, in spite of all the terrible calamities and set-backs it had to suffer.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Teaching of Handicrafts in Visva-Bharati

The Vasva-Bharati of Rabindranath Tagore is providing facilities for the teaching of handicrafts to its students. The recent appointment of Mr. L. Sinha, an expert in handicrafts, is quite up to the purpose. *Visva-Bharati News* speaks thus of the training and the method of work of Mr. Sinha:

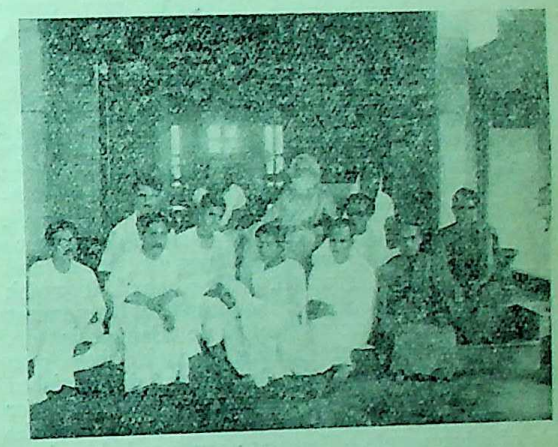
Rabindranath has all along insisted on handicrafts being included in the Asrama activities—but lately, thanks to our friend Lakshmiswar Sinha, a new life has been put in the work *of the hands*.

L. Sinha was a student of Santiniketan and of Sriniketan from 1925 to 1928. Even in those days he had shown a remarkable aptitude for handicrafts of all kinds and in 1927 had his book on wood work published by the Visva-Bharati. In 1928, he went to Europe and during the three and half years he was there he travelled in several countries noted for the organization and output of home-work articles. He had carried with him artistic talents, as well as an initial training in working with the hands; in Europe he perfected these talents and added to them a clear understanding of the principles of organization—a feature so indispensable to the success of handicrafts.

It takes time to set up a handicraft class—no matter how humble the beginning is to be. And the first two or three months L. Sinha was impatient with the slowness of the response he met from the staff and the students. But today he is having so much response that he does not know how to cope with it. He had his hands full with students and teachers when the classes were open. But even in the Puja holidays his classes went on and more vigorously than during the school term. Several persons stayed over just to take an intensive course under him. Others came twice a day from Sriniketan. And from seven in the morning to almost nine at night, one would invariably find either a class going on in full swing or individuals putting in a few voluntary extra hours. Buddhist monks from Ceylon and even visitors from Calcutta who had come for a brief respite from work were inveigled into this tempting occupation.

This being the initial course, we are still engaged in what to the casual observer appears to be kindergarten work. It is mainly with cardboard that we are working. Blotting pads, folders for letter paper and envelopes port folios, little cardboard boxes, and filling cases: we are training our hands on these for the present. It appears simple at first but as we go on we learn a number of the little tricks and when we have finished an article we find that we have not only learnt and played, but also turned out such a thing as will find a market. Working about four hours a day, we hope to turn out ten models in fifteen days and unless I am very much mistaken, they ought to be worth twenty rupees. And this while we are learning.

This work with cardboard will give us the initial technique. Later, we shall go on to woodwork, leatherwork and metal work. As we proceed, we shall find greater and greater scope for variety and usefulness in the objects we produce. One has only to look into the almirah containing various articles to see how simplicity, beauty and usefulness can be achieved in little things made by the hands



Handicrafts class for Teacher-Students in Visva-Bharati. The third figure from left is that of Mr. Sinha

and in our leisure hours, paper-cutters, picture-frames, hanging lamps and wall lamps and table lamps, little cabinets and book-shelves and boxes, in fact, a myriad other things according to the taste and needs and wherewithal of different individuals. Learning to make things like these will mean saving of money, occupation for leisure hours, a means of self-expression and pleasant satisfaction which generally accompanies the creation of something, however slightly original, and last but not the least, the promotion of home industries.

L. Sinha has a clear idea of exactly how he would develop his programme in intensity as well as in extensiveness. Above all he wants to train teachers not only for Santiniketan and Sriniketan, but from all parts of India. For this and in order to do it well, he wants equipment worth altogether about five thousand rupees. Having this he will be able to train at least twenty teachers every year and these people will be able to carry his method far and wide. Along with this he wants to introduce many handicrafts among the households of the Asrama and organize a guild through which the articles will find market. And lastly, he wants to start—in fact has already started—the teaching of such work to boys

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of the surrounding villages through the Siksha-Satra of Sriniketan.

—

Gandhi's Selflessness

Mr. V. S. Srinivas Sastri has these beautiful lines on Mahatma Gandhi's selflessness in *The Indian Nation*:

In the first place, he is absolutely without self. Usually a man is called unselfish if he devotes some hours of his time to the welfare of the community; if he gives a part of his wealth to some objects of public charity of utility.

Mr. Gandhi would not be content with that sort of unselfishness. From his point of view, no one is really unselfish unless he always puts aside his self, and in every matter and at every moment of his life lives only for others, thinks only for others, and exerts himself only for others. So you find how he has stripped himself of all his wealth. He owns nothing in this world, except the pair of very coarse Khaddar which he wears on his body. He has not even a store of these things at home. All the property—amounting to several lakhs—which he acquired, he has given away. Not an anna now belongs to him. He is a regular Sannyasi, going about only in the clothing that is on him. Now, we know of some people who are Sannyasis, who go about without anything to themselves. But their unselfishness is not nearly so complete as the Mahatma's. For though they own nothing, they still ask for fame or power or influeuce, or at least they sit down and think of their own salvation. "How shall I reach God, how shall He admit me into his innermost Court?" This is what most of these Sannyasis do. In that way they are selfish, though they own absolutely no property. Mr. Gandhi is distinguished from them in this regard that he does not care for himself but gives all his time for the saving of the souls of other people. That is to say, such happiness as he still wants, such joy, such satisfaction as he still needs in life, he wants only through promoting the joy and the happiness of others about him. If through that exertion happiness comes to him, let it come. This then is the real secret of happiness—if you seek to get it directly, it will elude all your attempts; but if you seek to get it indirectly through devoting yourself to getting happiness for others, then you also become happy. That is the peak as it were of all ethical philosophy; and Mr. Gandhi has reached that peak. You go to him at any time you like, you catch him unaware, you surprise him at the weakest moment of his life, still he would only be thinking of how to advance the welfare of those around him. That is the true doctrine of unselfishness.

—

Broadcasting for German Schools

The importance of broadcasting for schools has been recognized by the German Government so much so that it has reduced by two-thirds the wireless fees for them. The following extracts from *The Educational Review* show the magnitude of the work of teaching through broadcasting. India will do well to emulate the German example in order to get her sons and daughters educated within in a short time:

Some conceptions of the magnitude of the Schulfunk's influence is gained, when it is realized that, at the moment, every third school in Germany has a wireless apparatus and that some 2,500,000 school-children listen in. The organization of the German Schulfunk is based upon the regional divisions of the country. The individual stations concentrate in the first instance upon such programme as will be likely to interest the children of their neighbourhood. This is partly due to a reaction against the growing tendency to centralize, which, in Germany, is threatening to swallow up fashion, sport—everything, in fact; partly it is due to the fact that the Schulfunk in a large measure focusses its attention on the country children and the country schools, in whom it tries to foster pride in their native soil and in the race to which they belong. Hence the main group of boardcasts for the schools are designed for the needs of special districts. They take place at varying times in the morning. The second group are such as have a value for their own district and for othersas well, because they accentuate what is typical in their own. These broadcasts take place from 10-10 to 10-45 in the morning and can be relayed to any other broadcasting stations which happen to wish for them. A third type are those broadcasts in which all the Schulfunk participate. They are broadcast by one station but are relayed to all the others and form part of a common programme to which the various senders contribute. One subject for this type of broadcast was "Places of Work." In its ensuing talks, the life of workers in different factories, the life of the home worker, of the miner, etc., was fully described. These programmes take place every fortnight on Thursdays from 9 to 9-45.

Obviously, work of so co-operative a nature must be well-organized. Every radio station has its Schulfunk department and a central bureau in Berlin links all of them together. As the Schulfunk does not concern itself with disjointed groups of listeners but forms part of the structure of the German educational system, it is important that the individual Schulfunk departments and the central bureau should remain in close touch with the educational world. This is done with the assistance of specially selected teachers who act as advisors to the various departments.

Half-yearly forecasts of all the Schulfunk programmes are published in order to help the individual teacher to prepare himself and his children for them. A special paper, *Der Schulfunk*, which appears twice a month, publishes the complete programme a fortnight in advance and contains, in addition, a synopsis of the contents of each broadcast together with any necessary comments, recommendations for further reading, illustrations, etc. It also indicates for what age of child each broadcast is best suited.

—

The Disabilities of the Transvaal Indian

In spite of the Gandhi-Smuts Agreement and the Cape Town Agreement, Indians suffer from very many disabilities in the Transvaal, South Africa, even now. Mr. Manilal Gandhi, son of Mahatma Gandhi, says in an article in *The Indian Review*:

The Transvaal Asiatics Land Tenure Act has been brought against the Asiatics in all its bitterness.

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Instead of so amending the existing laws as to remove the restrictions imposed upon the Indian community in accordance with the 1914 Settlement the present legislation tightens up the existing laws and establishes the principles once and for all of compulsory segregation. Under the Act, in future Indians in the Transvaal can reside and trade only in areas specially set apart for them. Outside these areas they may not go. Their position will be no better than that of the aboriginal natives. There are provisions in the Act safeguarding the properties acquired by Indians up to May 1930. But if these properties are outside the segregated areas, Indians may neither reside in nor occupy them. In short, the operation of this law will automatically remove the bulk of the Indian population from the Transvaal within a decade and those who remain will have to remain as helots.

The Transvaal Provincial Council deemed it necessary to revise the licensing laws of that Province and it has passed an Ordinance known as the Transvaal Licences (Control) Ordinance of 1931. This Ordinance gives unfettered rights to the municipalities and local boards to refuse a trade licence without assigning any reasons and give no right of appeal from the decision of the licensing authorities. This Ordinance has received the assent of the Governor-General-in-Council. This is also a measure constituting a flagrant breach of the Cape Town Agreement.

There is yet another right that the Transvaal Indians have been deprived of and which constitutes a serious breach of the 1914 Settlements. It is the right they had acquired under the Transvaal Registration Act of entering the Transvaal by virtue of their registration certificates at any time. The registered Indians were given an unchallengeable right to reside in the Transvaal. This was a right that was secured to them after untold sufferings during the Passive Resistance campaign. Under the Immigration Act of 1931, however, after an absence of a day over three years of any Indian from the Transvaal, his registration certificate becomes null and void and the holder can no more enter that Province.

This is the sad tale of woe of the Transvaal Indians. Neither the successive delegations nor the Agents of the Government of India have been able to help Indians out of their difficulties. This is what in effect they have said: "We are powerless. We have no machine guns nor have we an army."

—

Take Care of the Eyes

The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health publishes useful articles pertaining to various problems of our physique. A large percentage of Indian students and educated men suffer from eye-troubles. The following lines from the paper will prove useful:

The most common causes of eye-weakness are: (1) overstrain in doing close work, such as reading small print, sewing, etc., (2) impure air in badly ventilated rooms, cinemas, and smoky atmosphere; (3) insufficient outdoor exercise; (4) overstrain due to exposure to bright lights, sun, etc. (5) an unhealthy diet.

The eye is composed of many minute blood-vessels, and these fine capillaries rely upon a proper supply of pure blood. A diet consisting of excesses of flesh-foods, starchy and sugary foods, tea, tobacco, and alcohol, results in a clogged condition of the bloodstream. The small blood vessels in the eye then become choked with minute atoms of waste matter which, instead of being carried away, accumulate and impair the vision. It is therefore obvious that the state of our general health determines the efficiency of our eyes. In regard to diet, it is advisable to avoid, or to cut down, all acid-forming and stimulating foods such as those mentioned above, and in addition partake very sparingly of salt which causes cataract of the eye.

It is very harmful to continue work once you feel that your eyes are tired. If circumstances permit, you should relax and rest the eyes by practising one of the exercises that will be described later in this article. When reading or writing see that the light falls over your shoulder on to your work, that is, do not sit facing the light. Reading in a train, tram, or bus is extremely injurious owing to the strain caused by vibration. Continued exposure to heat (as from a fire) may scorch, and even severely harm, the eyes.

A stooping attitude is considered harmful because the eyes are then surcharged with blood by force of gravitation, and this induces, or at least aggravates, inflammation and congestion. When reading or writing keep the eyes as far from the work as possible.

A very useful treatment for strengthening the eyes is to stroke them very gently with the fingertips over the closed eyelids. This eye-massage should always be commenced from the outer corner of the eye and continued over to the inner corner, never in the reverse direction.

Another good strengthening treatment is the eye bath. Take a deep breath and immerse your face in a basin of cold water. Open and close the eyes two or three times while under the water. Rise to an erect position again, take another breath and repeat.

Relaxation of the eyes is extremely important, and is best done by practising one or both of the following exercises. Several times during the day place the palms of your hands lightly over the closed eyes so that the fingers cross each other in an upward slanting direction on the forehead. Exert no pressure. Now try to see an intense black. Keep like this about ten seconds and then quickly remove the hands. You will notice that there is a flash of greatly improved vision immediately the eyes are opened.

Passing on to the question of muscular exercise, we must say that very little good results from home treatment unless special apparatus is employed. One exercise which may prove helpful, especially when the person is under sixteen years of age, is as follows. Close one eye. With the open eye look at the centre of a wall of a room. Now roll the eyeball round the extremities of the room, describing as nearly as possible a perfect circle. This exercises the six ocular muscles which control the movement of each eyeball. Repeat with the other eye.

Remember that headaches are frequently due to eye trouble, in which case pain is felt usually immediately below or level with the eyebrow, immediately behind and level with the eye either side, or at the back of the head level with the ear. Pain is not necessarily present, however, and its absence does not indicate organic or functional soundness of the eye.

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Early Trade Union Movement in England

Mr. Ahmad Mukhtiar traces the early history of the trade union movement in England in *All India Trade Magazine*. We quote these passages from the paper :

The combinations of workmen attracted the attention of the Government as early as 1303 when the servant workmen in cordwainery were forbidden "to hold any meeting or make provisions which may be to the prejudice of the trade and the detriment of the common people." In 1360 the combination of masons and carpenters was forbidden by a statute. A number of other statutes followed and in 1562 came the Artificers, Labourers and Apprentices Act commonly known as the "Statute of Apprentices". Henceforth the wages of each locality were to be fixed by the Justice of Peace under the supervision of the central authority so as to "yield unto the hired person, both in the time of scarcity and in the time of plenty, a convenient proportion of wages." The act aimed at an 'equitable' level of wages and it succeeded in its intentions for some time. No further unions came into being or at least there is no record to that effect.

The Statute of Apprentices was thrown out of order in 1642-60 as a result of the Civil War and the Interregnum. The combination of silk-weavers was disallowed by Parliment in 1662 and another such instance followed five years later. The growth of capatalistic enterprises under factory conditions brought about a distinct cleavage between the employers and the employees. The combinations among the latter class continued and from the beginning of the eighteenth century, we see an evident anxiety on the part of the employers to suppress them. As the fixing of wages under the Statute of Apprentices fell through, the unions came into existence to secure its enforcement or to improve their position by other means. And in some other cases they did succeed. The increase of unions so greatly frightened the Parliament that in 1799 an Act was passed prohibiting the combination for trade purposes of both employers and employees. The workers were greatly harassed though there is no record to show that the employers were ever punished for combination. The anti-revolutionary panic of this period did not stop at this stage. The Statute of Apprentices was repealed in 1813 and the Unlawful Sociofies Act of 1799 and the Seditious Meetings Act of 1817 were enacted aiming primarily at the working classes.

The Combination Acts led to a severe persecution of workers in their unions. In the words of Lord Jafferey "a single master was at liberty at any time to turn off the whole of his workmen at once—100 or 1000 in number—if they would not accept the wages he chose to offer. But it was made an offence for the whole of the workmen to leave that master at once if he refused to give the wages they chose to require." The Napoleonic Wars came to end in 1815 and the cessation of hostilities was followed by industrial crisis, unemployment strikes, disturbances and Luddite troubles. The Radicals joined hands to win the workers for factory reform but the latter were mercilessly persecuted. A spirit of liberalism at last manifested itself. Francis and Place strove hard and their efforts were crowned with success in 1824 when the Parliament repealed the Combination Acts and legalised the trade societies. This led to unprecedented events. Unions sprang into existence and the workers looked to strikes as the effective weapon in their hands. Strikes consequ took place here, there and everywhere, and Parliament under pressure from big empl adopted another Bill on the subject. Under the of 1825 combined workmen could be prosecute criminal conspiracy under common law. Mor intimidation, molestation and obstructions were punishable. Tnere were several prosecutions after for virtually the same offences as while the Com tion Acts were in force. Nevertheless, the vic even under the Act of 1825, was sufficiently Trade unions were henceforth legal and could a continuous existence.

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Utilization of Waste Vegetation

'Nothing is waste' is the motto of the pre day. Many useful things are made ou things which the uninitiated deem use V. Subrahmanyan, D. SC., F. I. C., writes in *Scholar* :

There are several wild tubers from which st or sugars can be manufactured. Thus the *Kad* with which the author is acquainted, contains 60 per cent. starch and presents no difficul the working.

Sugars can be obtained either directly or indir from several plant materials. In the case of m fruit or the cashew apples they can be extr as such, while in those of the water hyacinth wood fibre they will first have to be treated acid. Most of the materials are suitable for manufacture of glucose syrup which is so val in severel industries. Thus, the author found juice from the cashew fruit contains about 1 cent. sugar which can be readily concentrated 60 per cent. syrup after treatment whith or alkali.

Most of the sugar-yielding products are emin suited for the manufacture of industrial alcohol. Fowler and Dinanath Talwar found that the m husks which are now being wasted are emin suited for that purpose. Sen and his co-wo noted that water hyacinth and saw dust from c woods e. g., *Excoecaria agallocha* yield large qu ties of fermentable sugars on hydrolysis with a

The more refractory types of cellulosic wastes be converted into fuel gases by digestion with se Considerable amount of useful work has al been carried out by Benerjee in Banglore and Se Calcutta, but further research is needed to stands the process.

Several fruits are rich in pectins and the in cellulose ; except in a few solitary inst sufficient application has not yet been for them.

Considerable amount of work has been c out by Sudborough, Simonsen, Sanjiva Rao their co-workers on the essential oils from v types of grasses, shrubs and trees. Some of are highly valuable in perfume industry : other shown by the author and De, possess far g deodorising and germicidal properties than p and being also proportionately much cheaper easily take the place of coal tar disinfectants so commonly used.

There are several jungle plants which co

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highly potent insecticides and fungicides. The work of Tattersfield and his associates in England, the late Dr. Kunhi Kannan, B. T. Narayanan and their co-workers in Bangalore have gone a long way to establish that extracts from several tubers (e. g. *Derris elliptica*), flowers and leaves (e. g., *Pomgomia glabra*) destroy some of the most pernicious agricultural pests without in any way poisoning the plants themselves as the mineral insecticides are often known to do.

We are to-day importing enormous quantities of wattle bark and bark extracts. though we have almost inexhaustible stock of tannin-bearing plants in the country. The main difficulty in the way of tanners using *Avaram* bark is the prohibitive cost of collection and transport, but it should be possible to improve the condition by intensifying the culture of the plant and preparing concentrates. In both the above some useful beginnings have already been made at Bangalore.

Many of the wild plants are rich in various enzymes, which now find extensive application in medicine and industry. Particular mention may be made of the lantana leaves which contain active forms of all the more importent enzymes and the Kachongay seed which contains the most active urease among the plants so far examined.

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The Indian problems at the R. T. C.

In *The People* of Lahore Dr. Sunderland has offered valuable comments on the solution of the problems which confronted the third R. T. C., *viz.*, the Army and Defence, the Viceroy's powers, the Finance, etc. He says on the solution of the former two :

Great Britain particularly insists on reserving military control of India. Perhaps it is not surprising that she should, for with the army under her command, of course everything else will be in her power. Her argument for retaining control of the army for a long period is that it is necessary for India's protection. This Gandhi denies, as does practically all India. Let us see the ground for their denial.

For some time past, Britain has been accustomed to keep in India a British force of about 60,000 men. Of course, a self-ruling India would dismiss these, but she would have ample military strength without them. There is a regular well-trained Indian army of from 170,000 to 180,000 men, commanded by British officers. Of course, this army India would retain. In addition to these there are the small armies of the Princes, numbering all together from 25,000 to 30,000. Then, as very important, there is a great body of highly trained and experienced soldiers who served in the World War, and at the close of the war were brought back to India, disarmed and sent to their homes. Their British officers declared these men as brave and and as efficient as any of the soldiers of Europe. How many of these are now living and fit for military service is uncertain, but probably not much if any less than half a million. But even if we say a third of a million, this would give India, in all, today, at least half a milllion men, as thoroughly trained and as efficient as any soldiers in the world. The only weakness would be in high officers, fit to command, for the British Government has refused to allow Indians to be trained for these positions. But this weakness is only apparent, not real, for the Indian Government would, of course, invite the British officers to remain in command until Indians could be trained to fill their places, which good authorities say could be effected in at most—two years. It has been declared in certain quarters, that this plan of officering the Indian army would be blocked by the fact that British officers would refuse to serve under an Indian Government. The answer is, British officers are by no means indispensable ; there are others from other nations, equally able, who could easily be obtained, say from Germany, France, almost any of the European states, or from America.

Gandhi and his great following believe that a free India, with its peaceful and friendly attitude toward all the world, and belonging as India does to the League of Nations, would be in no danger whatever from any nation. But if danger arises, they believe that in the strong military resources named above, and in the millions of able-bodied men who could be called to arms at once in case of need, India has ample military protection.

In the proposed New Constitution for India, autocratic and absolute power over everything is reserved for the Viceroy. In other words, while the Viceroy (or Governor-General) is to be responsible in a measure to the Indian National (Federal) Legislature, and therefore indirectly to the people of India, *he is to be given arbitrary power quite as great as any past Viceroy has ever possessed.* He is to have power to dismiss Ministeries at his will, which means that, in what he may claim to be a time of "Emergency" he can control legislation, or even dismiss the Legislature, and rule the country by arbitrary edicts, or virtual martial law, exactly as Lord Chelmsford did in 1919, when he terrorized the whole country by the infamous Rowlatt Acts and Punjab atrocities ; just as Lord Irwin in 1930-31, by his shocking edicts which caused the imprisonment of more than 60,000 (high Indian authorities say more than 100,000) of India's worthiest citizens and just as Lord Willingdon hastened to do at the close of the Second London Round-table Conference and is doing today by his Bengal and other Ordinances.

Nor is this all. Even the National Legislature is to be so constituted as not only to be always under the Viceroy's control, but as actually to uphold and strengthen his autocracy. This is to be brought about by the following plan, namely, by making the number of members of the National Legislative body very small (only 300 for a population of nearly 350,000,000) and then, of this very small number, giving an unjustly large proportion to the Indian States (not elected by the people but appointed by the Princes and sure to be Conservative) and an unjustly large proportion to certain "Minorities," (that can be controlled by the Government), and filling a considerable number of seats with direct nominess or appointees of the Government,—the numbers of all these taken together being sufficient always to form a majority of Conservatives, of die-hards, of Government supporters. Thus "Ossa is to be piled on Pelion." It is not enough that the Viceroy is to be made an autocrat, with absolute power in his hands over the legislative part of the government, over the army, over finance, over everything, but his power is fortified by the chief legislative body being so fashioned (the "dice so loaded") as to insure that he shall also have the support of the legislature in all his autocratic power, thus giving to

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the world the impression that he is not an autocrat at all, but that he rules by the will of the people.

There is more still. The autocracy is not to stop with the Viceroys. It is to extend in large measure to the Governors of Provinces. Since these Governors (as well as the Viceroys) are to be appointed by Great Britain without India having any voice or power in the matter, there appears to be no way in which India will be able to prevent great Provinces from being governed by tyrants like Sir Michael O'Dwyer, or to prevent British Generals like General Dyer, from committing in any of the Provinces (under the autocratic authority of Provincial Governors or Viceroys, one or both) atrocities as bad as those in the Punjab, including massacres as terrible as that in Amritsar. Will this mean self-rule for India?

—

Gandhi at the R. T. C.

Dr. J. T. Sunderland's reading of the situation in India is very interesting to the Indian public. He describes Gandhi in the Round Table Conference in the same paper as follows:

He dared to stand up before the highest officials of the British Empire, in their own capital city, and in a quiet, low voice, but with a firmness like Gibraltar, declared in effect: India possesses rights of her own, conferred on her by God Almighty and not by any other nation, rights which no nation may take from her without committing a monstrous crime against God as well as against humanity. India does not belong to Great Britain or to any nation on earth. She belongs to the Indian people, and to them alone. No foreign nation has a right to rule her, much less frame a constitution for her. Were I, a son of India, to give my assent for you, a foreign power, to frame a constitution and force it on her, all India and all the world would be justified in pointing at me the finger of scorn, and hissing in my face words, 'You are a traitor to your country, you are India's Benedict Arnold.'

Gandhi did not oppose in London, and has never opposed anywhere, any plan of Great Britain which he believed aimed to give India Dominion Status or real self-government in any form. With all his soul he wants Britain to give India self-government. For this he has been working with all his strength for many years. For this he worked in every possible way throughout the entire Round-table Conference. Courteously but unflinchingly, and over and again, he said to the British officials at the Confe and to British officials outside the Conference oppose you because, and only because, in my fully formed judgment you are working to create impose on the Indian people a constitution they do not want, which they will accept only is forced on them, which will give them not self-rule at all, not real freedom at all, not Dominion Status at all, but a form of govern which, while allowing them a few new privileges liberties in relatively unimportant matters, absolutely all power in British hands, and makes 'steel frame' of India's bondage actually fi than ever.

It was no wonder that the British die-hards all who were determined to keep India under Br power, did not like Gandhi, denied that he wa constructive statesman and declared him an obs tionist. To them he *was* an obstructionist. His but eloquent pleas for justice and freedom for Indian people were a constant moral rebuke to Conference for what it was doing, and a mi moral call to its leaders to do something be something just to India and honourable to G Britain.

Though Gandhiji incurred displeasure of high officials, the people all over the Christen liked him and loved him:

But while Gandhi was disliked, even bit disliked, by all persons at the Round-table Confere and in England who believed in giving India 'strong hand' instead of justice, he was warmly deeply liked by all Englishmen who believe in dom and justice to all men and all nations. many of the Lancashire people who were suffe worst from his boycott of British cotton goods, him, when, with sincere sympathy for their suffer he told them of India's far, far greater suffer The English poor liked him as a brother. could they help it, when they knew that he giving his very life for the poor in India, and they saw him in England choosing to live a the poorest, rather than be entertained by the when so many of the richest and most pow would have counted it an honour to entertain The children liked him, yes loved him, flocked him, and followed in the streets, eager to ca gentle word from his lips or a smile from his k eyes, for they saw in him one who seemed to like Jesus.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Sir John Simon as Foreign Secretary

When the Simon Report came out, Indian opinion did not fail to recognize in it an element of speciousness and sophistry, more concerned with the satisfactory presentment of a case than the realities of the situation. This was naturally attributed here to legal mind of the advocate who presided over the Statutory Commission. This point of view was certainly not shared in Great Britain. There the report was greeted as a very businesslike piece of work. But now it seems, after some experience of Sir John Simon in a ministerial post, the publicists of England are changing their opinion. *The Living Age* sums up the comments of the British Press on Sir John Simon in the Foreign Office :

No British Minister since Lloyd George has been subjected to such universal condemnation in all sections of the press as Sir John Simon, the present foreign secretary. The *Week-end Review*, an independent Conservative organ, has been hammering at him ever since he assumed office, and now the more orthodox *Spectator* has attacked the statement issued by the Foreign Office disapproving the German demand for armament equality :

This is sophistry, not statesmanship. It is the application of the methods of the schoolmen to the most urgent and realistic problem of the day. Whether it represents the mind of the Cabinet there is no means of knowing. It was issued on September 19, and there has been no cabinet meeting since August 29. That it does not represent the mind of the people of this country we are convinced. On the details of any coming disarmament agreement there may reasonably be the widest divergence of view. But on one fundamental principle the mind of the vast majority of the British people is made up. Germany cannot be held down by force ; she cannot be treated thirteen years after the War as a conquered nation ; she cannot be tied hand and foot in the matter of armaments while other countries are left free. On that point Conservative papers like the *Times*, the *Observer*, and the *Daily Telegraph* are as clear and decisive as Liberal papers like the *News-Chronicle* or the *Manchester Guardian*, or a Labour paper like the *Daily Herald*. Sir John Simon could have said in three sentences what the country, if it had been consulted, would have required him to say—that Great Britain admits in principle, without cavil or reserve, the justice of the German claim to equality status ; that equality must be achieved not by the re-armament of Germany, but by the reduction of the armaments of other countries ; that to demand actual equality at a single stroke would be unreasonable, but that as earnest of this country's intentions we would accept the Hoover plan substantially as it stands and withdraw any British counter propositions inconsistent with it. Nowhere does the Foreign Office statement admit the justice of Germany's claim, except possibly by some oblique implication from its tortuous phrases.

The *New Statesman and Nation* devotes a leading editorial of unusual length to criticizing 'Simon, the Lawyer,' on his Far Eastern and disarmament policies and arrives at this conclusion :—

When we look back on these ten months, the conclusion that Sir John Simon has been a national and international disaster is inescapable. Without experience of foreign affairs, he seems not even to have attempted to understand the realities of the post-war world. He has brought purely legal talents to bear on a situation that demanded the highest gifts of statesmanship. Perhaps that is not his fault. A man cannot act beyond his capacities. But we can insist that Great Britain should adopt a less miserable policy at Geneva. Is it really wise to side with Japan when the cost is breaking up the League, ending the hope of disarmament, quarrelling with the United States, and setting on foot the preparations for the next war ?

—

Lenin the Good Fellow

The same paper translates from *L'Europe Nouvelle* a review of Curzio Malaparte's new book "Le Bonhomme Lenine." Curzio Malaparte, it would be remembered, is the brilliant author of "Technique of the Coup d' Etat" a summary of whose conclusions was published in a previous number of *The Modern Review*.

Lenin, the Good Fellow, is a life of Lenin written from a special point of view, and it undoubtedly conflicts with the conventional picture we have formed of this great revolutionist. Malaparte endeavours to reveal in Lenin a petty bourgeois who was infinitely more dangerous to his bourgeois colleagues than the exotic monster with which people tried to frighten them. Many chapters are written with brilliant talent, and the author's powers of evocation and his dramatic art are not his only qualities. Life circulates everywhere. Why do we remember the descriptions of Lenin in London and Paris ? Not merely because they analyse the hero but because they reveal the London and Paris of that time with charm and power. The author knows how to visualize things and how to make others see them. We have only to remember the impressive pictures he drew of the Russo-Polish war and the Russian revolution in his remarkable *Technique of the Coup d' Etat.*

What about the thesis of this book ? We might as well admit that it often seems forced and artificial. Nevertheless, it is not the author's least merit that he provokes lively reactions against his talent, which

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threatens to carry the reader away and force him to come to biassed conclusions despite himself. Why does Malaparte compare Lenin with the average Frenchman? Is it because Lenin led a petty-bourgeois life in London and Paris, because he liked to go bicycle riding, to pick flowers in the woods, and to busy himself with household tasks? Because he was never a man of action and regulated his life like an earnest bureaucrat of the revolution? Because he never stole, as Stalin did, and never directed factories while financing riots, as Krassin did? Because he was a simple fellow, as one of his Paris companions saw, who, nevertheless, simplified him to excess, seeing him only from the outside? Was Lenin a good fellow and a petty bourgeois at heart because all his life he remained fanatical, theoretic, bookish, calculating, scientific, and would, according to Gambarov, have made an excellent professor?

Of course, there were all these elements in Lenin, but the bias of Malaparte and his limited canvas force us to imagine all the rest for ourselves. It is like imagining what Bonaparte would have been without his battles and what Julius Cæsar was before ambition seized him. We are reminded of a criticism directed at Andre Maurois when he wrote his admirable life of Shelley entitled *Ariel*. The book possessed the finest qualities; it was essentially poetic; but it described the man's life without giving us any reason to suspect that he had written some of the most beautiful poems in the English language. In this case, I know that the author may reply, 'That was not my object,' but, in spite of everything, one cannot ignore certain essentials, which, in Shelley's case, had nothing to do with his amorous adventures, and in Lenin's had nothing to do with his bourgeois life. A man's history is not only made up of his life, but of everything that his life includes in its design, of everything that he wrote and of everything that others saw in him.

Moreover, wasn't Lenin a man of action when he resisted the temporizing tendencies of his companions all alone in London? Didn't he boldly take sole responsibility for the decision to sign the Peace of Brest-Litvsk and for the decision to make the strategic retreat known as the 'Nep'? Did not Bukharin in his funeral oration before the Communist Academy recall the audacity of the solutions that Lenin imposed on his companions at decisive moments? Wasn't it this same fanatical theorist, this bourgeois, this wild doctrinaire who wrote in the *Problems of Power of the Soviets* that 'we must change methods when circumstances change,' and who several times jotted down in his notebooks these words of Clausewitz: 'Truth does not reside in systems'? Wasn't he the man who changed his tactics every time the Duma changed its personnel and direction, and, finally, wasn't he the typical military leader of present-day conflicts who lived far from his troops, made them manœuvre, foresaw, calculated, and gave them their direction? Didn't he create his army and the party that followed him all his life? What force his personality and ideas must have had to touch the uneducated Stalin while still a young man in his native Georgia. If he possessed a bourgeois character how explain the extraordinary magnetism that made him into a revered, undisputed leader? Indeed, he might well have been called 'General Lenin.'

Nevertheless, let us be grateful to Malaparte for having written a book of such quality after his first book on the *coup d' etat*. He stimulates the mind. He raises many questions that will lead to discussio He opens a debate that becomes a dispute betwe action and theory. We find ourselves asking wheth in a life like Lenin's, thought is not a slow audaci no less effective than rapid, temporary gestur whether theory is not always backed by action. W ask ourselves whether we can make the usual distin tions. The key to a life like his is summed up this curious statement of Joseph de Maistre: 'If y imprison a Russian desire under a fortress it w blow the fortress up.'

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When does Senility set in?

Scientific American has the following interes ing note on the decay of mental and physic powers with age.

Two or three years ago there appeare simultaneously in American and British periodicals long series of articles and letters bitterly assailin industry's rapidly growing practice of classing as to old for employment a man of forty. Not only d this habit affect the industrial worker but also th office worker of the non-executive class and th professional man. Younger, "more alert" men wer wanted, so these older ones were discharged an found it very difficult to obtain new jobs com mensurate with their training and experience. Th practice is still observed, and nothing much seems t have been done to aid the despairing "antiques."

Now, however, a psychologist, Dr. Walter R. Miles who has previously written for Scientific American announces the results of a series of tests which he says proves that this age limit of industry is mere "calendar worship." In these tests, in which 50 persons, aged from 5 to 95, figured, he showed tha motor ability, such as hand and foot skill, falls of with age but not as much as sometimes believed that in reaction time, 25 per cent of those over 8 were as quick as the average for the group; that, i intelligence, a quarter of the oldest subjects score above the general average; that imagination showed no appreciable age change; and that in acuity o eyesight, perception, and memory, the older subject made good scores.

In this connection, we recall a remark Henr Ford once made to us in commenting on the practic of one European nation of giving old-age pension to all persons over 65 years of age. "To think," h said, "of being shelved as useless at what should b one's most productive age!" Solon, Sophocle Pindar, and Anacreon laboured on splendidly a octogenarians. Goethe, Kant, Buffon, Newto Fontenelle, and Harvey—the discoverer of th circulation of the blood—did some of their best wor after 80. Landor is said to have written his mos beautiful "Imaginary Conversations" at 85; Izaa Walton's pen was most fluent and forceful at 90 Hahnemann married at 80 and made some of hi most fruitful discoveries at 91; Michelangelo's brus at 81 was as vigorous as it had been at 21; an Titian was doing good work at 90.

Each year a large New York firm lists the death of about 60 successful men who have died in th preceding year. Holding high offices in larg corporations at the time of their deaths, most o those listed have passed 60 and a large percentag have passed 70, 80, and even 90. True, these men were executives and those mentioned above wer artists and scientists, not industrial workers or office

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"help"; but if age added experience to their early training and ripened them into men of large affairs, so too should years of conscientious application to a job make of the worker, white collar or denim variety, a valuable asset to his particular business. The latter does not so often become physically so old at middle age that he can be arbitrarily classed as useless; but he does sometimes allow worry about the future to give him a senescent attitude. The need, therefore, is for further research in this important psychological subject and perhaps the employment by corporations of psychologists who can scientifically gage the abilities of personnel. The man so often "too old at 40" may be a conscientious worker whose rich empirical knowledge and the intelligence with which he applies it will more than offset his loss of speed and physical ability even up to the age of 60 or 70.

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The Lytton Report.

The Lytton Report on Manchuria has had, generally speaking, a very good press. *Pacific Affairs* comments on it as follows.

On October 2 the full text of the League's Manchuria Commission Report was made public simultaneously in Geneva and world capitals. The 100,000 words of this report represent the nine months of monumental labour on the part of the five commissioners, their corps of secretaries and technical advisors, since their appointment following adoption of the League Council resolution of December 10, 1931. That resolution provided for: "1. An examination of the issues between China and Japan, which were referred to the Council including their causes, development and status at the time of the inquiry. 2. A consideration of a possible solution of the Chino-Japanese dispute which would reconcile the fundamental interests of the two countries."

The several national representatives officially appointed to the Commission by the League were five, as follows: the Earl of Lytton for Great Britain, Count Aldrovandi-Marescotti for Italy, General Henri Claudel for France, Major General Frank Ross McCoy for the United States, and Dr. Heinrich Schnee for Germany.

Their arduous labours consisted of preliminary study on the events and issues involved, travel to the capitals of Japan and China and consultation with government officials there, and personal investigation in Manchuria itself, including the hearing of evidence from a wide variety of sources. The difficulties faced in this last and most important phase of the Commission's work were admittedly great, in view of the fact that the geographical field of their inquiry was overspread by unremitting armed conflict and the psychological field gravely affected by the terrors and inhibitions which warfare engenders. Yet it is an eloquent fact that out of this confused and turbulent welter of actuality and belief, passion and prejudice, the situation should have clarified itself so unmistakably that five disinterested, honest and intelligent men of the most diverse backgrounds, the most opposite national interests and the most unlike psychological atttiudes and sympathies, were by the very force of these facts compelled to a unanimous conviction, seeing eye to eye in all but the least significant details and arriving at complete harmony of conclusion.

In essence that conclusion was that world peace treaties have been violated by the warfare in Manchuria, that the so-called new state of Manchukuo has no basis in the will of the people and its recognition and perpetuation would be contrary to the interests of both China and Japan, that Manchurian "autonomy" can exist only alongside the assumption of Chinese sovereignty, that settlement must come through direct negotiation between China and Japan, and that Japan's valid rights and interests in Manchuria must be recognized and safeguarded.

—

Lord Lytton on the Lytton Report.

International Affairs publishes the address which Lord Lytton gave on the problem of Manchuria at Chatham House on October 19, 1932. In this address Lord Lytton explained the scope and purpose of the report as understood by the Commission itself. We quote below the concluding portions of the address.

It has been suggested that all we have done is to ask the League to refer the dispute back to the two parties. It should not be necessary, but in case it may be let me explain that that is not at all what we have done. It would obviously be impossible at this moment, in present conditions, to ask these two parties to negotiate, while Manchuria is in the occupation of Japanese troops, while Japan is possessed of overwhelming military power and China in a military sense is powerless. The two parties would not be equally matched. What we do suggest is that the League should first of all secure the consent of both to the principles which should govern any discussion between them, that the League should define the indispensable conditions of a settlement on the broadest possible lines. We ourselves suggested ten such principles. Having done that, and having got the two parties to agree to negotiate on that basis, you would have put them back into a position of equality, and then I have not the slightest doubt that they would be far more competent to deal with the difficult and complicated details of the settlement than any outside body would be.

My last point is, What are the chances of such a thing being done? I am often asked—the question was put to me only to-day—"Do you really think that the Japanese are ever going to get out of Manchuria?" I certainly do not think they have the slightest intention of "getting out of Manchuria" and I don't see why they should be asked to, but what I think the League can do, what we should help it to do, is to get both parties to agree to the conditions under which the Japanese shall remain in Manchuria. I believe that is possible, and all our efforts should be directed towards that end. Whether it can be accomplished or not depends entirely on the way in which the situation is handled. I venture to suggest that immediate policy of this country, as expressed through our delegation at Geneva, should aim first at the maintenance of the unanimity of the League, for unless we remain united we can do nothing, and secondly at securing the co-operation of the United States of America. If the League is unanimous and if the United States comes in with the League, then I am confident that the object of the League can be obtained.

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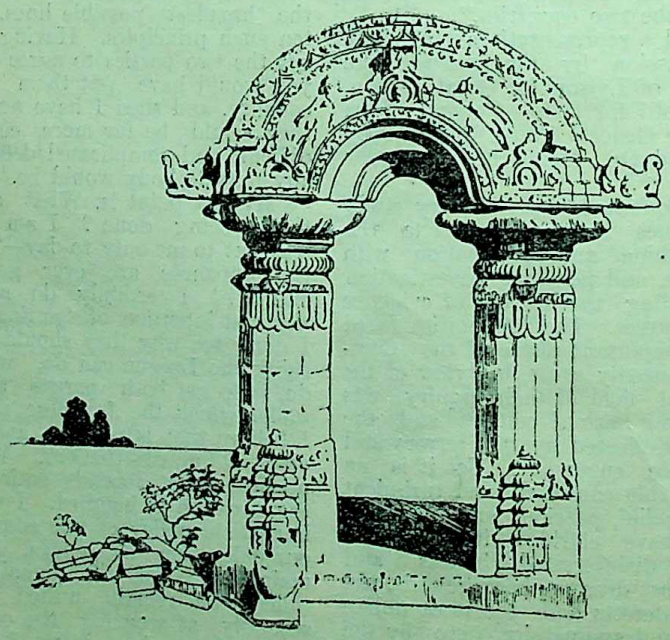
What is this object? It is the reconciliation of justice with peace, and we should strive after it along these lines. First, to go as far as possible in the way of conciliation to secure the acceptance of negotiation by both parties, and in the event of the refusal of either of them, to go as far as possible in the way of protest.

In the meanwhile we must assume consent. It is no good going forward to achieve an object with doubts about the chances of your success. It would be fatal to approach this problem with the certainty that you are going to fail. You must approach it with the conviction that you are going to succeed. So do not let us begin by saying that of course Japan will refuse. There is no certainty about it at all. What is certain is that Japan will defend her case until the very last moment and will come to Geneva with the intention of convincing the League that her way is the right way—she will come confidently in the hope that she is going to succeed. But that does not mean that if she fails to convince the League to accept her way she will necessarily refuse to accept the League's way. Let us therefore assume that the League is going to succeed.

We have first of all to create an organized world opinion, and having done that we must try our utmost to bring the opinion of Japan into line with it. It has been a bad year for the League. The Disarmament Conference has hung fire, and certainly the prospects of peace in the Far East have not improved since September of last year. But it is in just such circumstances that it is incumbent on the friends of the League to maintain cool heads a stout hearts, to have faith in the organization wh they have reared. For myself I am not sure t Mr. Stimson's speech on August 8th last does counter-balance all the other failures. That spe assured us that the United States recognizes principle of collective responsibility, and we did know that before. It is a real advantage to counted on the credit side of this year's account.

Again, let us think what would have happened the League were not in existence. Does anybody do that there would have been actual war in the East, and that changes brought about by force wou have been established beyond any possibility redress? Look back at other conflicts and which we have experienced in our time. Is there a in which, before the League of Nations had be created, it would have been possible to suspe operations while a Commission representing different States investigated the facts? Is there in which such a Commission would have reached unanimous conclusion? Surely that is somethi gained.

The fact that Japan has now consented to st her case before the League and to have it discuss by the other Powers, which before she refused to is also a gain. Let us therefore remember all the things on the credit side and face with confidence t difficulties ahead. Let us face them with faith in t principles, the technique, and the experience wh have never yet failed.



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THE BRAHMANIC SCULPTURE OF THE GUPTA PERIOD

By RAMAPRASAD CHANDA

THE Indian sculpture of the Gupta period (fifth and sixth centuries A. D.) has already come to be recognized as one of the most notable creations of man, and among the types created by the Gupta artists the Buddha has evoked high admiration. An eminent artist and art critic, Sir Charles Holmes, sometime Director of the National Gallery (London), has written in a recently published book :

"The seated figure of Buddha in India and Ceylon are among the most majestic achievements of the East, having the monumental gravity of Egyptian Colassi, but breathing a spirit of serene contemplation and compassionate meditation instead of stolid defiance. Crowding and a luxurious profusion of ornament are the besetting sins of ordinary Indian work, though it is vitalized by a sensuous, sinuous rhythm for which there is no parallel in Europe. The sculpture of China in general has a similar origin, and while it deals with Buddhism, a similar character ; but the surviving relics of it on a large scale are usually inferior in spirit to Indian products of the same type."*

The artists of the Gupta period brought to perfection an art which flourished in a rudimentary form under the Kushan emperors (about 50-200 A. D.) and their Saka predecessors. Though the ruins of Gandhara have yielded only Buddhist images, and those of Mathura only Buddhist and Jain images, it is not to be supposed that images of Siva and Vishnu were not made in those areas in the early centuries of the Christian era. The first Kushan emperor, Vima Kadphises, describes himself as Mahisvara (Mahesvara), 'devotee of Siva,' in the Kharashthi legends on his coins, and on the reverse of all his coins is figured Siva with or without the bull. Some of the coins of the Kushan emperors, Kanishka and Huvishka, show the figure of four-armed Siva, and a few of the coins of Vasudeva show the figure of many-headed Siva, on the reverse. The name Vasudeva for a Kushan king indicates Vaishnava influence. The figures of the gods on the early Kushan coins, though not lifeless, are crude in style.

But the figures of the Brahmanic gods on some of the engraved gems of the Kushan period are in a different style. Fig. 1 represents the engraving on a nicolo seal (1.4 inch by 1.05 inch) published by Cunningham. The god represented on this seal is a four-armed Vishnu standing to the front. In the right lower hand the god holds the *gada*, club, and left lower hand rests on a *chakra*, wheel. In the left upper hand is a conch-shell, and in the right upper hand a circular object. Cunningham writes about the second figure :

"On his right hand stands the king, who is only half the height of the god, with hands clasped in adoration. The head-dress of the Raja is a round jewelled helmet, similar to that worn by King Huvishka on several of his coins, with a crescent enclosing a dot on the side.....As a similar helmet is not worn by any of his successors, I feel inclined to assign this seal to Huvishka himself."*

Fig. 1

Figure of Vishnu (enlarged) on a gem

Cunningham's identification of the king on this seal has one strong argument in its favour ; it explains how Huvishka's successor came to be

* Sir Charles Holmes, *A Grammar of Art*, London, 1931, pp. 132-33.

* *The Numismatic Chronicle*, Third Series, Vol. XIII, 1893, pp. 126-27, plate X, fig. 2.

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named Vasudeva. Cunningham could not read the long inscription in corrupt Greek. The figure of Vishnu is carved in Hellenistic style. Therefore, in the analogy of the so-called Greek Buddha of Gandhara, this figure of Vishnu may be termed the Greek Vishnu. In the same Hellenistic style is carved the figure of four-armed Siva riding on the bull engraved on a brown chalcedony seal belonging to the Pearse Collection (now deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta) and reproduced in King's *Antique Gems*

Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India. Fig. 2
Krishna supporting the Govardhana (Sarnath Museum).

and Rings, vol. I, p. 314. Though the Kushan coins and engraved gems bear testimony to the prevalence of the worship of the images of Siva and Vishnu, no Saiva or Vaishnava monument has yet been discovered in Gandhara and Mathura, the two great centres of the Kushana imperial culture. A fragmentary inscription, published by the present writer, records the erection of a square of four buildings, a railing and a gateway at the great place (*mahasthana, i.e.*, birth-place) of Vasudeva at Mathura in the reign of the Great Satrap Sodasa who re before the Kushans.* The site where inscription was discovered (the compound of Rai Bahadur Pundit Radha Krishna's *Koti* the Mathura cantonment) has not yet explored. But no Vaishnava or Saiva assignable to the Kushan period has yet discovered in the Mathura district.

Gupta art was born at Mathura in the quarter of the fourth century A. D. The e known specimen, a seated image of Bu dated in A. D. 383-84, found at Bodh and exhibited in the Indian Museum, Mathura standstone and Mathura style. Em Samudragupta (*c.* A. D. 335-380) who su the Saka and Kushan princelings of Western India, was, as the Garuda standa his coins show, Vaishnava. His succ Chandragupta (II) Vikramaditya (*c.* A. D. 414), Kumaragupta I (*c.* A. D. 414-455) Skandagupta (*c.* A. D. 455-480) describe selves as *paramabhagavata*, "great Vaishnava their coins. A red standstone pillar (height with trident carved on the top discovere Mathura and deposited in the Mathura Mu records the erection of two Siva temples in year 61 (A. D. 380-381) in the reign of Bhatt Maharaja Maharajadhiraja Chandragupta worthy son (*satputra*) of Bhattaraka Mah Maharajadhiraja Samudragupta. But no sculp belonging to these two temples or to Siva and Vishnu temples erected in fourth or fifth centuries at Mathura have been discovered, though Jain and Bu sculptures have been found in abund The iconoclasm of Sultan Mahmud Ghazni and other Moslem invaders must be responsible for a good deal of loss. Sculptur all sects suffered equally from Moslem iconoc But the almost total loss of Brahmanic sculp that adorned or were enshrined in the Brah temples of the Gupta period in great of pilgrimage like Mathura and Benares other great cities in the Gangetic valley show attributed to the subtle iconoclasm of Brahmanists. The Hindus were not indif to the beauty of form, but they regarded the beauty of form from the utili standpoint. Raghunandana quotes this from the *Hayasirsha Pancharatra* in *Tithitattva* :

अर्च्चकस्य तपोयोगादर्च्चनस्यातिशायनात् ।
आभिरूप्याच्च बिम्बानां देवः सान्निधामृच्छति ॥

"The god appears before the worshipper in sequence of his penances and meditation, abundance of offerings, and *the beauty of the*

Therefore, though the Hindus admired beauty of the images, they did so, not

* Chanda, *Archaeology and Vaishnava Tr Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of No.* 5, pp. 169-173.

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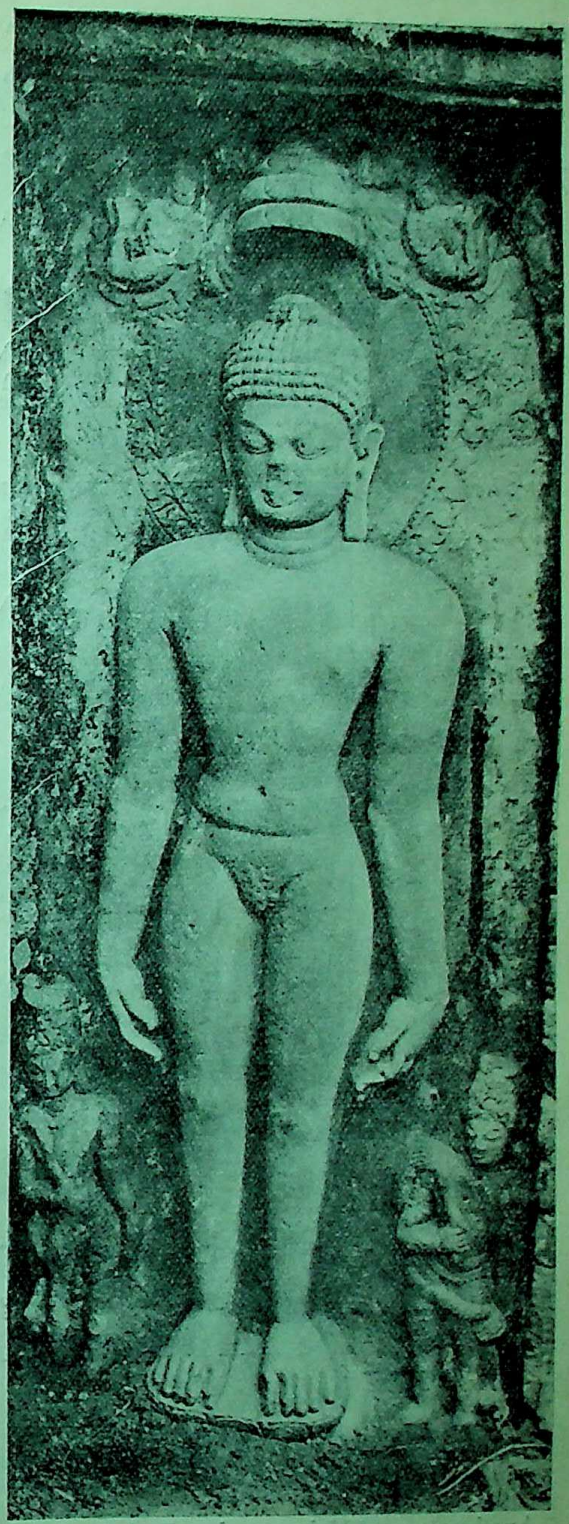
because beauty of form is pleasing to the eyes, but because they believed that beauty possessed the magical power of attracting the deity. So a mutilated image, however beautiful, had little value in their eyes. The Brahmanists hold that a mutilated image is not fit to be worshipped, and usually throw it into the river or otherwise dispose of it. To this usage is to be attributed the loss of a considerable number of Brahmanic images that suffered mutilation by accident. The Jains, on the other hand, have no objection to worship mutilated images. Therefore, many ancient Jain images have been preserved in modern Jain temples, some of which are veritable museums of statuary. Though we do not know the Indian Buddhist usage, the Buddhist images fared better in the ruins of the monasteries lying outside the holy cities like Sarnath, near Benares, and Bodh Gaya near Gaya. But the ruins of the Brahmanic temples situated within the holy cities have repeatedly been built upon and their remains that lie buried under the present day structures are beyond recovery. All the known remains of the Brahmanic temples of the Gupta period owe their preservation either to their isolation, or to their inaccessible position in the hill tracts of Central India. The remains of great Saiva and Vaishnava temples erected under royal patronage to which were affixed the masterpieces of Gupta sculpture can only be expected in great places of pilgrimage like Benares and Mathura, the Olympia and Delphi of Northern India, and not in such nooks and corners.

Fortune, however, has placed before us one masterpiece of Brahmanic sculpture of the Gupta period from Benares. It is an over life-size sandstone image of Krishna supporting mount Govardhana recovered from a Muhammadan cemetery on the outskirt of Benares (Fig. 2). This image was sent to the Sarnath Museum by the Collector of Benares, and in 1930 with the permission of Mr. Hargreaves, then officiating Director-General of Archaeology in India, the present writer fixed it against the eastern wall of the southern hall of the Sarnath Museum. Originally this image must have been installed in one of the principal niches of a great temple of Vishnu at Benares. In Barahamihira's *Brihat-samhita*, a work in astrology written in the sixth century A. D., in chapter 58 dealing with images for worship, among the Vaishnava deities there are directions for the making of images of Vishnu, Baladeva, Pradyumna and Sâmba (Aniruddha), but not of Gopala-Krishna. It may therefore be inferred that our image of Gopala-Krishna supporting Govardhana was not intended as a cult image, but a sculpture for the decoration of the temple.

This superb image is considerably mutilated. The face is damaged, and the right shank with foot and the left foot are lost. In spite of this mutilation the image retains its monumental grandeur. Like the Buddha and the Jina and



Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India. Fig. 3

Standing Jina, Vaibharagiri, Rajgir

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all those who are destined to be rulers of men, Krishna is also a *Mahapurusha*, Great man or Superman, and must have all the bodily signs of a *Mahapurusha*. Varahamihira in his *Brihat-samhita* (chapter 69) distinguishes five types of great men destined to be rulers over certain parts of Northen India. One of these, *Malavya*, has—

नागनासा समभुजयुगलो जानुसम्प्राप्तहस्तो

मांसैः पूर्णाङ्ग सन्धिः समरुचिरतनुर्मध्यभागे कृशश्च ।

"Pair of arms resembling an elephant's trunk, hands reaching to the knees, even and full (fleshy) joints, even and radiant body, and slender waist"(10).

An exhaustive list of the 32 chief mark 80 minor marks of a Mahapurusha is give the *Latitavistara* (chapter VII). These indicate a uniform roundness, evenness softness in the different members of the These more or less abnormal marks, orig chosen by the astrologers on account of supposed auspiciousness, came to be recog as elements of the beauty of human frame, the marks of a Mahapurusha capable of representation are found on the image of standing Jina (Fig. 3) of the Gupta peri the Vaibharagiri at Rajgir in Bihar. The of this figure including even the shanks round and full. The arms reaching to the resemble the trunk of the elephant. Three

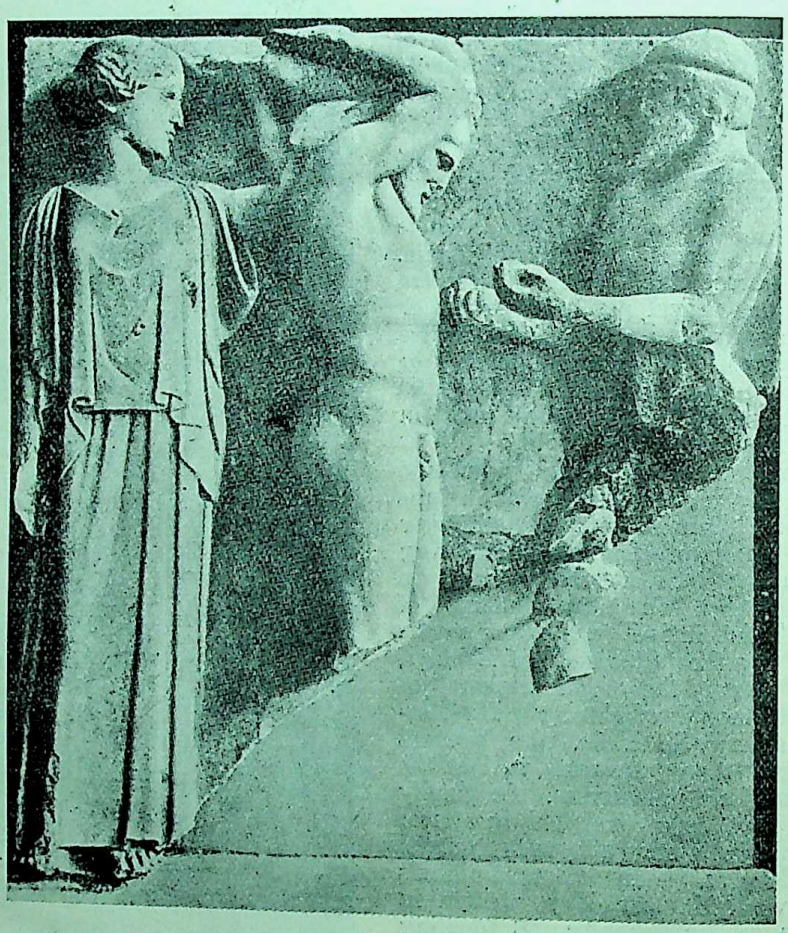

Fig. 4

Marble metope from the temple of Zeus at Olympia (Beazley and Ashmole, *Greek Sculpture and Painting*, Fig. 79.)

Another type of Mahapurusha, *Ruchaka*, has—

सुभ्रकेशो रक्तश्याम कम्बूग्रीवो व्यदीर्घास्यः ।

"Fine eye-brows and hairs on the head, a reddish dusky complexion, a neck marked with three folds like a conch-shell, a longish face" (27).

are clearly marked on the neck. The chest even; the belly is round *(vrittakukshi)*; the w is narrow. In our figure of Krishna suppor the Govardhana, so far as it is preserved, the bodily marks of the Mahapurusha present. But the sculptor who carved this i

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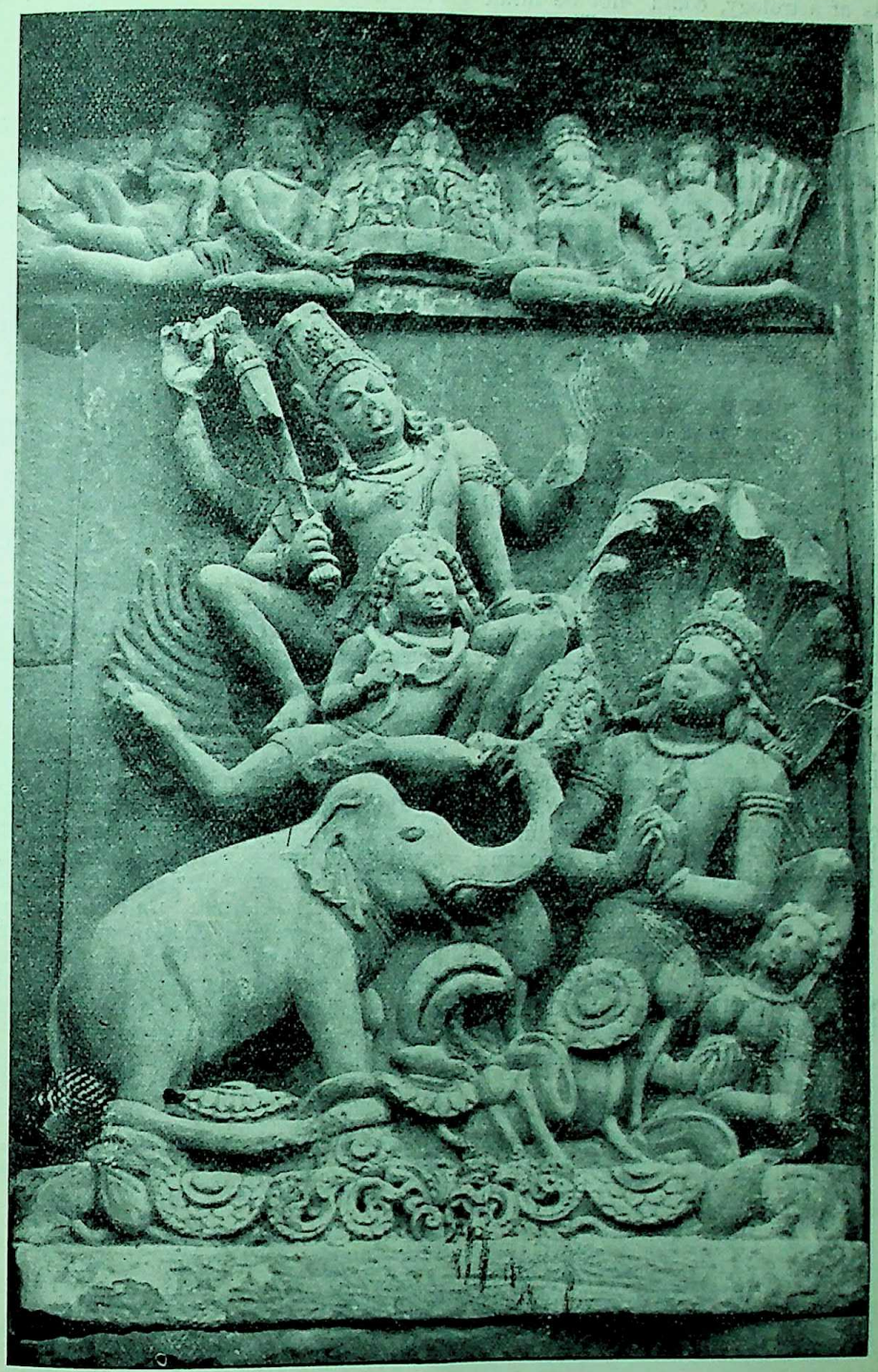

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Fig. 5

Vishnu rescuing the elephant. Deogarh, Jhansi district, U. P.

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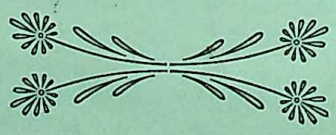
was a great artist who, while paying due regard to the requirements of astrology, could not be blind to beauty of the natural human form. The pose of Krishna is quite naturalistic. The mountain, carved in conventional fashion, is supported by the left hand. The head is slightly inclined towards the right, and the waist is pushed forward in the same direction to maintain the balance. The differentiation of the two sides of the body is carried out with accuracy and grace. The folds of the contracted muscle on the right side, and the slight bulge of the belly below the navel suggest life and movement within the body. The thin loin-cloth arranged in conventional folds reveals the fine shape of the hips and the abdomen. The right shank is carved realistically. To contrast the artistic taste of the Hindus with that of the Greeks the relief on a marble metope (about 460 B. C.) from the temple of Zeus at Olympia is reproduced in Fig. 4. This relief shows Herakles in the middle supporting the firmament; behind him Athena lending him a hand, and in front Atlas bringing him the golden apples. Though both Krishna and Herakles are engaged in the same sort of work, in the Greek relief, in place of a Mahapurusha of effeminate proportions, we have an athlete with muscular body and limbs. The contrast is greatest in the expression of the face. Herakles wears a grave and troubled expression, but Krishna is absorbed in meditation. In our image of Krishna supporting Govardhana naturalism is harmonized with idealism, and realism with conventionalism. To the spiritually-minded, Krishna, the hero of many epic and Puranic legends, stands forth as the great teacher of the religion of the Bhagavatgita wherein the daily duties of a man of the world and the steady pursuit of supreme knowledge that leads to salvation are reconciled. This image of Krishna engaged in performing a great task while absorbed in deep meditation is an embodiment of that religion. The supreme beauty of this image induces me to hazard a guess that t Vaishnava temple at Benares which was adorn by it was probably built about 400 A. D., the reign of the emperor Chandragup Vikramaditya, and was a contemperary of t masterpieces of Kalidas.

I have not come across any other Brahman sculpture of the Gupta period of su supreme artistic merit. The highest le of excellence attained by the ordinary Gu sculpture, is found in a relief illustrating t rescue of the elephant (*Gajamokshana*) by Vish that decorates one of the three niches of t Vaishnava temple of the Gupta period Deogarh in the Jhansi district in the Uni Provinces (Fig 5). An elephant with f entwined by the long tail of a Naga invok Vishnu to come to his rescue. Riding Garuda the deity has appeared on the scen But no rescue work has followed. Vishnu a his carrier Garuda are absorbed in deep meditatio and so are the Naga and the Nagini with clasp hands. The elephant, still entangled, is calm offering a bunch of lotus flowers to the god. T neck of Vishnu shows the three folds marking t neck of the *mahapurusha*, but the right si of his belly shows none, though the body sharply turned towards the right from this poi The shanks of Vishnu are not modell realistically like the surviving shank Krishna supporting Govardhana, but are round Compared to Krishna this relief appear to be a work of later date when the con ventional method of representing the *mahapurus* was fully fixed. Barring convention, this group a work of considerable artistic merit. The com position is very pleasing, the upper group Vishnu and Garuda well balancing the low group of Naga and Nagini, and the figure of t elephant separating God in heaven from t Nagas of the nether region. The splendid de rative effect of the whole is matched by t intensity of spiritual expression.



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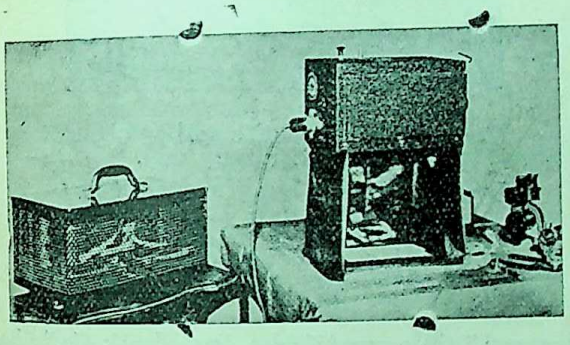
GLEANINGS

Ultra-Violet Light and Forgery

Science has now put another powerful instrument in the hands of the expert to assist in the discovery of fraud in documents. This instrument is the quartz mercury vapor arc which radiates a high percentage of ultra-violet rays. These rays are not a recent discovery ; neither is the mercury vapor arc an invention of yesterday. But the application of ultra-violet rays in the examination of documents has not heretofore been thoroughly investigated over a sufficiently wide field so that authoritative statements could be made concerning the results....

The effect of filtered ultra-violet light which is a valuable aid in the detection of forgery, is called fluorescence. Although the rays themselves are invisible they are capable of generating visible light when they strike certain substances. Fortunately, a

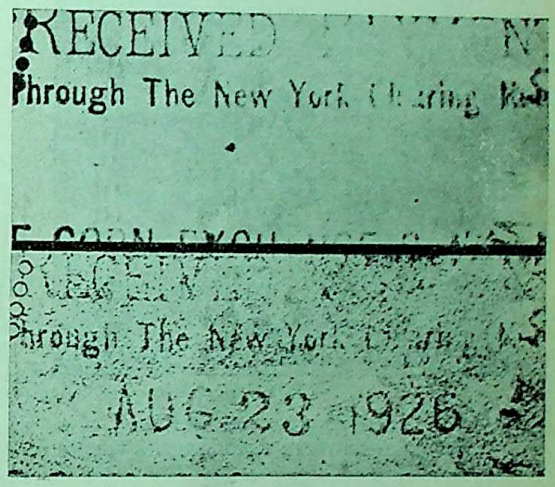


Equipment for investigating documents by means of ultra-violet rays. The lamp above sheds its rays downward. The object shown at the left is a transformer

number of these substances are used in documents and give this peculiar fluorescence when flooded in darkness by ultra-violet rays. The explanation of the cause of fluorescence is an excursion into technical optics which will not be attempted here. Of greater interest are the practical ways that these effects can be used to detect evidences of fraud in documents.

There are three main divisions in a fluorescence study of a document : First ; certain kinds of materials can be distinguished from each other although by ordinary observation in daylight they are identical. Second ; certain things that are invisible even under the microscope are made visible by filtered ultra violet light. Third ; and perhaps the most valuable phase of the fluorescence study of a document, is the possibility of photographing the peculiar effect of the ultra-violet rays on document materials. It is also a surprising and helpful fact that the sensitized photographic plate records things that cannot be seen by the eye even when the document is exposed to the ultra-violet rays.

Fluorescence of a document takes several forms, depending upon the paper, ink, or any chemical or other materials in the object examined. It is sometimes a silvery glow like phosphorescence, while other materials, which under ordinary light seem to be white, will appear a surprising dark brown or bluish colour. Chemical erasures which show no trace whatever of their existence in ordinary light, often appear as a dark blot when a fluorescence study of an erased area is made....



Upper : An ordinary photograph of a rubber stamp with the date removed.

Lower : The ultra-violet rays brought out the evidence of the same stamp.

Papers made of different basic materials or sized with different compositions can be positively distinguished from each other by the fluorescence test. Therefore, a document consisting of several sheets with a substituted page on different paper can thus be shown to be irregular. Paper made of pure cotton rags gives a clear white fluorescence, while that made of pure linen rags is a distinct bluish colour under the ultra-violet rays. Paper containing chemical wood-pulp appears as a dark grayish brown, the depth of the shade depending upon the proportion of the wood-pulp to other ingredients. Mechanical wood-pulp paper appears almost black when a fluorescence study is made of it. Vegetable or animal size and various coating materials have their own individual reaction to the test which makes it possible still further to distinguish between different papers.

Alterations in documents, such as changed dates, elimination of words or sentences and fraudulently

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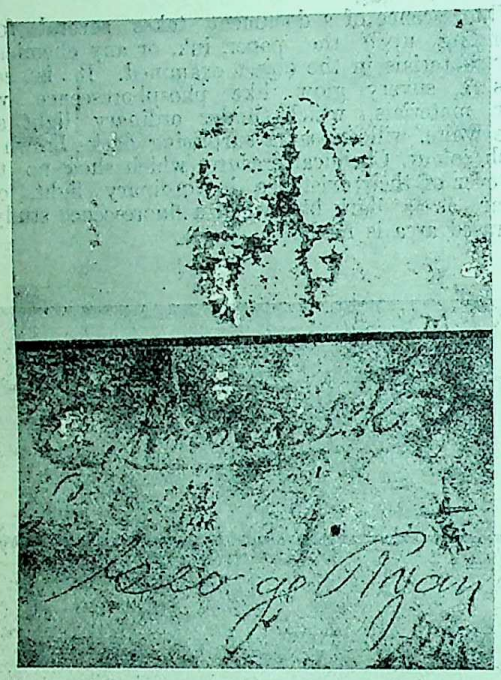
added matter, may sometimes be shown with startling clearness. The residue of erased writing often stands out sufficiently plain so that the original writing can be read. This remarkable disclosure is the result of fluorescence. In some instances the erased ink lines, or rather the place they occupied, do not fluoresce, while all the remaining paper gives off the strange effect of the light; in other instances the erased ink lines give a distinctive fluorescence of



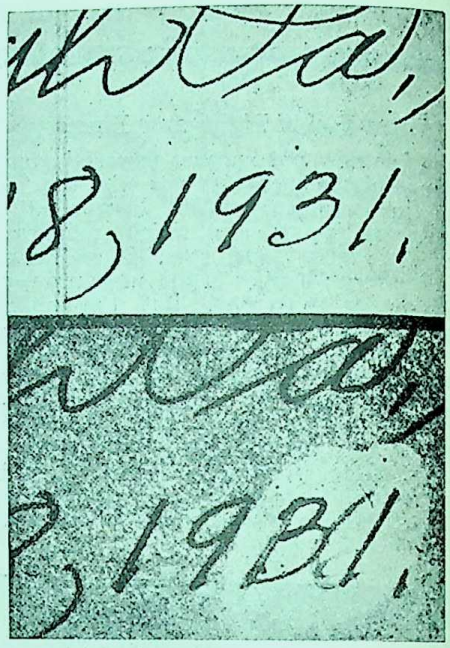
Upper: Ordinary photograph of back of a cheque in area where endorsements should appear.

Lower: Ultra-violet light shows evidence of three endorsements.

their own which in either case makes a definite contrast between the erased ink lines and the surrounding paper, thus giving visibility to the original writing. Such a result is often of the greatest importance in the study of a disputed document. One of the commendable things about this process is that the document is not harmed or changed in any way, so that no matter how fragile or how valuable it may be, it can be studied under the effect of the ultra-violet rays with no danger of the slightest injury....

Another phase of the fluorescence study of a document of great importance is that heretofore there has been no way to restore bleached or erased writing that had been written with nigrosine or any other aniline ink, but repeated experiments now prove conclusively that the residue of many of these inks fluoresces in a pronounced way, so that they can be photographed and made visible although not a trace of them can be discovered on the altered document. In this respect the fluorescence caused by ultra-violet light supplies a valuable and unique service.

A recent practical application of the ultra-violet rays was made by Albert D. Osborn in the trial of the case of People *v.* "Nate" Raymond, tried in New York in January, 1932 in which he was convicted of fraud in relation to stock certificates. The rays showed that under the endorsement, "Nathaniel



Upper: The date of a will as photographed in the ordinary way.

Lower: The same area photographed by the ultra-violet rays. It is clear that the date was originally 1916, and that the "16" was taken out and altered to "31" at a subsequent time.

Raymond," the name, "Kidder, Peabody & Co." had previously been written. The rays also showed that the date put on by a rubber stamp had been removed and a new date inserted. The jury examined the document under the light, this being among the first if not the first, use of the ultra-violet test in a jury case.

The ultra-violet rays will not make every eradicated writing legible but there are certain erased writings which, when they cannot be read by a fluorescent study of the front of the sheet, can easily be deciphered by examining the back of the paper under the rays. Of course, the writing is then reversed and must be read backward or by the aid of a mirror.

Sometimes the field in which an erasure has been made is shown as a distinctly disturbed area even when the details of the original writing cannot be deciphered, and when it can thus be shown that an alteration has undoubtedly been made, it casts a suspicion on the document and compels an explanation by the persons who would profit by the alteration. When the change is a fraudulent one, these explanations are usually so improbable as to condemn the document.

A valuable part of a fluorescence study of a document is making the effects permanent by means of photography. Fluorescence not only can be recorded on the photographic plate but these effects

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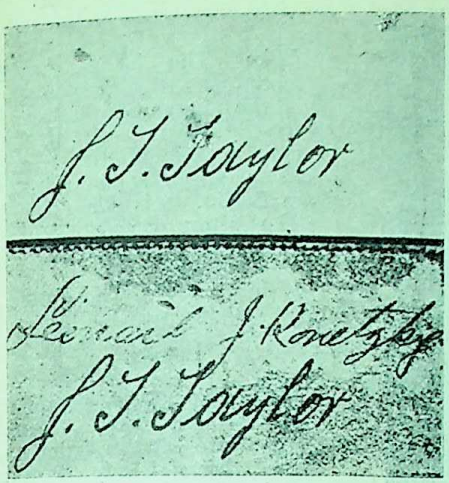


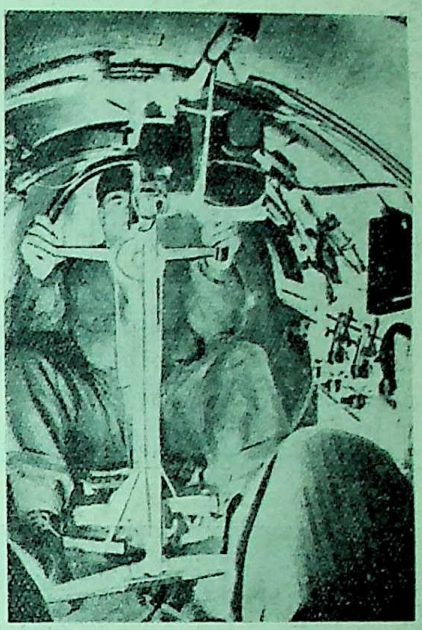
Upper: Back of a note photographed in ordinary daylight.
Lower: Back of same note, showing the effect of fluorescence by the ultra-violet rays when photographed. Thus, definitely erased ink can be made visible once more.

an be enlarged and put into such concrete form that nyone can see them and. when they are properly xplained, understand them. An additional and ighly important value of photography, as stated bove, is the fact that certain details can be recorded n the photographic plate which are not actually isible to the eye even under the ultra-violet rays. This startling result has two main explanations: First, he necessary visible light produced in generating the ltra-violet rays is reduced to the lowest practical oint when making a fluorescence study, and this im light necessarily increases the difficulty of seeing he complete details of fluorescence. The second eason is that the rays themselves, which cause luorescence, are wholly invisible, but the effect of some of them passes through the lens of the camera and makes an impression on the photographic plate so that things are recorded which are invisble to the eye. No thorough fluorescence study of a document should omit careful photographing of the effect of the rays. Although fluorescence effects on a document are not easily photographed, it can be done with special equipment and a knowledge of the exacting requirements. The photographs illustrating this article were made with specially designed equipment.

—*Scientific American*

Pilots Face Each Other In Stratosphere Plane

What the inside of a stratosphere plane looks like is shown in the picture at the right. It is the first view te reach this country showing the interior of a Farman plane recently tested near Paris, designed to fly at high speed through the rarefied atmosphere nine miles above the earth (P. S. M. Oct., '32, p. 13). Two pilots sit facing each other in the barrel-shaped cabin, which is sealed airtight to protect them from the physiological effects of reduced air pressure at great heights. They will fly the machine blind, depending upon instruments alone to guide them except in taking off and landing. When the time comes for descent, the pilot facing the camera, in the picture, climbs into the open through a circular trapdoor just above his head. Sitting on



Interior view of the airtight cabin of the stratosphere plane recently tested in France

top of the plane, he lands it by means of extended control levers. Latest plans call for an attempt at a nine-hour flight from Berlin to New York with the new plane flying at a high altitude.

—*Popular Science*

A Masterpiece of Museum Crafts

The Pergamon Museum in Berlin, Germany, has taught an object lesson in museum technique which is an outstanding achievement in museum-craft. Here at last is a thoroughly honest attempt to reconstruct ancient masterpieces of architecture and to exhibit them without irrelevant distractions. The lighting is admirable, the walls are bare, the floors are of marble of appropriate colour, and the labels are unobtrusive. The visitor is put in direct contact with the past without interference from externals. This new and scientific spirit is best evinced in the Pergamon altar room which contains the great frieze which formed the artistic decoration of a huge marble altar to Zeus (and perhaps Athena) on the acropolis of Pergamon, a Hellenistic city of Asia Minor. It represents a contest between the gods and giants, and was probably erected by King Eumenes II, about the year 180 B.C., in honour of his decisive victory over the Gauls in Asia Minor. The altar has been reconstructed so as to exhibit the sculptures in their original position. It is perhaps the largest existing monument of Greek sculpture and rivals in importance the Parthenon sculptures in the British Museum. It forms a rectangular platform 30 feet in height and 124 feet in length. A flight of steps 65 feet wide leads up to the top.

In the adjacent Roman Hall there are two columns from the magnificent temple of Baalbek and

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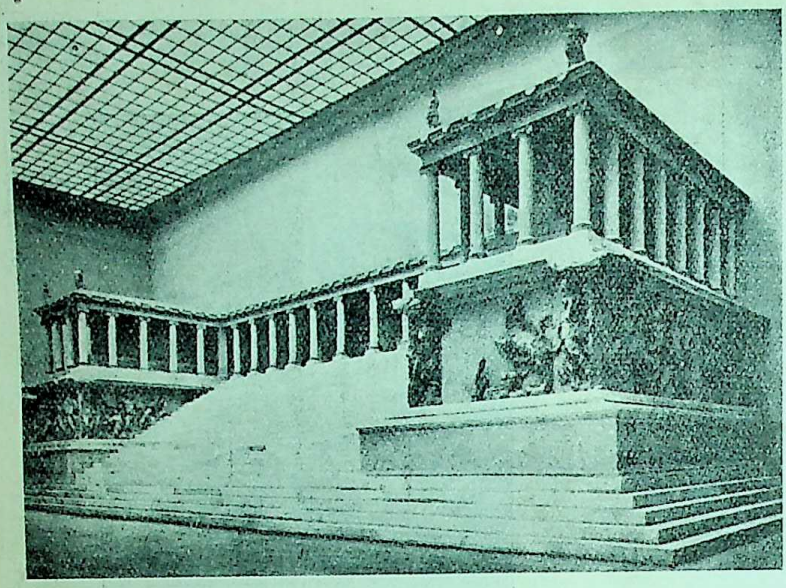
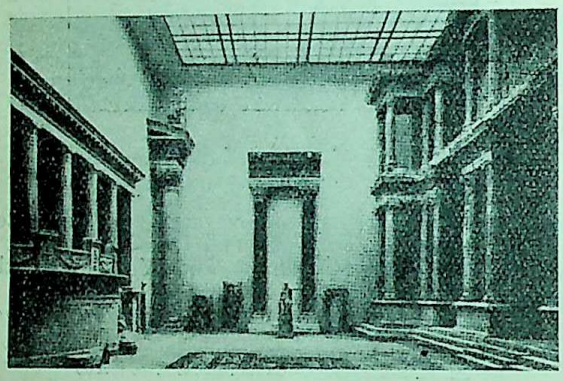
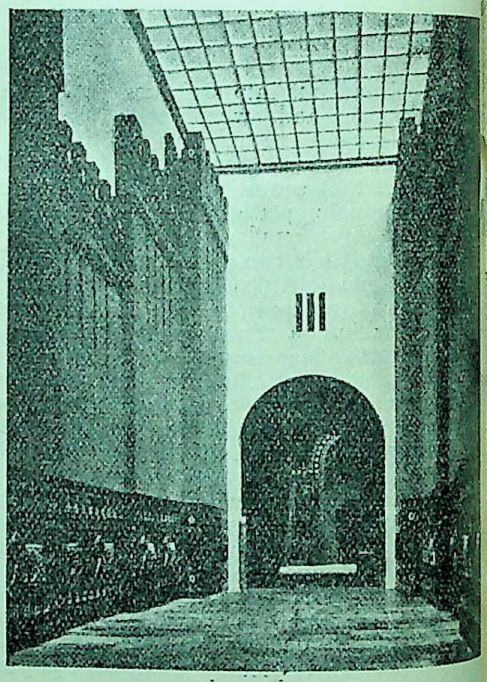


Left: The largest existi on in wl monument of Greek sculpt any refi is the Pergamon altar fr expected the Hellenistic city of Pe gle gall mon in Asia Minor, re-erec able to in a specially built muse most two in Berlin. It is 124 feet lo nning th The altar, dedicated to Ze ad or ov dates from about 180 B.

Below: A great achievement the reconstruction of the Is tar Gate at Babylon and the procession-way leading to to it. The tiles, in polychrom add to the reconstruction. has been restored in the Ne East Museum in Berlin adj cent to the Pergamon Museu





Two immense columns from Baalbek, the ancient Heliopolis in Asia Minor, in the Roman Hall of the Pergamon Museum at Berlin. On the floor in the foreground is a mosaic from a Roman house at Miletus

a mosaic from a Roman house at Miletus. In the Near East Museum, connected with the Pergamon Museum, is to be seen another great achievement—the reconstruction of the Ishtar Gate at Babylon and of the procession-way leading to it. As the tiles are polychrome they add greatly to the imposing effect. A well-lighted model and a plan enables one to grasp immediately the place and functions of the originals in Babylon itself.

—*Scientific American*

Air Driven Auto goes Eighty Miles an hour

Climbing steep hills covered with slippery ice is only one of the feats claimed possible for a curious air-driven automobile recently tested at Detroit, Mich. A four-bladed propeller, driven by a 100-horsepower engine, pulls it along like a tractor airplane. With a wheelbase of 132 inches and a weight of approximately 1,500 pounds, the strange machine is said to reach eighty milles an hour and cover thirty miles on a gallon of fuel. Because the wheels roll free and do not drive the car, it is not ne sary for them to grip the ground as on a conventi machine. Consequently, the air-driven auto can tr along muddy roads or climb slippery hills wit difficulty. To hold the machine on the road w it is going at high speeds, the front of the b top is slanted so the propeller's blast strikes it an angle, pressing downward. Wire guards round the whirling propeller blades to prev accidents. According to tests, the inventor repo the five-foot propeller gives four times as much ward drive to the machine as could be obtained conventional rear-drive wheels, enabiing the car carry from six to eight people easily. A new pound, three-passenger model is now under cons

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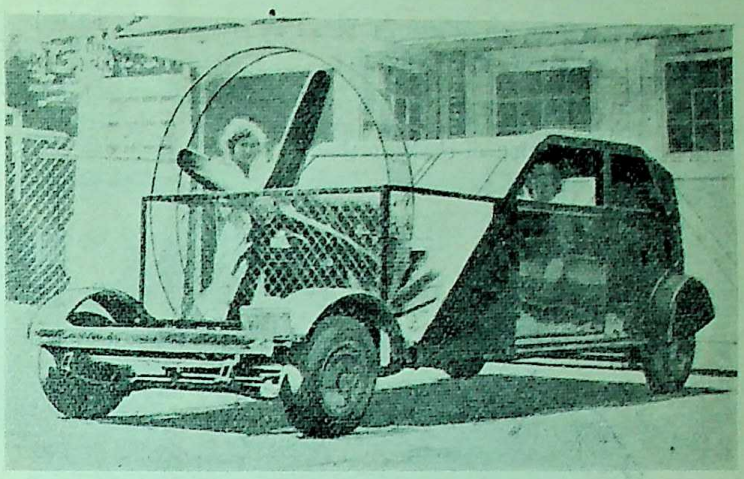
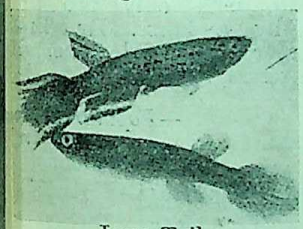
on in which will be incorporated any refinements in the design. It expected to cover forty miles on a gle gallon of gasoline and will able to attain a top speed of most two miles a minute without nning the danger of leaving the ad or overturning.

—*Popular Science*

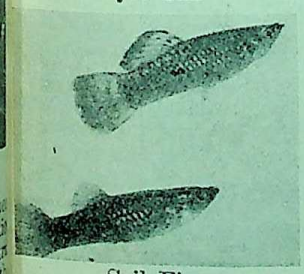


Front view of auto driven by air propeller

Scavenger Catfish



Lyre Tail



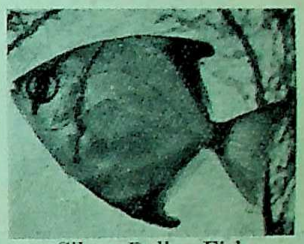
Sail Fin

Tropical fish as Pets

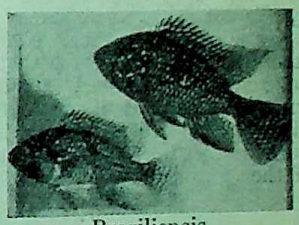
The hobby of keeping and breeding tropical fish is giving pleasure and recreation to thousands. These fish are ideally suited to domestic quarters of small size. The study of these finned pets has introduced many to the subject of biology and has aided in self-education. There is also a scientific angle, because tropical aquarium fish are now being used in biological and medical laboratories. The commercial propagation of these fish is an industry of no mean proportions and is constantly growing. One metropolitan newspaper carries, every Saturday, half a column of ads of hatcheries and importers. We find whole stores devoted to the sale of tropical fish. Only the other day in passing through the basement of a great department store in New York we came across a pet shop where about 50 species were on sale. The prices run from 50 cents or less to 50 dollars or more per pair, depending on rarity. On at least one transatlantic ship a special room is given up to the transport of tropical fish from Germany.

The New York Aquariun has yielded to the popular interest in small fish and has installed tiny aquariums where some 200 species of little tropical fish are kept.

—*Scientific American*

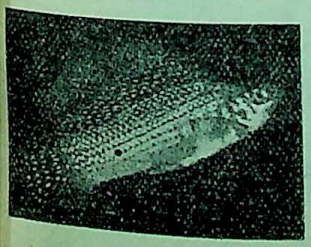


Silver Dollar Fish



Braziliensis

Striped Hatchet Fish



Yucatan Sail Fin

Lime Bearing Piklet

Rasbora

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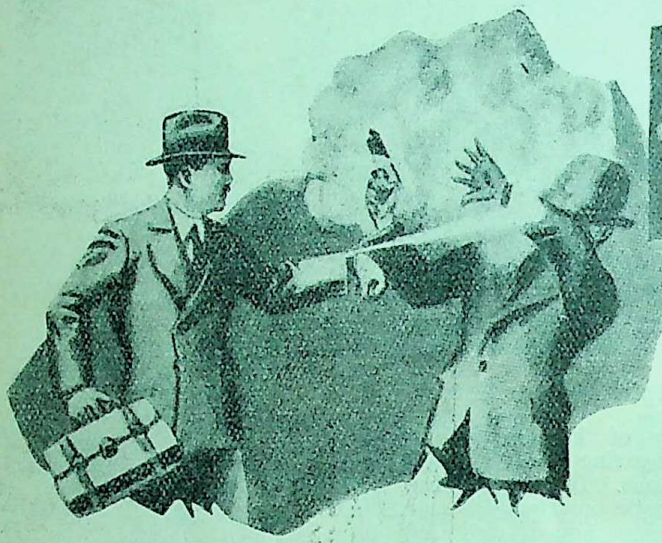
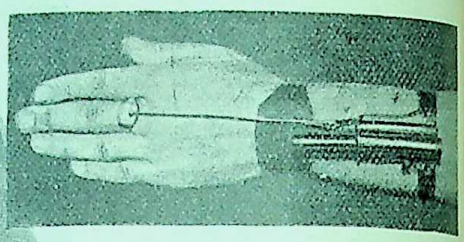
Tear Gas Gun on Wrist Is Fired by Finger Ring Trigger

Shot by a tiggerworn as a finger ring, a wrist gun that belches out clouds of tear gas has been designed for the protection of clerks, cashiers and payroll messengers. The little gun, with its muzzle pointing forward, is strapped to the wrist where it is hidden by the coat sleeve. A thread of flesh-coloured catgut, invisible at a glance, connects a ring worn on the second finger with a trip that releases the gas. The hand can be moved about freely but when the wrist is bent suddenly at a sharp angle, the gas is discharged. To protect the wearer's arm from being burned by the gas, the skin under the muzzle of the gun is covered by a wide band of leather. A retired Chicago, Ill. policeman is the inven the new anti-holdup gun.





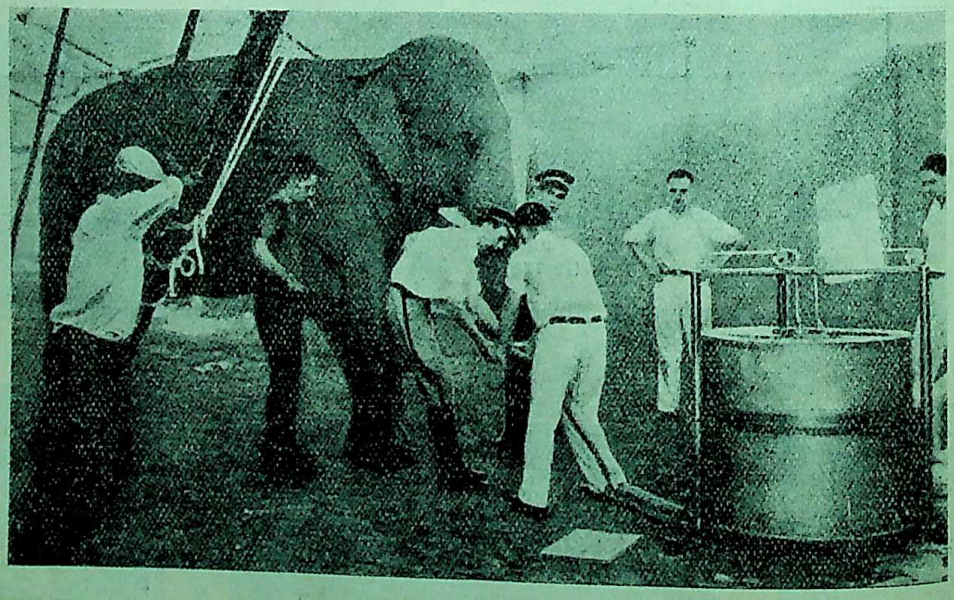
Above. Tear gas gun on wrist wi leather band to protect skin and c gut string running from ring trigger to discharge the gun.

Left. Picture illustrates the mann in which tear gas gun can used merely by raising the arm a bending the wrist.

Quiet Elephant Uses Little Energy

How much energy does it take to keep a phant alive ? Dr. Samuel Brody, of the Uni of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., recently made tes find out. By means of a huge spirometer, an ment that records the amount and rate of o consumption, he discovered that an 8,000- circus elephant, when resting, uses only two the amount of energy used by a horse. Dr. has discovered that the larger the animal, the s are its energy needs, when resting.

—*Popular S*



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INDIANS ABROAD

By BENARSI DAS CHATURVEDI

Returned emigrants and the problem of their settlement.

There are 1,000 returned emigrants living in a wretched condition in the suburbs of Calcutta. About 40 per cent of them are members of Indian born families, the remaining being those who emigrated from India and have returned to the motherland after many years' stay in the colonies. The problem of these people, who have drifted to the slums of Calcutta, is not a new one, nor are those people recent arrivals from the colonies. The majority of them have lived in Calcutta from five to seven years. Efforts have been made from time to time to help them to settle in India, but unfortunately most of them have refused all offers that were made to them. Their cry has been 'anywhere outside India.' The Government of India succeeded in despatching a few hundreds of them to Fiji and British Guiana when the governments of these colonies could afford to get them back at their expense. But on account of financial depression no colony is at present prepared to spend money over these people. The Government of India tried to send them to Malaya some years ago but they did not succeed. The British Guiana Government made enquiries about the number of emigrants born in their colony but they too do not seem inclined to take them back now. Mahatma Gandhi has been of opinion that colonial-born Indians will not be happy except in the colonies and he is quite right. The ideal solution of this problem will be to send these people back to the colonies but there is no hope of such a step being taken, because if this were done thousands of others would want a similar concession and the strain on the finances of India will be continuous and incalculable. The only practicable solution is to try to settle these people in India and for this we require a permanent semi-official committee in Calcutta. It is a social work of a very difficult and delicate type and cannot be done efficiently without the help and co-operation of such organizations as the Y. M. C. A., the Arya Samaj, and the Ramkrishna Mission. Only after years of sustained hard work can we succeed in ameliorating the condition of these people who have reached the lowest depths of humanity. It must not be forgotten that a number of these people are such as will never make good settlers either in India or in the colonies and these will have to be separated from those who can be persuaded to get work in India.

There is another aspect of the problem that is to be considered. It is alleged that hundreds of paupers arrive from colonies every year and there is an impression abroad that the colonial governments have been dumping this country with their destitutes and people are asking why should India provide settlements, work houses, doles and charities for people who have given the best part of their lives to the colonies. We must get a thorough enquiry made into this allegation.

Philippine Government's Restrictions against Indians

Mr. N. A. Perumal writes:

"The Immigration restrictions against Indians going to the Philippine Islands are as harsh or perhaps even harsher than those in force in the United States. It is indeed strange why Philippines should have such restrictions imposed on even Indian business men, who go there for trade purposes. So far as it is known there is no large Indian population in the islands. Nor is there any flow of emigrants from India into the Philippines. like that from Japan.

On board the steamer while I was returning from the United States there were two Indian Deportees from Manila, the capital of the Philippine Islands. One was a Sindhi, who according to his own version went there to join his business concern which was in existence for more than a decade there. The Sindhi gentleman was allowed to stay there at first for six months, just as the Philippine Immigration Bureau would allow any ordinary visitor. Again the authorities allowed him a concession of two months more at the end of which he was forcibly removed to a steamer and deported. Even in the United States a foreign business man can live as long as he wished to under certain conditions. But in Philippines the treatment given to Indians seems to be worse.

Immigration of Japanese into Philippine Islands is freely allowed. Until a year ago a large number of Japanese were freely admitted into the Islands as immigrants who entered after expressly declaring their object as "to earn a living." Now their entry is limited. That is all. We Indians are not asking for any special privileges. What we resent is this that Philippines who are also a subject people like the Indians should be guilty of offering partial treatment to the Indians in Immigration matters.

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Passport difficulties of Indians in Malaya.

Indian residents in Malaya experience considerable difficulty in obtaining their passports to visit foreign countries. When a declaration is made for a passport the same should be endorsed by a responsible person of public recognition in the country, as is the case in India. But in spite of all the guarantees, and any other forms of security demanded, the authorities in Malaya do not issue a passport easily to an Indian, unless he is born in Malaya itself. It usually takes a few months for the "declaration" which is sent to India for verification. The delay incurred in carrying out these 'verification' process puts the applicant to considerable inconvenience. The Malayan authorities should issue passports to Indians when applied for, if they are satisfied with the applicants' status. This will be a help to Indian residents in Malaya who for reasons of health or business would like to proceed to foreign countries without being subjected to the inconvenience of "waiting" for months together to obtain their passports.

The Best Types of Indian Emigrants

As a result of our intimate study of the types of Indians who emigrate to foreign countries, we have found the Sikhs as the best class of people who have gone abroad as settlers. They are healthy, hard working and, industrious. They get together easily and work on a co-operative basis. They are thrifty and, in the majority of cases, save money. Further the Sikh people wherever they might go try to preserve their natural character and traditions. They stand no snubs and know the art of maintaining their dignity in the eyes of foreigners. In those many countries all the world over the Sikh emigrants have built their own temples and even *Dharmasalas* where helpless among them might live.

The majority of the Sikhs abroad know little or no English. Still they get on in the world fairly well. They do not hold any very high positions, still they are happy and contented. Their example could profitably be followed by emigrants from other provinces.

It is a pity that the Province of Madras has at least a few lakhs to do all the menial jobs in colonies like Ceylon and Malaya. We have no objection to Madrasee emigrants so long as they go abroad as tillers of soil but South India should take immediate steps to see that it sends no more scavangers to colonies abroad.

Indians in Malaya

In the past when the Malayan Rubber Industry boomed, streams of South Indian Labourers left for Malaya under the recruit system of the Malayan authorities. Now that the rubber industries is suffering badly there is considerable number of unemployed persons in Malaya. Even those who are in employment receive meagre wages. The standard wages of 50 per cent. for a male and forty for a female Indian labourer fixed by the Indian Immigration Committee in 1928 has been twice subjected to cuts. It is understood that labourers are working to-day even for 15 cents a day in some Malayan rubber plantations.

On account of this pitiable state of affairs in the Indian labour world in Malaya, the labourers are compelled to seek repatriation to India. They come with the illusion that prospects in India are brighter than in Malaya. This false assumption on the part of the labourers is regrettable. After carefully considering the position of emigrants who have returned from the colonies, we are of opinion that no Indian should be persuaded to come back to India. The Malayan authorities should stop repatriations and find adequate provision for those unemployed Indian labourers in Malaya.

If the Government of Malaya does not see its way to keep all the Indian labourers in the country and if they continue their policy of repatriation they can do so only after paying some compensation to these workers. If the Malayan authorities would not agree to these proposals, I think the Government of India should be doubly careful before permitting any further recruitment of labour to Malaya.

Today the conditions of Indian labourers in Malaya is miserable. Unemployment is widespread among them. And those who work on plantations do not earn sufficient even for their daily meal. Though reduced wages could be tolerated in these days of trade depression unemployment of Indian labourers in Malaya needs immediate remedy.

It is often a source of wonder to us as to why India should be the supplier of Malaya's need for labour. Is it because we have a surplus population elgulfed in poverty? Well, if Malaya wants Indian labourer, let tolerable conditions of life be granted to them. When Malaya needs Indian labour the invitation is issued and streams of Tamils and Telugus are recruited to cross the Bay of Bengal for rubber estate service. When Malaya does not want these labourers, they are asked to return to India. These "come in" and "get out" orders of the Malayan authorities to Indian labourers seem to be a huge joke. It should be the policy of the Indian government to see that these emigrants become permanent settlers in the lands to which they emigrate.

As far as Malaya is concerned there is plenty of land and the Government of India should impress upon the Malayan authorities the necessity of creating Indian labour settlement on the model created in Burma. A settled Indian population will be of greater advantage to Malaya for then they will not have to spend money for recruiting Indians from South India. And since for a long time to come Malaya cannot do without Indian labour, this suggestion for a permanent settlement of Indian labourers deserves serious consideration at the hands of the Governments of Malaya and India both.

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INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Miss Suniti Gupta sailed for England in September, 1930, after having graduated in Calcutta in Arts and Teaching, and holding several educational charges in Bengal and Assam.

In June 1931 she passed the Diploma Examination in Education of the Leeds University, securing the first place in First class in Child Psychology, the subject of her thesis being "Piaget on intellectual development of Children."

Miss Suniti Gupta

She undertook further research work, *viz.*, on "Intellectual Responses of Young Children," on the lines of the renowned Child-Psychologists, Binet and Piaget, and presented her thesis in June 1932. On this Miss Gupta was conferred the degree of M. Ed. by the Leeds University.

In consideration of the great merits of her thesis, Miss Gupta has been accorded permission by the Leeds University to present her thesis for the Ph. D. from India.

To equip herself as thoroughly as possible, she went beyond purely academic activities abroad, and visited schools of all types, including those for the deaf and dumb and blind, as also clinic centres, slum districts, and night clubs of factory girls. She mixed with women labourers of all descriptions to study their conditions at first hand, and addressed on invitation various societies of women on Indian subjects. In Leeds itself, Miss Gupta was invited to speak before various congregations of women, including Women's Unitarian Conference.

Zamir-un-nisa Begum, Chairwoman of the Reception Committee of the All-India Women's Conference at Lucknow.

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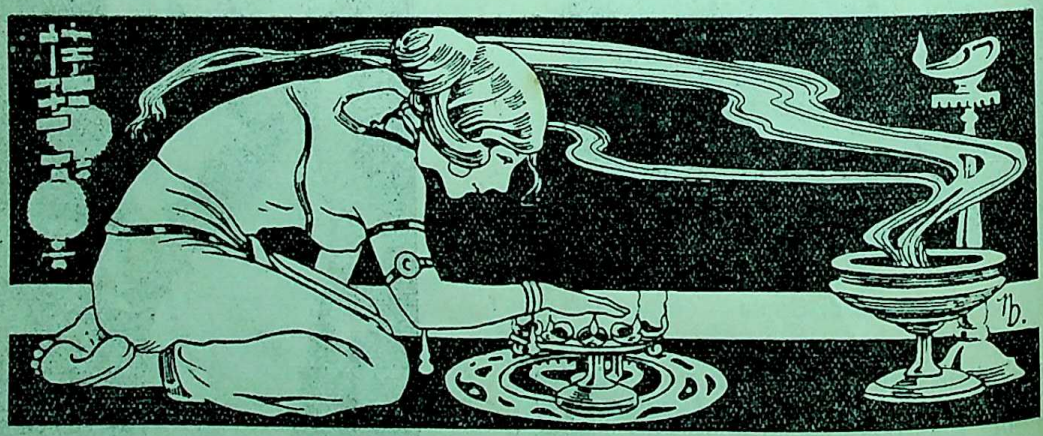
MISS BINA CHAKRAVARTY, the eldest daughter of Sj. Bepin Behari Chakravarty, Headmaster, Brahmo Boys' School, Calcutta, obtained first class in Philosophy, standing second in order of merit in her M. A. Examination from Calcutta University. She secured Honours in her B. A., standing first among the women candidates, and fourth among the men and women candidates combined of that year.

Miss Bina Chakravarty

Mrs. Nanavaty (wife of the Hon. Mr. Justice Nanavaty, I. C. S., Judge, Chief Court of Oudh), who presided at the Oudh Women's Conference held at Lucknow recently.



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NOTES

Increase of Illiterates in India

In the Abstract of Tables giving the main statistics of the Census of the Indian Empire in 1931 with a brief introductory note, recently published by the Government of India, it is stated that the number per thousand of the population of India aged five and over who can read and write any language is males 156, females 29, the corresponding proportions (of all ages) in 1921 having been males 122 and females 18.

From this statement one might be naturally led to conclude that illiteracy was on the wane in India. But that is not a fact. Percentages are deceptive. What has to be found out is whether there are more illiterate men, women and children in India or less than there were ten years ago.

The total illiterate population in 1931 was 156,243,305 males and 165,384,698 females, or 321,628,003 illiterates of both sexes. In 1921 there were 142,623,691 illiterate males and 150,807,889 illiterate females, or 293,431,580 illiterates of both sexes. Therefore, in 1931 there were 28,196,423 more illiterates in India than in 1921. At the rate at which illiterates have been increasing there are probably at present 33,365,769 more illiterates than there were in 1921.

This does not mean that numerous people who were literate in 1921 had by the year 1931 or have by now forgotten their letters. It simply means that the population of India has been increasing faster than the progress of literacy. In order to perceptibly reduce the number of illiterates arrangements must be made everywhere to make more persons literate than the number of children added to the population there.

This is neither impossible nor extremely difficult. To show that this is practicable, one may refer to what has been done in Japan or in Soviet Russia.

The Example of Baroda

What has been done in Baroda tends to show that the progress of literacy may be very greatly accelerated even in India. In the Baroda Census Report for 1931 it is stated that the number of literates in the State has increased over 59 per cent. Taking the figures by sex, male literates have increased by 54 per cent, while the female literates have increased by 93 per cent. "Wherever there is scope for increase, the number of literates has increased by leaps and bounds."

It may be said by way of criticism that the State of Baroda covers a comparatively small area and contains a population of only 2,443,007, whereas India is a vast sub-continent with a population of 352,837,778. But just as India's area and population are vastly larger than those of Baroda, so are the total revenues and other resources of India and British India vastly greater than those of Baroda. Therefore, what is practicable in Baroda with its small resources is also practicable in India and British India with their vast resources.

Slow Growth of Population in India

Some people may say that the population of India has been increasing so fast that here it is impossible for literacy to overtake illiteracy. But as a matter of fact the growth of population in India is much slower than in European countries in general. Take the

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case of England and Wales, for example. In 1871 their total population was 22, 712,266 and in 1921 it was 37,886,699. Thus there in fifty years the population increased more than 66 per cent. Let us take practically the same period in India, namely, the forty-nine years from 1872 to 1921. In the Census Report of India, 1921, Vol. I, Part I, p. 7, it is stated that "The real increase in the population during the last 49 years is thus estimated at about fifty-four millions or 20.1 per cent." So, during the period mentioned the rate of increase of population in England and Wales was more than three times that in India. This higher rate of increase of population in England and Wales was all the more remarkable as it took place in a region already densely populated—the density of population there in 1901, 1911 and 1921 having been 558, 618, and 649 respectively per square mile, whereas in India the figures for the same years were 163, 175, and 177 per square mile respectively.

If we take another period of fifty years, namely, 1881-1931, we find that in England and Wales the increase of population was much greater than in India. In 1881 their population stood at 25,974,439, which increased to 39,946,931 in the year 1931—an increase of more than 53 per cent. During the same period, according to the Abstract of the Census Tables of 1931, the increase in India was only 39 per cent. We have already stated that the increase in England and Wales was a growth of population in an already densely inhabited region. Another fact which makes the increase there more remarkable than in India is that Englishmen have been free to emigrate and have emigrated in large numbers to different continents and countries, whereas Indians have not emigrated so freely, because of social restrictions and the discrimination against Indian immigrants in most countries abroad which require and can stand an access of inhabitants.

How and Why Nadir Shah Fell

In the first volume of his new work, *Fall of the Mughal Empire,* Sir Jadunath Sarkar thus describes what Nadir Shah did after conquering Delhi and the result of reliance on force pure and simple divorced from justice and humanity :

> The conquest of Delhi was followed by incessant campaigns which shook almost every country in Western and Central Asia. In the course of these Nadir's character underwent a rapid decline. He became a fierce tyrant, revelling in wanton bloodshed and cruelty, giving vent to frequent outbursts of fury and insane suspiciousness. A deep melancholy and loss of confidence in his people and officers settled on him, which made him harsh in his attitude towards them. The failure of his Daghestan campaigns (1742 and 1744) broke the spell of his invincibility. Rebellions henceforth broke out in many parts of his empire; everywhere the rebels set up pretenders to the local thrones and killed the loyal officers of Nadir.

These events did not serve as a warning to Nadir Shah to change his ways. His character and policy underwent a still greater change for the worse.

> His treasury having been exhausted by his ceaseless warfare, Nadir now resorted to the cruellest extortion to fill his coffers. Many of his revenue collectors perished under torture to make them yield more and more money. All weak subjects lived in dread of their lives. "The rebellions only increased the violence of his temper and his acts became even more wild," as his secretary admits. People were put to death, mutilated or blinded on the merest suspicion. On the plain outside Isfahan, he burnt alive some Hindus, Muslims and Armenians. When in January 1747 he set out from his capital for Khurasan, in every province that he passed through he built towers of human heads after killing local nobles and commons. Each rebellion was suppressed with ferocious cruelty, but a new one soon broke out in another quarter. In short "the last years of Nadir Shah's reign were years of unspeakable misery for his subjects." (*Mujmal*, 10-40 ; Sykes.)

The most influential element in the population of Persia were the Qizilbashes (literally *Red Heads,* from their red Turkish caps), who were the best soldiers in the East, often acting as king-makers. Nadir now devised a plan for destroying all the Qizilbashes of note and influence with the help of his Uzbak and Afghan captains, who had latterly displaced the Qizilbashes in his trust and favour. But the plot leaked out.

> The Qizilbash chiefs, under the leadership of the captain of the palace-guard and Muhammad Khan Qachar, took prompt action. At mid-night before the day appointed for their massacre, they started in a body of seventy for Nadir's tent to forestall the blow. But the terror of the great king paralysed the feet of 57 of the conspirators and they dropped off on the way. Thirteen only entered Nadir's tents and slew him. (*Mujmal*, 15-20 ; *Jahankusha*, 461).

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"The White Man's Crime"

Large numbers of Europeans profess to be much concerned about the fate of the "untouchables" in India. Perhaps a larger number of Indians is genuinely so concerned. These Europeans think the people of India should not have the right of self-determination because of the existence of "untouchability." But these people forget that Britain enjoyed independence when she was one of the foremost of the slave-trading and slave-hunting nations of the world. In fact, chattel slavery in the United States was a distinct contribution of British civilization. It is well known, too, that the British pioneers in the United States did their share in spreading "fire-water" (whisky) among the Red Indians ; and how the latter were treated. To be sure that later on when slave-labour proved uneconomic and with the growth of humanitarianism Britain took the leadership in abolishing slavery. For this great credit is due to her. Yet one must not think that slavery in British possessions in Africa has been really abolished. Lord Olivier in his work on the subject gives a gloomy picture of the existing situation. *The Literary Digest* (New York) of November 19, 1932 publishes the following article under the heading, "The White Man's Crime":

THE WHITE MAN'S CRIME

Lo, the poor Australian aboriginal !

Like our own American Indian, he is fast fading away before the march of civilization.

And when he does not fade quite fast enough, there are many willing hands to give him a shove into oblivion.

As a result, from a total of 1,000,000 a century and a half ago, his numbers have been reduced to about 100,000 to-day.

This we learn from the Rev. C. E. C. Lefroy, formerly Archdeacon of Perth, Western Australia, who makes "a plea for the remnant" in the Manchester *Guardian Weekly*.

"What can account for such rapid diminution ?" he asks, and then explains :

"Recent events, as well as the records of every past period in the history of white settlement, leave little doubt as to the cause.

"The advance of the white man has simply swept the aborigines away. It is true that these children of nature themselves seem to wilt and wither away at the mere approach of the European. But there has also been a vast amount of deliberate cruelty.

"The natives of Tasmania are said to have 'become' extinct. But the fact is that in 1830 martial law was proclaimed, and a force of 3,000 or 4,000 troops and civilians of all classes were engaged for six weeks in hunting them down and driving them into a narrow peninsula. Eventually the remnant were transported to Flinders Island.

"One of their jailers there has recorded his opinion that many of the miserable creatures 'died in the sulks like so many bears.' In reality they were broken-hearted.

"In 1838, Sir George Gipps, Governor of New South Wales, issued a proclamation to the effect that the indiscriminate slaughter of natives must cease. On the other hand, a certain Governor of Queensland, at a much later date, is said to have advised a settler that if natives were shot, there was no need to report the fact."

A well-known traveller, De Beauvoir, who visited Queensland about sixty years ago, "met a young man, only twenty-four years of age, who boasted of the possession of two rifles with sixty-five notches on the stocks, each notch representing a native whom he had shot." And then we are reminded of—

"The acknowledged shooting, in Central Australia in 1928, of thirty-one wild natives (including some women) by a police party in revenge for the death of a white man. The excuse made by the police for some of this slaughter was that these wild natives "tried to escape" when called upon to stand in the King's name !

"Dr. Gilruth, formerly Chief Protector of Aborigines under the Federal Government, has expressed his opinion that "in respect of the treatment of the aborigines, the British occupation of Australia presents the worst chapter in the European domination of the world."

"It is not too late for the governments and people of Australia to save the remnant...'In the name of reason, humanity, and pity let this waste of human life and goodness be ended now, and a new day brought in for the remnant of them left."

That is also our earnest desire.

There is no society which is free from social evils of various kinds. The Hindu society is grappling with the problem and abominable curse of untouchability. It must be solved mainly through the spread of education and a new social outlook. But when Europeans try to sit in judgment and announce their superior moral standard and wish to stop the march of freedom in India, then one feels tempted to say "physician, heal thyself."

Ordinance Bill Passed

The Ordinance Bill has become law with the help of a subservient majority of the Central Legislature. The European official and non-official members who are included in this majority naturally felt quite happy and safe in voting for the measure. They wanted the British bureaucracy in India and themselves their kinsmen to remain masters of the situation as long as possible, and they thought

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that that supremacy could be ensured only by such legislation—though that was a wrong assumption. Moreover, consciously or unconsciously, the belief must have been at work in their minds that neither themselves nor their near and dear ones would ever behave in any such way as to come within the mischief of any section or clause of the Bill. The Indian supporters of the Bill, it would not be wrong to suppose, had also the idea that they were not going to be put to any trouble or inconvenience by the Bill—it was only those d—d Non-co-operators who would suffer. But the Non-co-operators may think in their turn that, just as Prahlad was born in the *Daitya-kula* or dynasty of the *Daityas*, so some sons, daughters, nephews, nieces or other near relatives of the Indian supporters of the measure may take it into their heads to lay themselves open to prosecution under some provision or other of the new law! And then the eyes of these supporters of the bureaucracy may be opened.

For the benefit of those who cannot understand a joke, it is necessary to state that these gentry are not really *Daityas* or like *Daityas*.

At the final stage of the debate in the Assembly,

> Sir Abdur Rahim condemned the dual policy of repression on the one hand and reforms on the other. The Home Member had stated whatever the Government did was right. This meant that popular opinion did not count. On that basis the present bill was alright. Sir Abdur Rahim contended the present law was quite sufficient to deal with all offences which came within civil disobedience. Yet under this bill the courts were unable to deal with manifestations of disobedience and, therefore, the courts' jurisdiction would be ousted. He disputed this proposition. As for the Congress it did not require this bill, because its policy was not to escape the law, but to face its penalties fully and fill the jails. So really the bill aimed at striking at the political rights and liberties of the people. The pity was that even so the Round Table Conference had approved of the proposal to extend this power to issue ordinances to the Governors and further more even to pass Governors' Acts thereby superseding the legislature altogether. As for the present bill Indian public opinion was entirely opposed to it. 'I am not an advocate of civil disobedience, having spent my whole life at the bar and the bench helping the administration, but this is not the sort of legislation which would ensure peace and order, nor ensure smooth working of the constitution, though it may suppress certain manifestations for the time being. Sir Abdur Rahim further contended that the bill had a general application to all people and not to some community or section only, asked the Government not to take advantage of unfortunate communal feeling and pass legislation opposed to all reason. At any rate let them administer it with consideration and kindness, apply it against those only who actually infringe the law.

Referring to the Press provisions,

> Mr. Navalrai opined that the press governed Government in other countries. If one or two newspapers committed mistakes, for that reason it was unjustifiable to gag the entire press of the country.

Syed Murtaza Sahib said,

> Though the bill was intended by Government to check crime it would result in curbing national spirit and torpedo public opinion. The civil disobedience movement would have never been revived if the present Government had pursued Lord Irwin's policy and accepted Mahatma Gandhi's offer of friendship. In his opinion no new law or additional powers to the police were necessary to deal with the civil disobedience movement. If Government created more disaffection among the people they would find it difficult to govern.

Mr. Bhupat Singh said that

> The measure had a pernicious object, to be utilized if the new constitution was not accepted by the people.

Some other members also are reported to have expressed similar opinions on the floor of the House.

As the official report of the proceedings of the Central Legislature have ceased to be supplied to us, the above summaries are taken from *The Leader* of the 9th December last.

At an earlier stage of the debate in the Assembly, according to *The Amrita Bazar Patrika's* (Dec. 4, 1932) report,

> Mr. Sitaramaraju opposing the passage of the Bill held that the drastic character of the Bill would drive the open non-violent Congress movement under ground, and would swell the ranks of terrorists in the country. As a matter of fact it would suppress all political thought in the country. The opposition had appealed to the statesmanship of the Government, but there could be no statesmanship in a steam roller. Tracing the history of the Congress movement in India the speaker said that for the last half a century that body met and passed resolutions, which were never considered seriously by the Government. It then resorted to the method of direct action. The speaker had sympathy with the Civil Disobedience movement but the Bill would make even legitimate political agitation an impossibility, hence his opposition to the passage of the Bill.

Mr. Sitaramaraju was followed by other speakers. The summaries of the speeches

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of some of them are extracted from the same paper.

Mr. Gunjal traced the history of Delhi, where many Empires had come and gone. They did not wish the same fate to the British rule in India, but on the other hand, they were all along advocating that the British rule should continue. Even after 150 years of the British rule they should have learnt a lesson from the Indian history that their administration must be dependent upon the wishes and affections of the people. Concluding he appealed to the members that if they voted for the Bill, that would mean that they were neglecting the pledge they had given to their constituencies at the time of election.

Mr. Azharali condemned the Bill as vendatta and devoid of justice and equity of jurisprudence. In fact, it looked that the guiding principles of the Bill were infusing terrorism in the body politic of the people, and intimidating even the lawful people into terrorism. If the Government were to pass this measure in this country of enlightenment it was nothing short of a challenge to the manhood of the whole country. Why was the Government passing this panicky legislation when they had such powerful army behind them ? The Government was determined not only to kill the spirit of nationalism, but also wanted to destroy the civilization which existed in India for thousands of years.

Mr. S. C. Mitra felt that Government had not appreciated the attitude in opposing the Bill. He urged the Government should not alienate the Press on the eve of new constitutional reforms in India. He placed on the table of the House two signed letters with photographs of Bengalee women who had been assaulted by police and also a number of photographs depicting allegations against the police. Mr. Mitra said that none of these happenings appeared in the Press. His fear was that the excessive powers given under the Bill would always be misused. If the object of Government was to strike terror they should do so by means of martial law and not through measures passed through Central Legislature.

There was a passage at arms between Mr. Abdul Matin Chowdhury and Mr. Haig, the Home Member, when the former spoke.

Mr. Abdul Matin Chowdhury quoted a telegram from the Imam of Juma Masjid, Chittagong, to the Governor of Bengal, showing how the Mussalmans suffered through the operation of Ordinance in that part of India.

The Home Member : Will you also read the reply given to those allegations in the Bengal Council ?

Mr. Matin Chowdhury : I have no copy of that reply and hence cannot read it to the House.

Mr. Haig : Your telegram is entirely one-sided.

Mr. Matin Chowdhury : Government could not be accused of partiality to any community. They were absolutely impartial in their misuse of power. The Mussalmans who were weak suffered the most wherever they tried to be independent. The Frontier Mussalmans were terrorized, the "red shirt" movement was crushed, and the Ahrar movement was suppressed. The speaker claimed that India was suffering from consumption and the Home Member failed to diagnose correctly. It will be through a vitalizing injection of self-government and not through doses of Ordinance that the disease could be cured.

"Mr. Krishnamachariar complimented the Home Member on his firm stand on every clause." One is inclined to ask whether the compliment was seriously meant, or was not a left-handed one, seeing that Mr. Krishnamachariar immediately afterwards complained that

They, coming from far distances to co-operate with the Government, were not listened to when they offered advice. He asked whether there was any human activity which did not come under the provisions of the Bill. He concluded that the Bill was very objectionable, but their cry was in the wilderness.

The criticisms of two other speakers are given below.

Mr. S. C. Sen also protested against the repressive, drastic and gagging press provisions, and appealed to the Home Member to instruct the Local Governments regarding the policy of the Government of India in administration of the Act from time to time so that instances cited by Mr. Mitra were not repeated.

Mr. Amarnath Dutt, the last speaker, said that the Bill violated the inalienable rights of citizenship, and opined that the Government in the name of law and order were really nourishing terrorism.

Bengal Terrorist (Supplementary) Bill Passed

The Bengal Terrorist (Supplementary) Bill has been passed by the Central Legislature. A "supplementary" bill was needed, because evidently the guardians of law and order have hitherto had very very little power to bring to book suspects and proved offenders ! Sir Abdur Rahim, Raja Bahadur Krishnamachariar, and other members holding political opinions like theirs, utterly at variance with those of the supporters of physical force, opposed the bill, but to no effect ;—perhaps because political wisdom is a monopoly of the bureaucracy and all who do not support them uniformly are in secret sympathy with both civil resisters and terrorists !

Public Security Bill Passed

The recalcitrant section of the people of Bengal has evidently acquired such strength of numbers and other kinds of strength that, in addition to already existing laws meant

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specially for Bengal or generally for all regions like Bengal, and in addition to the troops posted in different parts of Bengal, legislative weapons have had to be forged against them both in the Central Legislature and the Legislative Council of Bengal.

The Public Security Bill has been passed by the Bengal Council.

It should be understood that the "security" aimed at is a particular kind of "security" for the "public." No such measure was thought of when the position of the Hindus of Pabna, Kishorganj sub-division, Dacca town and some adjoining villages, Chittagong town, etc., was made very "insecure," to put it mildly.

The provisions of the Bill may make for the "security" of some persons, but there is no doubt that even persons who are extremely law-abiding in fact and in intention will have reason to feel insecure owing to the operation of this new law. Houses may be searched even by a head constable at his discretion. The Executive may detain any person and deprive him of his legitimate occupation without giving him any allowance. It can withhold and control the delivery of postal articles and telegrams, etc. Special Magistrates have been given large powers. And so on and so forth. It is true, with reference to a point of order raised by Mr. N. K. Basu on the provision of clause 19 (2) of the Bill so far as it tended to oust the jurisdiction of the High Court by making District Magistrates' decisions final, the Home Member accepted the suggestion of the President that an explanation should be added to the clause to the effect that "nothing in that sub-section shall affect the jurisdiction of the High Court." But seeking the protection of the High Court is very expensive for persons of small means, and it is mostly such persons who in recent times have gone in for any kind of direct political action.

The Census of 1931—is it accurate?

The following figures are given from the official abstract of the Census Report.

Age	Married males	Marri female
Under 15	5,530,625	12,271,
15—50	66,300,824	66,719,
50 and over	12,377,018	4,616,
Total	84,208,467	83,607,

Sir Philip Hartog after quoting the ab figures draws attention to the excess 601,244 husbands, and asks is it due to p andry? It is admitted by all and sum that polyandry is negligible in quantity that it is a dying institution. One con pondent, himself a census charge super tendent, writes in the daily papers that figures of the present census are inaccur We are also of the same opinion. In t census of 1921, the corresponding numb of married males and females were follows:

Age	Married males	Married females
Under 15	3,212,155	8,565,3
15—50	54,960,375	54,152,11
50 and over	12,885,224	4,875,66
	71,057,754	71,593,13

In 1921, there was an excess of 535,3 wives or 1008 married females per 10 males. Polyandry, if it affects the figures 1931, must have equally affected the figu of 1921. No new areas not previous censused in 1921, have been censused t time. The progress of education and civ zation is hastening the death of polyand as a social institution. How can this sudd change be accounted for? To realize t magnitude of this social change in 1921 71 million married males, there was excess of 5½ lakhs of wives. For 84 mill of married males in 1931, if the soc conditions remained unchanged, the exc of wives should have been 6,80,000. I instead of an excess, we find a short of 601,000 wives. Or in other wor quite 1 per cent of the vast population India have changed their social habit. T is absurd. Hence we are forced to conclu that somehow or other, the present cens figures are inaccurate.

We are emboldened in our conclusi about the inaccuracy of the 1931 cens

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by the following considerations. The respective numbers of married Hindu males and females are given below :

	Males	Females
Under 15	4,288,575	9,049,079
15—50	46,028,134	46,245,158
50 and over	8,663,574	3,058,845
	58,663,574	58,353,102

i. e., among the Hindus there are 310,472 wifeless husbands.

The corresponding figures for the Moslems are :

	Males	Females
Under 15	1,087,775	2,876,801
15—50	14,497,244	14,502,113
50 and over	2,715,794	862,496
	18,300,813	18,241,410

i. e., among the Moslems there are 59,403 wifeless husbands. If it is due to polyandry, then one must admit polyandry among the Moslems. As many Moslems, especially of the Panjab, have more than one wife, the number of wifeless husbands becomes very much larger, and cannot be wholly accounted for by immigration.

Polyandry, if it exists, may be expected to be found among the followers of tribal religions. The figures for married males and females among the followers of tribal religions are as follows :

	Males	Females
Under 15	83,857	161,225
15—50	1,361,520	1,447,856
50 and over	246,257	119,004
	1,691,634	1,728,085

Where on account of existence of polyandry, one may expect to find a number of wifeless husbands, one actually finds an excess of married females.

Can one after all these maintain that the 1931 census figures are accurate ?

J. M. DATTA

Central and Provincial Repressive Legislation

All-India laws like the Ordinance Bill, now in the statute book, are meant for the whole of India. Besides such laws made by the Government of India, the Provincial Governments have been also making similar laws for their respective provinces. Opposition to and criticism of such measures during their passage through the councils have not been of any avail. Criticism directed against them after they have been passed would be still more useless.

Ottawa Bill Passed

The Ottawa Bill has also become law, as a matter of course. There was some trenchant criticism and some stout opposition in both houses, but to no effect. This bill, it has been apprehended, would cripple India economically, as the Ordinance Bill and its provincial kinsfolk would cripple India politically

Meaning of "Round Table" Conference

Unity of Chicago observes :

> We are beginning to learn, at this late period of history, what a "round table" conference really means. It apparently is a conference where men go 'round and round,' and never get anywhere.

This may be a fact so far as the majority of Indian "delegates" to the so-called Round Table Conference are concerned—they are destined not to reach their goal. But the British delegates and the British Government have always known where they are to go and how. Their object has always been to make the position of Great Britain in relation to India still more secure and permanent than it already is at present. The (to us rather transparent) veil thrown over it so long as the Labour Government was in power was thrown off by the arbiters of India's destiny in the cabinet of the British National Government.

India's Proposed Constitution

From the statements made by Sir Samuel Hoare in connection with the so-called Round Table Conference it is clear that in the constitution proposed to be granted to India the Governor-General and the Provincial Governors are to be given far greater autocratic powers than they possess at present. They would be able not only to promulgate Ordinances but to pass Acts without any reference to the Legislative bodies. They

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would also be able to disregard the decisions and advice of their Ministers. The Viceroy is to have in his hands the control of Defence and External Relations, powers for the dissolution of the Legislature and assenting to and vetoing legislation, and special powers in relation to the following heads :

> (*i*) prevention of grave menace to peace and security (*ii*) protection of minorities (*iii*) statutory rights of the Services (*iv*) matters affecting departments under the control of the Governor-General (*v*) protection of the rights of the States (*vi*) commercial discrimination (*vii*) preservation of good relations with other parts of the Empire.

Details of the proposed constitution have appeared in the dailies.

Indian nationalists would not be disposed to touch such a constitution with a pair of tongs.

The Movies and the Talkies

"The prestige of the white man," says Lord Irwin, "standing for a higher life and morality has been almost entirely lost through the movie." Rev. Henry A. Stimson, a well-known clergyman of New York, has reported the following about the cinema or motion-pictures from an American in India :

> Not long ago a European was seated by a cultured Indian in a movie in India. They were strangers, but suddenly he turned to the other man and said with feeling, "I am an Indian. I suppose you white people would call me a 'nigger.' I am unacquainted with other sides of Western civilization, but what I have seen here tonight and on numerous other occasions in these places convinces me that the ordinary middle classes in America are the most depraved and immoral creatures any race or nation ever has produced.
>
> The revolting indecency and appalling vulgarity that are allowed to appear on the screen are making an appeal to the eye far more lasting and permanent than any appeal through the other senses. There is slight reason to believe that little, if any, censorship is exercised over the films sent here.

It cannot be denied that many people in the East, including many Indians, are afflicted with an inferiority complex, a subservient spirit, or "slave mentality," in relation to the West. If disgust at the cinema civilization of the West makes for the deliverance of the East from this servile attitude, some good will come out of the moral contamination resulting from the exhibition of objectionable films. But the other side of the medal must not be lost sight of. There is much in the West which the East should appreciate, *vice versa*. On such mutual appreciat depends the evolution of a united and pe ful world. But if the East is taught vicious motion and talking pictures from West to identify the Occident with Filml how can such a world emerge ?

A Serious Charge Against some Archæologists

Reviewing Sir Flinders Petrie's *Seve Years in Archæology* in *The New Repub* Isidor Schneider writes :

> It is impossible to preserve any grave reverent feeling toward the science after a rea of Petrie's book. Archaeology has but rece passed from the pickaxe age. Some of the fathers of that science—Mariette, Maspero Brugsch among them—destroyed, by uncalcul vandalism, infinitely more than they saved. S of the respected archeologists hammered into ments the statues they could not carry away; Petrie spent one profitable season picking ov vast rubbish heap left behind by a learned careless predecessor. Many "priceless" finds been ruined by clumsy digging, many more by packing ; others after surviving transportation museums, have been ruined by the destru chemical action of a new environment. Archaeo has had to learn, by costly errors, how to mov how to resurface, how to case antiques taken the natural preservatives in which they lay.

Parties in U. S. A

In India the names of the different pol cal parties in the United States of Amer are not generally known. Hence, w President Hoover of the Republican Pa was recently defeated by Mr. Franklin Del Roosevelt of the Democratic Party, it me in India that one man is to be succeeded another—the defeat of the one or the succ of the other did not convey any idea of t parties.

The principal parties in America are Republican and the Democratic, and it is candidates of these two parties who hitherto filled the presidential chair. besides these two, there are the Socia Workers' (communist), Socialist Labour, Pr bition, Farmer-Labour, Liberty and Job Parties. The Democratic Party was or nally called the Republican, then the De cratic-Republican, and finally the Democra It is the oldest of American parties, and

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organized under the leadership of Thomas Jefferson to uphold the principle of local and state sovereignty and popular control of government, as opposed to highly centralized governmental authority and power. Thomas Jefferson held office during 1801-1809. The Republican Party was formed in 1854 to express the growing anti-slavery sentiment of the nation and made its first presidential campaign in 1856.

Output of Books in Great Britain and India

According to *Whitaker's Almanack* for 1933 (available in Calcutta during the third week of December, 1932),

> The total number of books published during the year under review (October, 1931 to September 1932) is 15,564 as against 14,876 for the previous twelve months, the figures being taken from *The Publisher and Bookseller*, the official organ of the book trade.
>
> There are some indications of growth in the reading habit. Fulham Public Library's latest annual report records the issue of 671,488 volumes, their largest total as yet. Other libraries report increased demand of books other than fiction.

According to *Statesman's Year Book* for 1932, during 1929-30, in India 2332 books in English or European languages and 14815 in Indian languages were published. Some belated figures relating to the output of books in Bengal are also before us. They are to be found in the Report on the Administration of Bengal, 1930-31 (received by us on the 26th November, 1932). As Bengal has a few million more inhabitants than Great Britain and Ireland and as probably Bengal's literary output is not less than that of any other province of India, they are given below.

> The total number of publications registered during the year 1930-31 was 5,324, of which 3903 were books and 1421 were periodicals. Of the former 3758 were original publications against 3132 in 1929 and 145 republications and reprints. The number of edcational books rose from 1166 in the previous year to 1756, while the number of non-educational books fell from 2241 to 2147.

By educational books are meant mostly school text-books and their annotations and a smaller number of college text-books and notes on college text-books. So during the year under report the real ephemeral and permanent addition to the literature produced in Bengal amounted to 2147 books. This means that the population of Bengal, somewhat larger than the population of Great Britain and Ireland, produces about one-seventh of the books annually produced in the latter countries. This is so far as the number of books is concerned. As regards the size and quality of the books produced in Great Britain and Ireland and Bengal, respectively, there can be no comparison, generally speaking, except in poetry and fiction and the literature of some kinds of essays.

With respect to the growth or otherwise of the reading habit in this country, there are no data available. During our recent visit to Rajshahi we found that the public library there keeps records which may give an indication in this direction so far as that town is concerned.

Years ago, the late Major B. D. Basu got a literary year-book for the whole of India prepared and published. But the publication received such meagre encouragement that the experiment was not repeated. Perhaps the experiment will be made again under more propitious circumstances.

Newspapers and Periodicals in India and Elsewhere

According to the *Statesman's Year Book* for 1932,

> During 1929-30 the following newspapers and periodicals were published: In Madras, 309; Bombay, 314; Bengal, 663; United Provinces, 626; Panjab, 425; Burma, 161; Bihar and Orissa, 136; Central Provinces and Berar, 55; Assam, 43; Delhi, 88; N.-W. F. P., 13.

How backward India is in the production of newspapers and periodicals will appear from a comparison with some other country in the British Empire. Let us take Canada, which has a population of more than ten millions as against India's 352 millions. In 1930 there were in Canada 1609 periodical publications, classified as follows: Dailies, 116; tri-weeklies, 5; weeklies, 966; semi-weeklies, 21; monthlies, 388; semi-monthlies, 66; miscellaneous, 57.

The United States of America has a population of over 122 millions, that is, a little more than one-third of that of India. There in 1930, there were 2299 daily news-

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papers, 65 tri-weeklies, 12825 weeklies, 487 semi-weeklies, 3804 monthlies, 285 semi-monthlies, and 959 other periodicals; total, 20,724. In 1931 there were 2415 daily newspapers, 11524 weeklies and a total of 21,191 publications.

Let us take an oriental country also. In 1929, in Japan 21111 original books and publications, and 9,191 periodicals, monthly, weekly and daily, were published.

Even as regards the number of newspapers and periodicals India cuts a poor figure. Our position becomes still more backward when the circulations of Indian and foreign newspapers are compared.

Illiteracy in India and Elsewhere

Unless there is widespread literacy in a country, its literary output cannot become satisfactory. India is a phenomenally illiterate country. Hence its literary output is very poor. The out-turn of books, periodicals and newspapers depends, moreover, on the purchasing power of the people. The population of India being poverty-stricken, one cannot expect books, newspapers and periodicals to have big sales here. The sale of newspapers and periodicals suffers in addition from the regular habit of some comparatively well-to-do persons of borrowing them from their neighbours, who are in some cases poorer than themselves. The very drastic Press laws also prevent the Press from flourishing.

The figures of illiteracy of the different countries of the world cannot be easily got. Here is a table from *Whitaker's Almanack* for 1933.

Country.	Percentage of Illiterates to Population
Turkey (1927)	91.8
India (1921)	90.0
Egypt (1927)	85.7
Brazil (1920)	67.0
Portugal (1920)	65.0
Mexico (1921)	64.9
Soviet Union (1926)	48.7
Spain (1920)	43.0
Greece (1928)	43.0
Poland (1921)	32.7
Italy (1921)	26.8

The Soviet Union (U. S. S. R.) figure is for the year 1926. That is six years ago. In the interval, particularly according to the five-year plan, illiteracy must have diminish to a great extent.

The figures of illiteracy of the Uni States of America are interesting and structive, particularly that relating to Negroes. In 1930 illiterates comprised per cent of native-born whites, 9.9 per c of foreign-born whites, 16.3 per cent Negroes, and 25 per cent of other races; for entire population above 10 years of a 4·3 per cent.

The Negroes of America were slaves to December 18, 1865. They were origina brought by force to America and sold th like cattle. They were a people without alphabet and without a literature. In years after their emancipation 83.7 per ce of them have been made literate, and on 16.3 per cent remained illiterate in 19 In India, which has an ancient civilizati and literature, which had an ancient system education, and which according to Sir Thom Munro (1813) had a school in every village in India, according to the census of 19 out of a population of 352,837,778 on 28,131,315 including children are litera That is, a little less than 8 (eight) per ce are literate, and a little more than ninety-tw per cent are illiterate. And this after modern civilized nation like the English h ruled the country for a century and a h Negroes have become 83.7 per cent liter in 65 years, Indians have become less th 8 per cent literate in more than 150 years.

Seizures of Property in Midnapur Villages

Not a day passes on which one does find long lists of seizures by chaukidar cattle, kitchen utensils, brass pots, belonging to villagers in the Midnapur distr on account of non-payment of chaukidari The values of the properties seized generally far in excess of the amounts of demanded, which are generally two or th rupees or a few annas. It is not clear fr the news published in the papers whether villagers are all unwilling to pay or at le some of them are unable to pay in these d of economic depression.

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Assuming without admitting that every one of the villagers whose property has been seized has not paid his tax in spite of his ability to do so, it is clearly the duty of statesmanlike administrators to enquire why the chaukidari tax is unpopular and what has nerved the peace-loving and British-proverbially timid Bengali villager to defy the tax-collector armed with the might of the greatest empire in the world. It is only to be expected that there are rules or laws which lay down that properties seized for non-payment of tax should not far exceed in value the amount of the tax, that after the sale of such properties the balance after realization of the tax and expenses should be returned to the owner of the properties, and that agricultural cattle should not, as a rule, be seized, at least when other movable properties of a sufficient value are available. If there be no such rules there ought to be.

Tragic News from Midnapur

The following paragraph appeared in the Calcutta daily, *Advance*, on the 10th December last :

> (From Our Correspondent)
> Tamluk (Midnapore, Dec. 8.)
>
> The villagers of Nandigram Thana, who determined not to pay the punitive tax, left their hearths and homes and took shelter at different thanas and the Sundarbans, are now returning to their respective homes. Most of them have been reduced in health under various unfavourable circumstances. So far as we are informed, of these homeless villagers 8 boys, 10 men and 38 ladies died at their shelters for want of food and living in unsuitable circumstances. It is also reported that a poor pregnant lady untimely gave birth to a child on her way while fleeing away from her house, and breathed her last with her new-born babe for want of proper treatment.

The Bengal Government should enquire whether these are the only cases of death under such tragic circumstances.

Anti-untouchability A Century Ago

In the *Sumachar Durpun*, a bi-lingual (Bengali-English) newspaper of the last century, the following paragraph appeared in its issue of February 26, 1831 :

> The New Acts of the New Baboos.—...Shreenath Mookhopadya, of Bansbariya, the son of the late Muthoora Mohun Mukerjee, and Krishnu Kinkur Goonakur, the son of the late Ramlochun Goonakur, and Moteelall Baboo, the son of Neelkishore Baboo, united together, and in the house of a man of low caste at Pachghura, near Kachra-para, erected an altar, on which they placed a chair and laying it on a Koosum necklace, with much rejoicing named it the Altar of Truth. They collected a large quantity of food, and more than 5000 persons of different castes, sat down in one place, and partook of a meal together. About a hundred brahmuns from Tribenee, Bansbariya, and Halee-suhur were invited to the ceremony, and each one received at his dismissal a brass pot and some sweetmeats. At the altar, the *Bible* was read by Feringees, the *Koran* by Moosoolmans, and the *Geeta* by Brahmun pundits. Two *Nuhubut* (drums) were placed in two places ; one near the Gooste creek, and the other near the altar. Two proclamations were fixed at those two places, containing a variety of particulars respecting this (new God of) Truth, all of which I did not read. But being filled with amazement I now send you this letter.—Juggutchunder Bundo. [*Prubhakur*.

The correspondent who sent this piece of news wrote his letter in Bengali, which was published with the above translation by the editorial staff of the *Sumachar Durpun*. The "low caste," referred to in the English translation is mentioned in the Bengali letter but omitted in the English version. The letter shows that the idea of removing untouchability by means of an intercaste dinner and the reading of the scriptures of different religions, had struck some Bengali villagers a century ago.

More Parks for Indian Ladies in Calcutta

More than one thousand ladies of Calcutta have submitted a representation to the Mayor for reserving some parks for the exclusive use of ladies and children. The representation runs thus, in part :

> The want of fresh air and exercise is felt very much by the ladies in some of the congested parts of the city. It is a well-known fact that so much of the disease now prevalent among our women and children and specially the increase in tuberculosis cases is due to the fact that we are all shut up the whole day within doors in an unhealthy atmosphere. The 'purdah' among women has not yet completely disappeared, so our men should help to provide suitable open spaces where ladies can avail themselves of fresh air and exercise. There is enough evidence from medical men to point out to us how important a factor in life it is and that the mothers of the future generation should be out in the open as much as possible. We are realizing this more and more every day, and so we send this representation.

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> We understand the play-ground committee is in favour of representation. The final decision is with the district committees. Surely our men in this committee of the Corporation will help us to get the necessary provision for reserving some of the open parks for us. We want healthy children so that our future citizens may be an asset to the nation.

The request of the ladies is quite reasonable. The parks, only eight in number, which they want for women and children, need not be reserved permanently. At the rate at which purdah has been disappearing, it should practically cease to exist in, say, ten years. So the open spaces required may be reserved for that period. By that time those among us men-folk who are unmannerly may be able to learn to behave in the presence of ladies.

Great stress is laid in the United States of America on the provision of open spaces for recreation. A publication of the Department of Labour of that country, *Park Recreation Areas in the United States 1930*, states :

> Perhaps the most commonly accepted standard of park and recreation for a city is that of 1 acre to each 100 population. Because of the high cost of land in densely settled neighbourhoods, many of which were built up before the importance of providing parks was recognized, most large cities fall far short of this standard. Minneapolis, however, with a population of 454,356, has an acre of parks for each 90 people. Denver and Dallas with 1 acre for each 23 and 42 people, respectively, are two other large cities with unusual park areas, although in both much of the acreage is outside the city limits. Several other cities of 100,000 or more inhabitants provide an acre of parks for each 50 people or less, thereby exceeding by at least 100 per cent the standard of an acre for each 100 people.

In the United States even small towns of 5000 inhabitants have park areas for recreation. Small towns in India also should have such facilities for recreation.

Bengal Rules Against Absconders and Terrorists

> A Gazette Extraordinary announces that the Governor-in-Council has made in exercise of the power under section 18 of the Bengal Suppression of Terrorist Outrages Act 17 rules whereof one authorizes every military officer and every police officer not below the ranks of jamadar and assistant sub-inspector respectively to intercept telegrams, telephone messages, letters, postcards and parcels whenever considered necessary for the purpose of preventing communication with absconders or terrorists or for the purpose of securing the safety of the military and police forces. Another au rizes police and military officers conducting sear of absconders to use any and every mean ensure the safety of such officers and their after taking all reasonable precautions. Yet ano prohibits a person endeavouring to elicit info ation regarding the military or police forces f any member of such forces or from any person the employment of the Government. The infri ment of any of the rules is punishable imprisonment extending to six months or fine both.
>
> The Governor-in-Council has also made five r under the same section of the same Act applic only to the Chittagong district giving some spe powers to the district magistrates to deal w terrorists and absconders.

Collective Fines

A collective fine of Rs. 80,000 has be imposed on the Hindus of Chittago because hitherto all terrorists and the li have been Hindus and because the Hind of Chittagong have not detected or giv any clue to the detection of the perpetrato of the Pahartali shooting and bombing.

There is nothing to show that any no official Hindu of Chittagong who is n now in jail or detention aided or abette or was in the secret of any terrorist. An it is still more unreasonable to assume th all the non-official Hindus of Chittago outside jails or detention camps aided abetted or was in the secret of the terrorist It is not impossible that not a single no official Hindu of Chittagong enjoying person liberty knows the identity or the whereabou of the Pahartali absconders. If any posse such knowledge their number must extremely small.

Considering all these facts, the impositi of the collective fine on the Hindus Chittagong must be pronounced unje and entirely contrary to the corre juristic principle which lays down that it better that ten guilty persons should unpunished than that one innocent pers should be punished. Here it is certain th thousands of innocent persons in Chittago have been punished. Injustice cannot ma for the welfare and strength of a state.

It is to be noted that the Executiv the police of different kinds and the milit failed to prevent the Pahartali outrage or detect the offenders, though it was their d to do so, and they draw salaries on th

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understanding; but no collective fine has been inflicted on them. When the Chittagong Hindus' houses were sacked by non-Hindus, no collective fine was imposed on the non-Hindus. Nor was such collective fine imposed on the non-Hindus after the disturbances in Pabna, Kishorganj and Dacca. We are against the infliction of collective fines. But if Government considers it right and just, the rule should be applied in a non-communal manner.

Collective fines have been imposed on some Midnapur villages also. The two crimes which have been particularly mentioned by the Bengal Home Member as reasons for such punished are the burning of an irrigation department building and the assault on a Government tax-gatherer. Assuming without admitting that the building was burnt by some village people, there are no reasons to think that all or most of the villagers were implicated in or privy to it. Why should all of them then be punished? As regards the assault on the tax-gatherer, as the police are able to detect secret murders, it should not be beyond their power to arrest the offenders. There is no need to punish a whole village for such an offence.

Septuagenary of Sir P. C. Ray

The public and students of Calcutta have rightly celebrated the seventieth birthday of Sir P. C. Ray with enthusiasm. Dr. Ray is not only a scientific discoverer himself but has inspired many of his students to follow in his footsteps, and he rejoices that some of them have outshone him in their scientific work. He has also been a pioneer in the industrial awakening of Bengal, having been the foremost among the founders of the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works. He has been instrumental in establishing some other industrial concerns. He, with some colleagues, has succeeded against powerful competition in placing a river steam navigation company on a sound footing. Years ago, he wrote a scientific Bengali work on Zoology. His history of Hindu chemistry has added to the world's knowledge of that subject and redounded to India's glory. His recent autobiography is calculated to stimulate thought and activity in various directions. His love of students and charities to deserving poor students are wellknown. His philanthropic activities also have made him famous. He has worked with unremitting zeal for the production and wide use of *khaddar*. At the same time he has been a practical promoter of cotton mills, as both are required in the economic interests of India. Above all, he is a distinguished example of plain living and high thinking.

Sir B. N. Sarma

Latterly Sir B. N. Sarma had not been in the public eye, though earlier in life he had been a public man of distinction. Before his election to the Imperial Legislative Council he was a member of the Madras Legislative Council for two terms. He was a member of the deputation which went to England in 1914 in connection with the Indian Councils Bill, and was one of the nineteen members who signed the historic memorandum demanding self-government for India. He was a member of the Viceroy's executive council for some time. Throughout his life he was an earnest student of public questions.

Mrs. Sakhawat Hossain

Mrs. Sakhawat Hossain, whose loss is mourned by all friends of girls' education in Bengal and by wider public, became a widow early in life. With Rs. 10,000 left her by her husband she founded the Sakhawat Memorial Girls' School for Muslim girls, and by devoting to it all her own property and her energies for more than two decades raised it to the high school standard. One does not often meet with such fruitful conjugal devotion and devotion to a noble cause combined. She was a self-educated lady of liberal culture and a powerful writer of Bengali.

Dr. Hem Chandra Sarkar

Hem Chandra Sarkar, M. A., D. D., a Missionary and Minister of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj passed away last month after

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protracted illness. He received the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity at a special convocation of an American school of theology. He was a very pious and zealous religious worker. He was the author of several biographical and theological works in Bengali and English. During his long struggle with disease and death, the power of the spirit to rise superior to bodily infirmities became clearly manifest. Even when he had become almost blind, when on account of nasal and imperfect articulation the words he uttered could be understood with difficulty only by his daughter Miss Sakuntala Rao, he continued to serve the cause he held dear with unabated enthusiasm, and published some meritorious works. His wife had predeceased him. Miss Sakuntala Rao, M. A., whom she and Dr. Sarkar had brought up as their daughter, nursed him through long years with exemplary affection and devotion. No daughter or son or other near relative could do more than she did for him.

An Octogenarian Celebration

The present and former pupils of Principal Girish Chandra Bose of Bangabasi College, Calcutta, recently celebrated his eightieth birthday, with *eclat.* That an Indian intellectual should not only live to be eighty but be still actively doing the duties of the head of a big educational institution also, is a rather rare event. And for this reason, the celebration was unique. Principal Bose does not at all look as old as he is. And that is because he has all along lived a regular life. His has been the comparatively quiet life of a scholar and an educationalist, free from the anxieties and excitement incident to the activities of political and even social workers; for he has never been in the thick of any political fray.

Bengal Hindus and Unity Conference

The following *Associated Press* message relating to the last meeting of the Unity Conference at Allahabad appeared in the Calcutta dailies of the 24th December :

> Making a call for unity, the president hoped that Bengal Hindus will rejoin making this movement a success, and put aside their imaginary grievances. The Hindus in rest of India are not standing by them as they ought to. "Wh be the degree and nature of the coming po advance," stressed the president, "the Hind Bengal and Panjab, as well as of Sind, if sepa would have no voice in the government o country unless electorates are joint, and w operate with our Muslim fellow countrymen, would form the majority in these three prov just as the Muslims and other minorities in provinces would have no voice whatever i coming government except upon the syste joint electorates."

Mr. C. Vijiaraghavachariar, the presid is mistaken in thinking the "grievances" the Bengal Hindus "imaginary." What cause of his mistake is, we do not know will not guess.

The communal decision of the Pr Minister or the British Government has b unsatisfactory and unjust. Both Hin and Musalmans have complained of unsatisfactory character, for different reas In giving his decision the Prime Mini said that if a better arranged, an "agre one, be forthcoming, he would accept i place of his decision. Whether he would so or not, we need not discuss. In any c it was to evolve something better, someth more satisfactory, than the Premier's decis that the Unity Conference was called.

Let us see whether the proposals bef the Conference are better than the Premi decision. As there has been an attemp throw the blame—at least much of blame—for the apprehended failure of conference on the Bengal Hindus, let confine our attention to Bengal.

The Premier's decision, so far as it rel to Bengal, hit the Bengal Hindus very h Under it, in order to pamper the Europ Christians, the Hindus were deprived of more seats on a population basis than Musalmans. The proposal before confer which allotted 112 seats to Hindus and ot forming the general constituency and 12 Musalmans was more equitable. But division was made on the assumption the Europeans might be persuaded to ac a smaller number of seats than the Prem decision had given them. But as refused to give up even a single seat, a situation arose. Two just courses now open. The Hindus and Musalmans of Be could combine to persuade or bring pressure to bear upon the Europeans to

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them give up the required number of seats. But evidently the Musalmans do not like such a course—perhaps they do not want to lose the favour, the patronage or the friendship (whatever it may be called) of the Europeans. So the other just and fair course would be to leave aside the European seats and to redistribute the remaining seats between the Musalmans and the Hindus and others on a population basis. But such an arrangement has not been thought of by anybody at the Conference.

What the Musalmans of Bengal want is an assured majority of seats in the Bengal Council. And for that purpose, as the Europeans would not part with any of the seats iniquitously assigned to them by the Premier, they and the non-Bengal members of the Unity Conference appear to want that the Bengal Hindus should agree to have even a lesser number of seats than the Premier has given them. Or, in other words, they are to agree to have their position still further weakened than what the Premier has made it, and to make the Musalman position assuredly supreme—stronger than the Premier has made it. What is the price they would obtain for thus agreeing to this further weakening of their position? Joint electorate? Ah no! The Conference has not included joint electorate pure and simple in their scheme. It has agreed to a kind of hotchpotch which is neither honest separate electorate, nor honest joint electorate, but really having more of the character of the former than of the latter.

But even if joint electorate pure and simple were agreed upon, Bengal Hindus could not agree to any number of seats less than 112. Wherever the Musalmans are in a minority, they have got weightage. In Bengal the Hindus are a minority. But far from getting any weightage, the Premier has given them a far lesser number of seats than they would be entitled to on the population basis, and the Conference wants to out-herod Herod by asking them to be content with a still fewer number of seats!

It is said that the Bengal Hindus would have to part with only 2 seats. But 2 added to the Musalman's 119 under the Premier's "award" would not make 127 or 126, a bare majority in a house of 250. Therefore, most probably the underlying idea is, that after the Bengal Hindus have agreed to give up 2 seats out of their quite inadequate share, the non-communal Labour, Land-holder, Commerce and University seats would be required to be communally divided so as to give the Musalmans five or six or more seats! In other words, a Nationalist Unity Conference would have to introduce communalism where even the Premier has not introduced it!

There may be another argument in favour of the Bengal Hindus' self-cripplement. The Unity Conference leaders may tell them: "The Premier's decision has made you impotent, and so impotent that the difference of a few seats more or less would not really matter at all, that impotence cannot really be made greater or less. Even if you got 112 seats in a house of 250, you would be impotent. So, why not give up some of your seats? There are no degrees of powerlessness." This is like calling upon a man who has lost one or two fingers to have a few more fingers cut off, or like calling upon a man who has lost one leg or one hand to agree to the amputation of another leg or hand, or like calling upon a man who has had some of his teeth knocked off to agree to the pulling out of a few more. In the future Bengal Council, as in the present, all questions are not going to be debated or decided communally. The difference of even one or two seats may tell on occasion. Bengal Hindus would be fools if they were consenting parties to a further weakening of their position for the sake of a hollow, unreal and superficial unity. Real unity presupposes the disposition to make sacrifices for the good of the whole. We do not perceive any such disposition among Musalmans. All the sacrifices must be made by the Hindus.

The question must not be considered as if it were only one of power and rights. Citizens must do their duty to the nation. Bengal Hindus have not done this duty less or are not less fit to do it than others. Bengal Hindus are not less able, less intellectual, less public-spirited, less self-sacrificing

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for the moral and material advancement of the country than others. Yet the Unity Conference leaders call upon Bengal Hindus alone to abandon their post of duty to a very great extent. Bengal Hindus are called upon to agree to communal rule ostensibly for ten years but really perhaps for an indefinite period without any compensating advantage to the country.

24th December, 1932.

Bengal Hindus and Other Hindus

We do not labour under the wrong idea that Hindu leaders outside Bengal are all indifferent to the fate of the Hindus of Bengal, if not also somewhat unfriendly to them. But if there be any such non-Bengali Hindu leaders, we would respectfully remind them that, though Bengali Hindus have fallen on evil days, they may still be able to render some service to the Indian nation and that by weakening Bengali Hindus, the entire Indian nation would be really weakened, if only to a very slight extent.

The apprehended Fast of Mahatma Gandhi

If by the 2nd of January, 1933, the Guruvayur temple be not thrown open to Hindus of all castes, including those who are unreasonably, superstitiously and unrighteously considered untouchable, it is probable that Mahatma Gandhi may begin to fast again. Considering the physical strength which he possesses at present, that must cause serious anxiety. The Zamorin, in whose State the temple lies, has it in his power to make the fast unnecessary. If any law of his State stands in the way of the temple being thrown open to all Hindus, he can change the law, as he is the ruler of the State. We are not experts in shastric matters. But many of those who are, and many orthodox Hindus like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mahamahopadhyaya Pramathanath Tarkabhushan, etc., are in favour of temple entry for all castes, being of the opinion that there is nothing in the *shastras* prohibiting such entry. It may, therefore, be rightly assumed that Hinduism is not against the recognition of this right of all Hindus. And reason is entirely in its favour. Noxious insects, worms, rats, mice, cats, etc., can and do enter temples without desecration being caused either to the temples or to the idols worshipped therein. It is unreasonable, therefore, to object to the entrance of human worshippers of particular castes entering these shrines, for it would be the height of absurdity to consider them inferior to insects, worms, rats, mice, cats, etc.

Individuals, famous and obscure, from Rabindranath Tagore downwards, and numerous societies and groups of men have urged the Zamorin to throw the Guruvayur temple open to all castes. Let us hope that he will listen to the voice of reason and to the request of all such persons and thus prevent a great tragedy and a disgrace to Hindu India.

Medals and Music of Bands for Sweepers

Sweepers and scavengers do unpleasant work in order that the atmosphere of towns and villages may be sweet and they may be in a sanitary condition. For this reason the late poet Satyendranath Datta compared them to the God Nilakantha (Shiva), who drank up the poison, leaving the nectar for others.

Sweepers and scavengers do the same kind of work for the community that grandmothers, mothers, aunts, elder sisters, etc., do for babies, without these honoured and beloved relatives becoming untouchables therefor.

If we were guided by right reason in the work of social gradation, these social benefactors would be given a high status. In some parts of the United States they are called "sanitarians."

Dr. Thouless in his *Control of the Mind* observes that "a kind of music which produces emotion and heightens activity is used by armies and to produce warlike emotions amongst civilians," and that "civilized peoples wage wars at all, they should participate in them under conditions which allow them to realize to the full the sadness and futility." He adds :

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"There are, on the other hand, highly desirable activities, colourless and distasteful in themselves, which need the stimulation of martial music if they are to be carried out with enthusiasm."

Then comes his suggestion and anticipation, that

"The day must come when dustmen and sanitary workers are led to their noble work by the music of the pipes and drums, and when they will point proudly to the medals on their breasts which were struck in commemoration of notable victories over dirt and disease."

When Dr. Thouless says that the distasteful work of sweepers and scavengers requires the stimulation of martial music, he is probably not to be understood literally. That kind of work requires the stimulus of honourable recognition much more.

Mr. Lansbury, the British Labour leader, writes in his autobiography :

"Educated young men will not mind working in a sewer or road-making if such work is recognized as of value to the nation equal with that given by those who write invoices or keep ledgers. The educated girl will not mind being a domestic servant if her status is raised and she is treated as the equal in life of the school teacher ; a girl from a high school will not mind being a cook if she is considered and treated as the equal of a shorthand typist."

He observes furthar that we must get it into the minds of children

"that all useful labour is equally honourable ; that men and women who plough the fields, and milk the cows, and cleanse our streets, and dig our coal, and cook our food, or scrub a house are of equal importance and value with those who sit in offices writing in books or adding figures."

Mr. Stanley Baldwin observed in a recent speech of his

"It makes very little difference whether a man is driving a tramcar or sweeping streets or being Prime Minister, if he only brings to that service everything that is in him and performs it for the sake of mankind."

All these observations may be summed up in the words of Robert Browning "All service ranks the same with God."

The observations quoted above are the thoughts of intellectuals of the Anglo-Saxon race among whom there is no hereditary caste and no untouchability. If among them honourable social recognition is needed for sanitary workers in the interests of justice, of a high standard of sanitary service and of social solidarity, how much more is such recognition required in our country.

Who are the Depressed Castes ?

Though the Poona Pact and the Prime Minister have assigned 30 seats in the coming Bengal Council to the depressed classes in Bengal, it is funny that even Government does not know who are these depressed people, and it is funnier still that some persons have taken upon themselves to generously (?) part with some of these seats to Bengal Muslims ! The following rather long but interesting extract from the proceedings of the Bengal Council will bear out what we have said :

At the Bengal Council, Raja Bhupendra Narayan Sinha Bahadur of Nashipur asked : Will the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Revenue Department be pleased to state what is the meaning conveyed to the Local Government by the words "depressed class" as used by the Premier in the declaration of the Communal Award ?

The Hon'ble Alhadj Sir Abdel Kerim Ghuznavi replied : Depressed classes have not been defined in the Communal Award or in the Poona Pact.

Raja Bhupendra Narayan Sinha Bahadur : Will the Hon'ble Member be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the different castes among the Hindus of Bengal which will be included under the head of "depressed class" as mentioned in the question ?

The Hon. A. K. Ghuznavi : As the position of certain castes is still under consideration it is not yet possible to publish an authoritative list.

The Hon. Member was subjected to a volley of supplementary questions.

Mr. N. K. Basu : Is the Hon. Member aware that in Bengal under the ruling of the Calcutta High Court all Sudras including Kayasthas belong to the same caste.—No answer.

Mr. Basu repeated the question.

The Hon. Member : I cannot say anything more than what I have stated.

Mr. B. C. Chatterjee : Will the Hon. Member tell us if those who are not *jal chal* Hindus are to be considered as members of the depressed class or not ?

The Hon. Member : I refer the Hon. Member to the answer already given.

Rev. B. A. Nag : Will the Hon. Member be pleased to state if the people of the depressed class as soon as they become Christians, cease to be people of the depressed class ?—(laughter).—No answer.

Khan Bahadur Abdul Momin : Will the Hon. Member be pleased to tell us whether the Lothian Committee gave an indication as to who were depressed class ?—No answer.

Mr. B. C. Chatterjee : Will the Hon. Member be pleased to state if the Government has followed any principle hitherto for the classification of the depressed class ?

The Hon. Member : They have certainly tried to follow certain principle (laughter).

Mr. Chatterjee : What is that principle ?

The Hon. Member : When the decision of the Government is announced, the principle also will be announced.

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Mr. Chatterjee: That is no answer to my question. I want to know if the Government has at all followed any principle.

The Hon. Member: That will take us many years back (laughter).

Mr. Santi Sekhareswar Ray: Will the Hon. Member be pleased to tell us if the Government is prepared to appoint a Committee to advise them in the matter.

The Hon. Member: No.

Dr. N. C. Sen Gupta: Is it not a fact that the Government furnished the Lothian Committee with a statement to which the exact number of the members of the depressed class was stated? And is the Government prepared to stand by that statement?

The Hon. Member: Government submitted a provisional list.

Mr. J. L. Bannerjee: Will the Government consult Pundits and leaders of the Hindu community for final decision of the question?

The Hon. Member: Likely (laughter).

Mr. Bannerjee: Have the Government taken any steps up till now for the purpose of ascertaining such opinion?

The Hon. Member: Yes.

Mr. Bannerjee: Whom have they consulted?

The Hon. Member: I am not prepared to answer that question.

Mr. Bannerjee: Is the disclosure of the names against public policy?

The Hon. Member: The matter is still under consideration.

Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque: Will the Hon. Member be pleased to state if the Government is pursuing any principle with regard to classification of the depressed class?

The Hon. Member: I refer the Hon. Member to the answer already given.

Khan Bahadur: Will the Government publish the principle?

The Hon. Member: I cannot say that now.

Mr. Fazlul Haque: Will the Hon. Member be pleased to state if they will consult the representatives or the depressed class in the council in arriving at the decision as to who were depressed class?

The Hon. Member: May be.

Mr. Amulya Dhan Roy: Are not the Pundits referred to by Mr. J. L. Bannerjee, against the interests of the depressed class? (laughter).

Mr. B. C. Chatterjee: Is the Hon. Member aware of the principle of classification given by Mr. Mukunda Behary Mullick to the Lothian Committee?

The Hon. Member: We are not prepared to make any detailed statement at the present moment.

Calcutta Celluloid Works

Recently we paid a visit to the Calcutta Celluloid Works, started and managed by Mr. J. N. Bose. We found the men in the factory in active work. It produces various kinds of articles made of celluloid—combs, soap-boxes, hairpins, knitting needles, and other things too numerous to mention. The style and finish of the goods produced are no respect inferior to those imported from abroad—many of them, if not all, appear to us superior to them.

"Wasteful Folly of Buying Similar Things of Foreign Make"

In performing the opening ceremony of Bengal Stores, an emporium of Swadeshi goods owned by Messrs. Keshoram Cotton Mills, Rabindranath Tagore observed *inter alia*:

> This emporium, I hope, will be an education for the public who due to their ignorance of excellent articles of everyday use that are being turned out in our country, indulge in wasteful folly of buying similar things of foreign make.

Co-education—A Success

We are glad to note that on the occasion of the celebration of the College Day of the Calcutta Scottish Churches College, Principal Cameron referred to the success of co-education in his college.

> He then announced amid cheers the appointment of Miss Logan as a lecturer in English literature and said that she was perhaps the first woman lecturer in a men's college.

We congratulate Miss Logan, though she is not the first woman lecturer in a men's college in India. During our recent visit to Nagpur we found an Indian lady lecturer in the Morris College of that town. About about two years ago we used to find a lady professor lecturing to a mixed college consisting of men and women students in Santiniketan. By the by, as Scottish Churches has lady students also, they may claim that it is not exclusively a men's college!

Banning Fourteen Gandhi Films

The Bombay Government has banned fourteen films relating to Mahatma Gandhi certified by the Bombay Board of Film Censors. Perhaps it has been done to prevent an obscure agitator like Mr. Gandhi from becoming famous.

"An Iniquitous Decision"

The foremost Bengal papers owned and edited by Indians and almost all other Indian owned papers have condemned the collective

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fine inflicted on the Hindus of Chittagong. But as all Bengali Hindus are suspect, their opinions are discounted. So let us quote the opinion of *The Servant of India*, the ably conducted organ of a society which believes in the permanence of the Indo-British connection :

It has also been made clear that the fine would be recovered only from the Hindu residents. In his speech delivered in Calcutta last week on the occasion of the St. Andrews' dinner, the Governor of Bengal tried to justify this discriminatory policy. His main excuse for it in effect was that as persons involved in the outrages were found to have belonged to the Hindu community and as the Hindu inhabitants failed to give information about terrorists there was nothing wrong in throwing the entire burden of the fine exclusively upon that community.

Whatever the truth in the Governor's aspersions on the Chittagong Hindu community, the Bengal Government's decision is sure to strike all normally minded persons as unjust and iniquitous. In the first place, this "crude and unsatisfactory instrument" deserves severe condemnation because it hits the innocent along with the guilty. In the second place, the blame attributed by His Excellency to the local Hindu community for its alleged failure to co-operate with the authorities in tracing terrorists presupposes the possession of the necessary information on its part. For aught we know, the Governor's assumption may be wholly unfounded. Unlike other political parties, the terrorists work in secret and underground ; and information about their movements or intentions is by no means easy to get even by their relatives or friends.

The activities of the inhabitants of a particular locality resulting in the formation of watch and ward committees had apparently convinced the local Government of their bona fides to the extent of temporarily suspending the collection of the fine from them. With the best will in the world the locality found itself unable to assist Government by information ; but the reward for its goodwill has been that it has been ordered to shoulder its part of the burden of the fine ! Does this not prove the utter unfoundedness of Sir John Anderson's assumption that the Chittagong Hindus do possess information leading to the apprehension of terrorists which they wantonly refuse to place at Government's disposal out of a spirit of non-co-operation ? The fact really seems to be that as elsewhere the general community in Chittagong is law-abiding and free from complicity in terrorist activity and it is invidious to discriminate against one section, as the Bengal Government has apparently made up its mind to do.

Burma Against Separation from India

Rangoon, Dec. 23

U. Chit Hlaing, M. L. C., president of the General Council of the Burmese Associations and of Hlaing Myat Paw of the All-Burmah Anti-Separation League has sent the following message to the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State and his Excellency the Viceroy :

"The Burma Legislative Council has to-day given its clear decision on the definite issue put before the electorate by passing without a division the anti-separation motion opposing separation of Burma from India on the basis of the constitution outlined by the Prime Minister at the Burma Round Table Conference, as also by defeating the motion of U Ba Pe, leader of the separationist party recommending acceptance of the principle of separation.

Our party in the council and our General Council of the Burmese Associations, therefore, again request you to arrange for the Burmans' entry into Indian Federation and with that view, provide for adequate participation of Burmese delegates of anti-seperation school in all further stages of evolution of the Indian Federal Constitution."— *Free Press.*

It would be interesting to watch the manouvres of Burma-separationist Britishers now.

Unity Conference Committee's Agreement

The text of the agreement which was presented to Unity Conference by the committee at Allahabad on the 24th December last will not lead any reader who is not in the know to suspect that there are still serious hitches to overcome. Those who have to make such a conference successful must necessarily be men of an optimistic turn of mind with an inexhaustible fund of patience. But it would not be wise to ignore or make light of real injustice or difficulties or consider serious grievances imaginary.

Bengal Hindus and the R. T. C. Conference

In the political notes by an "Indian Contributor," appearing in the *Statesman* of the 13th December last, the chief complaints are :

1. That the Communal Award, which, as he rightly says, has almost hopelessly ruined all future prospects of the Hindus of Bengal, was given without any reference to the Hindus of Bengal.
2. That during the discussions of the Communal Problem at the Round Table Conference, the Hindus were hopelessly divided and even men like Pandit Malviya and Doctor Moonje and other Congress leaders did not agree with the Mahatma.
3. That the view points of the Hindus of Bengal were neither pressed nor discussed, and that the Hindu leaders present at the Round Table Conference simply ignored Bengal.

In support of these contentions of his, the Indian contributor quotes from no less a person than Sir Nripendra Nath Sarkar, who

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is now representing Bengal at the Round Table Conference.

The whole communal problem was encompassed in the following Moslem demands :

1. Statutory majority for the Moslems in Bengal and Panjab.
2. Maintenance of weightages for the Moslems in provinces where they form a minority as provided under the Lucknow Pact.
3. 33⅓ per cent representation in the Central Legislature.
4. Separation of Sind.
5. Separate Electorates.

The protection of the interests of the Hindus in general, and the Hindus of Bengal in particular, lay in a determined opposition to these demands.

Dr. Moonje opposed all these demands and enunciated the following principles :

(1) No reservation of seats for a majority community in any province with the object and result of securing a majority to that community by statutes.

(2) In any scheme of protection of minorities by reservation of seats, no minority community in any province should be given representation below its ratio in the population of the province.

(3) In any scheme of weightages a common principle should be envolved which should be made applicable to all minorities without any discrimination.

He maintained his opposition to the end, to separate electorates and separation of Sind.

Now, the Hindus of Bengal were represented by Sir P. C. Mitter, Mr. J. N. Basu and Mr. Narendra Nath Law. Did they ever support Dr. Moonje in his opposition to any of these points which were in the interest not only of the Hindus generally but of Bengal also ?

The Indian contributor and Sir N. N. Sarkar are quite right when they say that the Hindus were hopelessly divided. The division lay between Dr. Moonje, Raja Narendranath, Mr. Tambe and Mr. Jayakar on one side, and all the rest of the Hindus, including also the representatives of the Bengal Hindus, on the other.

"Beloved India"

Mr. Arthur Moore, "the chief political writer on the Calcutta *Statesman* and the Indian correspondent of the London *Observer*," contributed to a recent number of the *Fortnightly Review* an article on "Beloved India" which was given the place of honour in that Bri monthly. The nature of his love app from the very first sentences of his article is made more and more clear as he proce "Do we still love India ?" He asks. "Is worth holding ? Can we hold her, against whom or what shall we be put to strain ?" He tells us indeed that "We c to trade and stayed to rule," but proc to add in the same sentence, "and gradu we talked less and less of our trade, and m and more our mission to govern India for good." We presume what he means is that Englishmen really gave up the idea making money out of the Indo-British cont and connection and made the governance India a genuine philanthropic and altruis enterprise, but that they *"talked"* less and le of worldly advantages and *"talked"* more a more of their "mission to govern India for good." For, only a few lines below this unintentionally reveals the inward meaning this missionary enterprise by saying :

"Moreover, the discharge of this lofty respo sibility provided a vast and noble field for t talents of Britons in war and peace. Honour careers lay open to the products of our school universities, with posts of the highest dignity objects of legitimate ambition for those who ser India most faithfully. Also an army could supported, and trained under conditions appr mating to active service, without expense to British taxpayer."

Mark the last six words.

Mr. Moore's claim is,

"We loved India more than the Indians."

Why India is ceasing to be "belove appears from the following :

"We have now to face the fact that the glam of governing India for its own good is disappear and that the country is becoming more and m unattractive to many Englishmen. There are honourable careers offered, but their arduous is more in evidence than their honour. The service and the corps of army officers, even th automatically shrinking in numbers, find difficulty maintaining the standard of British *personnel*. railways, and the engineering services gener despite unemployment at home, find recruitm for technical posts an increasing problem."

That Mr. Moore's love is of the mercant type appears clearly in many a passage his article. He writes :

"Much depends on our answer to the ques how much do we love India. What do we of India and what do we want ?"

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Real love, of which poets have sung, is measured by the sacrifice which the lover makes or is prepared to make at any moment for the beloved—by what the lover can give, including life and all. But Mr. Moore measures his love by what he can get out of India. This is a singular kind of love of which poets have not yet sung.

As an answer to his question, printed above and a commentary on it, the paragraph reproduced below follows it immediately.

> Material wealth and moral satisfaction both weigh in the balance. The pessimist argues plausibly enough, that both are rapidly on the down grade. The days when Englishmen shook the pagoda tree and picked up the fortune that fell are gone for ever. As a field for official careers India is becoming uncongenial, for none but exceptional men can do their best work in face of a highly popular press which represents British officials as brutes and bloodsuckers. The business world is mapped out by limited companies keenly competing with one another and so heavily capitalized as to make the payment of dividends a strenuous task. The importing houses are hit by tariffs, and their goods are subjected to periodical boycott as well. The European exporter and industrialist in India is naturally exposed to the ever-increasing competition of Indians whose wage bills and general over-heads are smaller than his. In the governmental sphere, then, the pessimist speaks of "the lost Dominion" and according to him we may as well go while the going is moderately good. He foretells that the Indian legislator will inevitably cook the business man's goose for him by predatory legislation.

There is an admixture of truth in some of the things which Mr. Moore has said.

> Everybody in India, including certainly the unofficial British community, is agreed (will Mr. Churchill please note ?) that a prolongation of the system of government by the British Parliament is impossible. Power must be shifted from Westminster and Whitehall, and some centre and source of power found in India itself.

It is perfectly true that the centre and source of power must and should be in India. But the idea of Mr. Moore and his fellow-traders is that they while sojourning in India must be that centre ! For, in his concluding paragraph he says :

> "To hold for the Crown a self-governing India will be a greater political achievement than any yet."

But how can a country *held* for a sovereign and nation having their homes in a distant land be "self-governing" at the same time.

Mr. Moore admits that,

> "The outstanding fact about India is the poverty of the people...No one is doing anything about this. We have no plan, and the Indians have no plan."

Indians may not be doing anything to remove India's poverty—they may have no plan. But how does Mr. Moore explain the fact that Englishmen who love India more than the Indians and possess the supreme power and wisdom are "doing nothing about this" and "have no plan" ?

Let us, however, conclude by quoting the first sentence of his last paragraph : "The Englishman still loves India, and it is still worth holding."

Payment of Debts by Nations

Private individuals who incur debts are in honour bound to pay them. Nations incurring debts are similarly bound to pay them. Great Britain and France, *free* countries, borrowed huge sums from America to prosecute the world war in their own interests. They are not like India, for whom, whether in her interest or not, Britishers borrow money. So the French and the British should not directly or indirectly try to repudiate their debts. But they seem willing to do so, and perhaps would have done so, if America had been a weak nation.

Equal Reduction of Armaments

The Month writes :

> Those writers to the Press who ferquently assert that Great Britain has already reduced its armaments to a dangerously low point, one relatively lower than any other except Germany, are doing no service to the cause of disarmament, first because every other Great Power says the same thing, and none admits it in regard to the others ; secondly, because their point of comparison is pre-war expenditure, forgetting that armaments on the eve of the war were inflated beyond all precedent owing to the then unchecked competition ; and thirdly, because they ignore the vast improvement in military technique, which make modern armies far more formidable than they were twenty years ago.

It adds :

> And let us remember that our expenditure on armaments is still the highest in Europe, with the exception of that of Soviet Russia. The following table of the annual costs of armaments, compiled by the New York Trust Co. for 1930-31, gives the expenditure of the chief Powers and the difference from the 1913-14 figures. The total annual expenditure, exclusive of pensions, is now about £1400,000 000, whereas, even in 1919, it was only £666,600,000.

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	In million pounds	*Increase-decrease on 1913-14*
Germany	49	− 63 p. c.
Great Britain	153	+ 42 p. c.
France	130	+ 30 p. c.
Italy	74	+ 44 p. c.
Japan	69	+ 142 p. c.
Russia	166	+ 130 p. c.
U.S.A.	208	+ 197 p. c.

The big powers are preparing for peace indeed !

"Rebel India"

Elsewhere in this *Review* is published an article by Rabindranath Tagore on Mr. H. N. Brailsford's *Rebel India,* in which he characterizes it as an honest book. What effect Mr. Brailford's honesty will have on the ruling and the educated classes of Great Britain can be judged from the following review of the book which appeared in the July number of *International Affairs,* the organ of the Royal Institute of International Affairs :

> *Rebel India* is a record of impressions during six months of travel in Northern India in the second half of 1930 when the civil disobedience campaign was at its height. Mr. Brailsford sympathized passionately with a movement which seemed to him to be a revolt against the "degradation of a servile acquiescence in foreign rule," and his judgment seems too often to have been obscured by the mists of emotion and prejudice. Only once he says, "I had this story only from the Indian side," but similar qualifications seem necessary for the fantastic stories of indiscriminate bludgeonings by a brutal police not only in the villages of Gujarat but in university class rooms and lecture theatres in populous cities of the North.

The same reviewer characterizes Patricia Kendall's *India and the British* as

> "a very readable travel diary in which graphic and picturesque sketches of things seen are presented against a background of serious excursions into the past history and present day politics of India."

The Late Maharani Suniti Devi

On the 17th December 1932 the people of Calcutta assembled in a mass meeting to express their sorrow at the sudden death of the Maharani Suniti Devi of Cooch Behar. The poet Rabindranath Tagore presided at the meeting. Mr. J. N. Basu moved the main resolution passed by the meeting in which he referred to the boundless charity of the late Maharani and to her multifarious public activities. Lady Abala Bose suggested to the meeting that the best memorial of the late Maharani would be to help to improve the Victoria Institution, a girl's high school founded by the Maharani. The poet Rabindranath Tagore in the course of his address said :

"My relation to the Maharani was threefold. I was born sometime before Keshab Chunder Sen came and stayed at our Jorasanko home. In those days I, as an infant, played in the lap of the Maharani's mother. Suniti Devi occupied the same lap many years after that.

"When she was married, I had many occasion to be her guest both at Alipore and at Darjeeling. Memories of sunny days intertwine in my mind with her sympathetic and gentle personality.

"Then I heard of her death. I am now at a stage of life where death cannot assume any false meaning to me. The wall which separates life from death is becoming transparent to me. It is not for me to express sorrow when I see death. It is only in the light of day that man sees himself in his narrow surrounding. When that light fades away his narrower boundaries fade away too and he looks into the far away ends of the endless constellations. Death carries us from the narrower joys of Life unto an eternity which is Joy. . . ."

At the end of the meeting a memorial Committee was formed with a strong personnel.

Latest about Bengal Hindu Sabha

The following news deserves the attention of the Indian public.

Calcutta, Dec. 25.

On the subject of the unity conference a meeting of the executive committee of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha was held today and resolutions were passed reiterating (1) that the Sabha stands for joint electorates, (2) that the Sabha definitely is opposed to a statutory reservation of seats for the majority community, (3) that the Sabha strongly objects to the extension of the principle of communalism into special constituencies which is implied in the Allahabad scheme, and (4) that the Sabha demands the restoration to Bengal of the Bengali speaking areas adjoining the presidency. Further in view of the Muslim insistence at the unity conference upon an unconditional reservation of 51 per cent seats irrespective of what the Hindus might get the Sabha withdrew its conditional offer to waive its objection to a statutory majority.

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We have commented on these matters on several occasions previously and expressed our views unequivocally.

Guruvayur and the Zamorin

The British period of Indian history gives numerous examples of the paramount Government interfering with the "rights" of Indian princes whenever required by reasons of State, public safety, public morals etc. etc. In the recent case of temple entry in the domains of the Zamorin the refusal of that ruler to act in accordance with public opinion in a matter which concerns the rights of the people, the progress of democracy in India, and the uprooting of a base superstition, the Government of India may, perhaps, be expected to "act." Of course in India the trend of autocratic "action" shows peculiarities which, those who desire India's progress fail to appreciate. The following press cutting will show how the Zamorin's attitude contravenes public opinion.

Calicut, Dec. 25.

According to a communique issued by the organizers of the Guruvayur referendum on the question of throwing open the Guruvayur temple to the untouchables, 77 per cent favour temple-entry and 13 per cent against, 10 per cent remaining neutral. One special feature of the referendum is that 8,000 women polled in favour of temple-entry.

The communique says, 'Whatever might be the result of the referendum regarding the Zamorin's attitude, the educative value of the campaign cannot be overestimated. The message has been carried to every *savarna* (persons entitled to enter temple) home in the locality.'

This Round Table

King Arthur's Round Table was associated with persons, incidents, principles, and environment so bizarre as to provide excitement to fanciful persons of all age for many a long century. Facts or reason had nothing to do with King Arthur's stalwart knights who habitually fought and killed animals without reference to Natural history, with swords sharp beyond all hopes of metallurgy, in forests, palaces or caves which floated in the air, melted away or changed shape according to the demands of chivalry in defiance of all physico-chemical laws. This Round Table of Sir Samuel's keeps up the traditions of that which provided meat, merriment and *amours* to Sir Lancelot in more than one way. Political giants have come to it from almost nowhere and have "represented" the Indian millions with a Merlinian directness which makes the average fairy tale fan dizzy. Difficulties have cropped up in the field of official fancy like dragons and have been dispatched summarily by Sir Samuel riding rough shod over Indian public opinion. What, perhaps, interested the lusty knight more was the riding part of it. Visions of a Reserve Bank overflowing with gold have floated before us momentarily with its gold turning suddenly into paper with the magic touch of Britannia's wand.

The Indian Lady of Shallot imprisoned in her well-protected castle may well say

'I am half sick of shadows !'

The Round Table Conference has failed to put any hope in our heart. The deliberate flouting of public opinion in many ways, separation of Sind and Orissa, allotment of seats out of all proportion to just claims to a particular community and keeping British overlordship intact in almost everything that has any importance ; these do not make a picture of self-government far less of freedom. This game of camouflage and bluff will not bring peace to India. Far from permanently solving the Indian question such attempts will only complicate matters beyond all hope of repair. We wish to see peace in India, we do not desire to destroy British interests in India in so far as they rest on justice, truth and fair play. There are many Britishers who also wish to see justice done to India ; but, somehow, things seem to move the wrong way. What the rulers of India are trying to "award" to us may be well described as a system of glorified municipal government. This will increase our national expenditure and create branches within the nation. It is better to be ruled autocratically and cheaply than to be under a make-believe democracy paying higher taxes. Sir Samuel Hoare and his supporters ought to know that the Indian people know their own interests quite thoroughly. They know the needs of India better than the British parliament could ever know. They wish to manage their own currency, revenues, army, (navy and

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air force) and everything else connected with the governance of a modern State to the best interests of India and the Indian people. Unless the Indian people are given the right to do this fully, Britain can never expect to bring peace and prosperity to India.

Safe-guarding Indian Industries !

We take the following from a Calcutta daily.

Jubbulpore, Dec. 28.

The Government of India, in view of the report by the Federal Finance Committee for imposition of excise on tobacco, called a conference of provincial representatives at Delhi to discuss this question. They acknowledged that if tax was levied and the principles that at present govern the distribution of revenues remain unchanged, the benefit thereof should go mainly, if not entirely, to the provinces.

The Government felt that tobacco which was generally subjected to taxation in all parts of the world, including some parts of India, would not be beset with real difficulties if proper means could be devised for imposition of such a tax in British India.

GOVERNMENT PROPOSALS

The contemplated proposals were (*a*) licensing of vend, (*b*) levy of excise duty on manufactures and (*c*) imposition of a transport tax.

The sale of British cigarettes has fallen a great deal during the last few years. Many factories for the manufacture of cigarettes have been started in India and thousands of workers have found employment in *Biri* (leaf-cigarettes) making. Is this an attempt at rehabilitating the foreign cigarette manufacturers in the Indian market ? We think it is so and record our strongest protests accordingly against any imposition of such an excise duty.

R. T. C. Latest

London, Dec., 27

Broadcasting the results of the R. T. C. Sir Samuel Hoare said that for more than two years they had been trying to harmonize the three elements, *viz.* Britain, British Indian and Indian States. Both British and Indian delegates alike realized that certain conditions must be satisfied.

Firstly, India must have a greater measure of self-government. Every enquiry committee, including the Simon Commission, emphasized this essential need.

Secondly, there should be no encroachment upon the rights of the Princes except what they themselves wished to cede for the Federal Government.

Thirdly, the obligations and British partnership with India must be safe-guarded.

Sir Samuel is evidently a great musi genius for his harmonizing has been v pleasing to the British Imperialist ear. B harmony being unknown in Indian music find it rather a strain on our nerves to st his music much longer. We find the fi of the three elements, *viz.*, Britain predomin ing the composition.

As students of British-Indian hist we also appreciate Sir Samuel's concern the Princes. They have had a taste British anxiety for their well-being duri the last 150 years and now, may he, th will get back some of their own (at the c of the rest of India ?) Regarding "grea measure of self-government," how shall calculate ? The smallest addition to a thi makes it "greater." That is one way looking at it. A more extreme view wou make us add more cyphers to a series cyphers.

Military Training For Japanese Women

The following press news will interest all who see visions of world peace, univers brotherhood and fellowship of the nations a coming phenomenon.

The long arm of nationalism with its attend militeristic doctrines has finally reached Japan women. According to the *Yomiuri*, a first cl daily of Tokyo, a plan to extend military train to 35,000 students of the 61 private girls' hig schools of Tokyo is being discussed by principals of the institutions. The movement, *Yomiuri* continues, is a development of the that women should be made capable of defend the country in case of need.

According the plan, the schools will purch from the War Office gas masks, pistols infan rifles and other necessary war equipment. students will be taught how to use the weap and will be given military training by offi provided by the War Office. They will also taken from time to time to visit the vari regiments and military schools.

Mr. Yoshiji Kawaguchi, assistant princi of the Koishikawa Girls' High School, repre ting promoters of the movement, called on W Office authorities yesterday to discuss the p The *Yomiuri* says that the desires of the sch will be met by the war authorities, and i expected that the plan will materialize shortly.

The Japanese are practical people and a not diverted in their national policy by th hypocritical pretensions of the Wester Powers.

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THE VEGETABLE SELLER
By Siddheswar Mitra

Drabasi Press, Calcutta

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES

BY J. T. SUNDERLAND

WE must not allow ourselves to be confused over the name, Oliver Wendell Holmes. It stands, not for one man alone, but for two distinguished Americans, father and son; one a great jurist, the other an eminent physician, essayist and poet; one belonging to the nineteenth century, the other now living. The Supreme Court of the United States consists of nine Circuit Judges. For many years past the Judge who, although not the official head of that distinguished body, has been widely regarded as its greatest mind, and, better still as its most unflinching and uncompromising defender of justice to all men whether high or low, and to all causes whether popular or unpopular, has been Oliver Wendell Holmes, Junior. Within the past year, he has retired from the Bench at the advanced age of about ninety, vigorous to the last, and to the last giving forth to the country legal judgments showing no signs of weakening in either their intellectual or their moral power.

His long and eminent service to his country and the high encomiums upon the same which have appeared in all our best papers and which have been heard from hundreds of pulpits and platforms in all parts of the land, have, with all the rest, called public attention to the very interesting and striking fact that forty years ago there was another Oliver Wendell Holmes, his father, who, in another line, was as great, as famous and as highly and justly honoured as he. It is of this man, the great father of the great son, that I am writing in the article which follows.

* * * *

Oliver Wendell Holmes, the First, died in 1894, at the age of eighty-five. He was the last survivor of that group of distinguished American (New England) poets of which Emerson, Longfellow, Lowell and Whittier were the other members. A few words will suffice to give the main outline of his life.

He was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, only a little way from the grounds of Harvard University, in a quaint and famous old house, with gambrel roof and wide chimneys. The house had come down from pre-Revolutionary times, and was full of historic associations and interesting old reminiscences. In it General Artemas Ward of Revolutionary fame, established his headquarters after the famous little battle of Lexington; and in one of its wide old chambers the equally famous battle of Bunker Hill was determined upon and planned. Here Washington was entertained, and here Benedict Arnold, who later turned traitor to the American cause, received his first commission. Its floors were indented by the

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butts of the muskets of revolutionary soldiers. When it was torn down, there was a general feeling of regret throughout all Cambridge, and we may almost say, throughout the whole nation.

Holmes' father was a minister—the pastor, for thirty-five years, of the First Congregational church of Cambridge. He was orthodox in his theology, antiquarian in his tastes, and very dry as a preacher. One of his deacons declared of him that he "fed his congregation saw-dust with a spoon."

Young Oliver Wendell early became convinced that the theology of his father—a somewhat modified Calvinism—was a good theology "to emigrate from." Accordingly very early in his manhood he emigrated to the sunnier and more attractive, and as he believed, the healthier and more fertile, land of a more liberal and rational faith (Unitarian).

* * * *

He entered Harvard, graduating with the very famous class of 1829 when he was twenty years of age. Among his Harvard classmates were James Freeman Clarke and William Henry Channing, the distinguished preachers and writers; Benjamin Pierce, the great mathematician; Benjamin R. Curtis, of the United States Supreme Court; and George T. Bigelow, Chief Justice of Massachusetts. Such names are enough to make any class famous. But what more than anything else has attracted the attention of the country and the world to the class, has been the poems written by the incomparable poet of the class, Oliver Wendell Holmes, on the occasions of its re-unions. Turn to a volume of the collected poetical writings of Holmes and we will find under the heading "Poems of the Class of 1829," no fewer than thirty-two pieces, of many lengths and many metres, and ranging through almost the whole gamut of human feeling, from the most rollicking fun to the most soul-stirring patriotism, and from that on again to the tenderest memories that bring tears to the eyes.

What college man in America has not laughed and cried over "Our Boys," written by Holmes for his thirtieth class re-union? If there is one, I pity him.

"Has there any old fellow got mixed with the
If there has, take him out, without making a n
Hang the Almanac's cheat, and the Catalogue's
Old Time is a liar! we're twenty to-night.

At the fortieth re-union of his cl
writes:

"Here's the old cruiser 'Twenty-nine'
Forty times she's crossed the line;
Same old masts and sails and crew,
Tight and tough and good as new."

How many were on board when
cruise began forty years before?

"Crew of a hundred all aboard,
Every man as big as a lord.
Gay they look and proud they feel,
Bowling along on even keel."

How many of the crew are left, now
forty years are passed? Only

"Thirty men, from twenty towns,
Sires and grandsires, with silvered crowns

Yet, once together, they are boys agai

"Thirty school-boys all in a row,
Bens and Georges, and Bill and Joe!

Come, dear old comrade, you and I
Will steal an hour from days gone by,
The shining days when life was new,
And all was bright with morning dew,
The lusty days of long ago,
When you were Bill and I was Joe.

Your name may flaunt a titled trail
Proud as a cockerel's rainbow tail,
And mine as brief appendix wear
As Tam O'Shanter's luckless mare;
Today, old friend, remember still
That I am Joe and you are Bill.

You've won the great world's envied prize,
And grand you look in people's eyes,
With H O N. and L L D.
In big brave letters, fair to see,—
Your fist, old fellow! off they go!
How are you, Bill? How are you, Joe?

You've worn the judge's ermined robe;
You've taught your name to half the globe
You've sung mankind a deathless strain;
You've made the dead past live again:
The world may call you what it will,
But you and I are Joe and Bill."

Here is the beginning of another
poem, in a soberer vein:

"Yes, the vacant chairs tell sadly, we are going,
And the thought comes strangely o'er me, going Who
will live to be the
When the twentieth century's sunbeams climb t
far-off eastern
With his ninety-winters burdened will he greet
the morning s

* * * *

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After graduating from college, young Holmes studied law a year ; but did not like it. He liked writing witty poems far better : and in this he had already won some success. To one profession, however, he felt himself drawn. That was medicine. Accordingly to medicine he turned his attention, studying in his country two years and a half, and in Europe three years. His medical studies completed—at the age of twenty-nine he was chosen Professor of Anatomy and Physiology in one of the smaller colleges of the country and nine years later in Harvard, where he remained, doing steady, laborious, efficient, and in many respects, brilliant work, for thirty-five years. When he began his work at the Harvard Medical School, that school was small, and he was obliged to make his lectures cover a wide range. Speaking of it later, he said that he occupied at that time, not a *chair* in the Faculty, but a *settee*. But he stood by the school and laboured on, until he saw it one of the strongest in the world.

It is hard for us to think of Holmes as a doctor of medicine, or as a scientist. Yet a large part of his life was given faithfully to his chosen profession, and he attained a rank in it excelled by only a few.

* * * *

It was not until he was forty-eight years of age, that he wrote anything that gave him any considerable fame in the literary world ; although he had published several small volumes of verse before that time, and much prose.

When the *Atlantic Monthly* was started, in the year 1857, Lowell, its editor, who knew Holmes' brilliant gifts as a writer, asked him to become a contributor. Holmes complied, and began the series of papers called "The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table," later published in book-form. From the first the papers were immensely popular, and their author literally leaped to fame at a single bound. From that day on, there was no more popular prose writer in America than Oliver Wendell Holmes.

"The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table" was followed three years later by a similar series of papers entitled "The Poet at the Breakfast Table," and ten years later still, in 1870, by a third series called "The Professor at the Breakfast Table." All these papers carry out one and the same general idea, which is, the reporting of a series of imaginary conversations, on a very large number and variety of subjects of popular interest, by a company of persons representing various orders of minds, degrees of culture and positions in society. The result as wrought out by Dr. Holmes is a series of books at once wise and witty, fascinating in their interest, brilliant in their literary style, and appealing to a very wide reading public.

The Autocrat is as authoritative as Dr. Samuel Johnson, as full of rollicking humour as Father Prout, as sweet as Goldsmith, as dainty as Leigh Hunt, as tender as Washington Irving, as brilliant as Sheridan. At last we have American humour that is not raw and in chunks, not coarse, not made up largely of bad grammar and bad spelling. It is difficult to imagine a more rapidly moving or more splendid panorama of wit, drollery, humour, learning, wisdom, insight into human nature, satire, ridicule of humbugs and stupidity, pathos, sentiment, logic, idyls of love and brilliant monologue, than sweep past us in these delightful books.

Some years after the Breakfast Table series was finished, Holmes again took up his pen and wrote in a similar vein a volume called "Over the Tea Cups."

* * * *

As a poet, Dr. Holmes' fame was of a much slower and steadier growth than his fame as an *essayist*. His reputation spread from his college class through other college circles, then to Boston, and gradually over the land. His poetry, for wit, and epigram, and satire that does not wound nor rankle, has no equal in America.

Perhaps no one has given a better portrayal of Holmes, the poet, at least on his witty side, than Lowell in his "Fable for Critics." He writes :

"There is Holmes, who is matchless among you for wit,
A Leyden jar always full charged, from which flit
The electrical tingles of hit for hit.

His are just the fine hands, too, for weaving you a lyric,
Full of fancy, fun, feeling, or spiced with satiric,
In a measure so kindly you doubt if the toes
That are trodden upon are your own or your foe's."

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Some of our Autocrat's poems of wit and humour, I think, must live a very long time, they are so inimitable and so perfect of their kind—not only his college class poems but such others as "The One Hoss Shay," "How the Old Horse Won the Bet," "The Spectre Pig" and "A Farewell to Agassiz."

Dr. Holmes was pre-eminently a poet of *society*. He loved to be with men. It was men that interested him. He could describe society, and understand society, and praise and satirize society with a keenness that was inimitable.

He was especially gifted as a writer of *occasional* poems. Indeed, here he has no American rival except Lowell. He was born for a poet laureate. For saying in happy and sparkling verse exactly the thing that everybody wanted said but that nobody else knew how to say, on all sorts of notable occasions, he had a readiness and a facility that amounted to rare genius. Thus he was called upon to write poems upon almost every occasion of importance connected with the history of Harvard College, of Boston, and, we might add, of the nation, for fifty years. Indeed, his poems might almost be read as a text-book in American history. Only, they lack one quality of a usual text-book, they are not dull. They would interest, and awaken the enthusiasm of students in a way which I fear might alarm teachers.

Many of these occasional poems, or poems of history, can hardly fail to live, they catch so admirably the spirit of the time. Men in future ages, who want to know not only what was done in the United States during the nineteenth century, but in what spirit it was done and with what aims and ideals, will go to poets Whittier and Lowell and Holmes quite as much as to any historians.

Nor do such other of his serious poems, as "The Chambered Nautilus," "The Voiceless," "My Aviary," and "The Silent Melody" seem less certain of immortality.

* * * *

In still a third direction Dr. Holmes won literary fame. It was as a novelist—through his three works of fiction. Of these, "Elsie Venner" is the best known and perhaps the ablest. All three are novels with a purpose. All of course contain much good writi they could not fail to do this and come fr the pen of Holmes. But they lack th elements of dramatic power which are fo in the novels of Hawthorne. Holmes' ge is epigrammatic, descriptive, perhaps ly not dramatic.

Even with fiction his busy pen did rest. To his essays, his poetry, and novels he added two biographies, one of Jo Lathrop Motley, the historian, and one Emerson ; and, last of all, a book of tra giving a most delightful account of a vi which in his old age and in the ripeness his fame he made to England, where he w received as a King—the King that he tr was in the mighty realm of letters.

During that visit in London, he nearly every man and woman of distinct in the country. The Court, Science a Literature all received him with open ar He had not been in England for half century. When he made his first visit the he was an obscure young man, studyin medicine, and known to scarcely half a doze persons. He returned in 1886, a man world-wide fame, and every hand was stre ched out to do him honour.

Lord Houghton, the famous breakfast giv had met him in Boston years before, and h begged him again and again to come London. When Holmes arrived in Engla Lord Houghton was in his grave ; so w Dean Stanley, whose sweetness of dispositi had so charmed him (Holmes) when the formed each other's acquaintance in Ameri Ruskin he greatly wanted to meet, but fai because the distinguished writer on art planner for human betterment was ill. a dinner, however, at Canon Farrar's, spent some time with Sir John Millais, eminent painter, and Professor Tyndall, scientist. Of course, he saw Gladst Tennyson, Browning, Chief Justice Coleri Professor James Bryce, Lord Wolseley, Duke of Argyle and many others of Englan greatest. The universities laid their high honours at his feet. Edinburgh gave him degree of LL. D., Cambridge that of Doc of Letters and Oxford that of D. C. L.

After his return home from England, had a little time of waiting—waiting f

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with literary work: then came the end. And a perfect end it was,—serene and ripe! his work done! and the toiler ready to take his well-earned rest!

* * * *

All the world knows of Oliver Wendell Holmes as a wit and humorist. But it is a shallow judgment that thinks of him as nothing more. Below his playful humour and his brilliant wit there was a very earnest man, endeavouring to do a very serious work in the world. He wrote to please and to delight. But through all his books runs a high and earnest purpose. He would have men laugh, because to laugh is human and good. But he saw in humanity more than a company of grinning apes. He recognized the great object and end of life to be, not mirth or pleasure, or even knowledge, but duty, love, service and the building up of human character. With all the rest he was sincerely and earnestly religious. Here we have what was central in him.

He lived a life of conscientious and even severe toil—for more than a third of a century filling his chair of instruction in a great institution of learning, and keeping fully abreast of his profession, while at the same time doing an amount of literary work that amazes us. His life was one of spotless integrity and honour. He was a merciless exposer of shams and hypocrisy, and a fearless defender of reality and truth. He loved his *alma mater*, his native city, his native state, his native land, and his religion with all his heart.

I regret to say, he did not form one of that heroic group of anti-slavery reformers that made New England glorious. He had a strain of the aristocrat in his blood, that made him shrink from the anti-slavery agitation, and drew him into too much sympathy with the proud slave-owners of the South. But this lasted only until the war began. Patriotism throbbed in every drop of his blood. This is proved by the fact that he gave his twenty-years old boy to his country, to bring back three wounds from southern battlefields. This was the boy who after the war became the distinguished and honoured member of the United States Supreme Court.

* * *

As already indicated, Dr. Holmes was all his life a deeply religious man. In leaving the Calvinism of his early life he did not leave religion. He left the old that he might find for himself a more reasonable and a more worthy new. This new religion he loved and lived. Of it all his books are full. Often it does not label itself. Often it does not seem even to think of itself as being religion at all, but simply conscientiousness, truthfulness, honesty in business, patience, kindness, helpfulness to those in need, feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, ministering to the sick, being faithful in all the duties of daily life, and calmly and without fear trusting God for all that is beyond our strength and sight.

But Dr. Holmes had sufficient depth of spiritual insight, and was close enough in touch with Jesus, to understand that, named or unnamed, these things—duty, integrity, love and trust—*are* religion and the only religion that can stand the test of a thinking age, that can bring heaven on earth, or that can be leaned upon with the certainty that they will not fail men in life or in death.

Dr. Holmes believed in a religion that is reasonable, practical, forward-looking, in harmony with the best thought and intelligence of the world. And he made both his prose and his verse the constant vehicle for his advanced religious ideas. Wherever he saw an irrational doctrine taught in the name of religion, he did not hesitate to label it irrational. Wherever he came in contact with ideas about God or God's dealings with men that seemed to him inhuman, he did not fear to call them inhuman, in plain words. Wherever he found bubbles of religious superstition, he was quick to thrust into them the lance of his keen wit and satire. There is hardly one of his books, in prose or poetry, in which he does not show his hate of theological narrowness and dogmatism, and his love of religious breadth, freedom and light. When a divinity student reproaches him with not having a creed, he replies, "I have a creed—none better and none shorter; it is told in two words—the first two of the Pater-Noster."

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The Autocrat hears men talk about "getting religion." Yes, he says, but let it be real religion and not a mere make-believe. Let it be a religion which shall improve men's lives. I will believe that men have "got religion," when

"Berries,—whortle—rasp—and straw,
Grow bigger *downwards* through the box."

He cares little for ecclesiastical forms and ceremonies. He says : "I am no church-man ; I don't believe in planting oaks in flower-pots." He gives his impression of much of the ritualism of the time, when he writes, of "high church curates, trained to snap at the last word of the response, so that you couldn't wedge in the tail of a comma between the end of the congregation's last syllable and the beginning of the next petition. They do it well, but it always spoils my devotion. To save my life, I can't help watching them, as I watch to see a duck dive at the flash of a gun, and that is not what I go to church for."

On the subject of Bible infallibility he says :

"There is nothing so dangerous to intellectual virility as to have an 'infallible book' to fall back upon. There is no sacred book in the world which has not crippled human souls."

* * *

Dr. Holmes was a scientist, and as such he accepted heartily all contributions to knowledge which science is able to make : nor did he fear the effects of these upon religion. Whatever in religion is true, he knew no truth of science can disturb. Whatever in religion is not true, he wanted removed ; that we may have a religion of truth alone. At a great National Unitarian Convention in 1883, he said :

"I think we might fairly claim that our faith (the faith of Unitarians) has gone out to meet science half way."

His scientific pursuits and his faith in science did not make him a materialist. In the very lecture in which he demonstrates the dependence of the soul upon physical conditions so long as it remains in this world, he affirms most decisively that "we do not find Hamlet and Faust, right and wrong, the valour of men and the purity of women, by testing for albumen, or by examining fibres in microscopes." Not until we can "send a statesman his integrity in a package to Washington, if he happens to have left it behind," will he believe that integrity is only the resultant of the arrangement of "molecules" or "atoms" in "the brain." All his scientific study drives him to the conviction that spirit, and not matter, is the primal, central and eternal reality—and the causal force in all organic life. Everywhere he finds God ; and this because he finds Power and Wisdom and Moral Order everywhere. For what are these but God ? Thus he sees God alike in atoms and worlds ; in the infinitely small and the infinitely great. To him gravity, "that unsleeping, everywhere-present force, the same yesterday, today, and forever" is nothing less than "the great outspread hand of God himself."

Dr. Holmes could not believe that the Power that made this world is malign, or that he cherishes evil designs toward any of his creatures. Nor yet could he believe that that Power is weak, and is thus liable to be defeated in his ends of ultimate good. He saw the dark side of things as clearly as any man,—the pain, the suffering, the sorrow that everywhere confront human beings in this world. But he saw them in the light of their larger relations and their compensations. "The forces of nature bruise and wound our bodies," he writes, "but an artery no sooner bleeds than the divine hand is placed upon it to stay the flow. A wound is no sooner made than the healing process is set on foot. Pain reaches a certain point and insensibility comes on,—for fainting is the natural anodyne of incurable griefs, as death is the remedy of those which are intolerable. . . . I see no corner of the universe which God has deserted."

* * *

No poet or writer has ever taught a manlier faith than Holmes. That religion which cringes and crawls he will have nothing to do with. To him the voice of the old scripture sounds : "Son of man, stand upon thy feet." With fine spirit he writes :

"My life shall be a challenge, not a truce !
This is my language to the mightier powers.
To ask my boldest questions undismayed."

Under the title of "Manhood," he writes these virile and manly lines :

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'I claim the right of knowing whom I serve,
Else is my service idle: He that asks
My homage, asks it from a reasoning soul.
To crawl is not to worship; we have learned
A drill of eyelids, bended neck and knee,
Hanging our prayers on hinges, till we ape
The flexures of the many-jointed worm.
The past has taught her salaams
To the world's *children*—we have *grown to men*!
We who have rolled the sphere beneath our feet
To find a virgin forest, as we lay
The beams of our rude temple, first of all
Must frame its doorway high enough for man
To pass unstooping: knowing as we do
That He who shaped us last of living forms
Has long enough been served by creeping things—
Reptiles that left their footprints in the sand
Of old sea-margins that have turned to stone,
And men who learned their ritual; we demand
To know Him first, then trust Him, and then love
When we have found Him worthy of our love,
Tried by our own poor hearts, and not before;
He must be truer than the truest friend,
He must be tenderer than a woman's love,
A father better than the best of sires;
Kinder than she who bore us, though we sin
Oftener than did the brother we are told
We—poor, ill-tempered mortals—must forgive,
Though seven times sinning threescore times and ten.
This is the new world's gospel: BE YE MEN!"

Few writers or public teachers have been more unsparing than Dr. Holmes in condemnation of the old dogmas that enslave men's minds and degrade the character of God. Here is what he says in one of his last articles in the *Atlantic Monthly*, about the doctrine of eternal punishment:

"How shall we characterize the doctrine of endless torture as the destiny of most of those who have lived, and are living, on this planet? I prefer to let another writer speak of it. Mr. John Morley uses the following words: 'The horrors of what is perhaps the most frightful idea that has ever corroded human character,—the idea of eternal punishment!' Sismondi, the great historian, heard a sermon on eternal punishment, and vowed never to enter another church holding the same creed. When the poet Cowper said satirically of the minister he was attacking,

'He never mentioned hell to ears polite,'

he was giving unconscious evidence that the sense of the barbarism of the idea was finding its way into the pulpit. When Burns, in the midst of the sulphurous orthodoxy of Scotland, dared to say,

'The fear o' hell's a hangman's whip,
To haud the wretch in order,'

he was only appealing to the common sense and common humanity of his fellow countrymen.

"All the reasoning in the world, all the proof-texts in old manuscripts, cannot reconcile this supposition of a world of sleepless and endless torment with the declaration that 'God is love'."

In one of his poems, Dr. Holmes shows how impossible it is that there can be a heaven at all, for any human soul, so long as a hell of hopeless torment exists for its loved ones.

"What if a soul redeemed, a spirit that loved
While yet on earth, and was beloved in turn,
And still remembered every look and tone
Of that dear earthly sister who was left
Among the unwise virgins at the gate,
Itself admitted with the bridegroom train,—
What if this spirit redeemed, amid the host
Of chanting angels, in some transient lull
Of the eternal anthem, heard the cry
Of its lost darling
Left an outcast in the world of fire,—
Would it not long to leave the bliss of heaven—
Bearing a little water in its hand
To moisten those poor lips that plead in vain
With what we call our Father?"

Could heaven be heaven for any heart not made of stone, while dear ones writhe in hopeless, endless agony?

Thank God! that horrible doctrine, that black slander upon the character of the Creator, that unspeakable stain upon modern Christianity, is at last beginning to shrink out of sight and hide itself in dark corners, as a hideous creature of the night. At last we are beginning to see that to admit such a doctrine dethrones God, and turns all heaven into hell. To whom is Christianity indebted for daring to confront and smite that ugly vampire of the past, and for bringing about the blessed change in men's thought that is appearing? The Christian world is indebted to many good and brave souls—to John Murray and Hosea Ballou of the Universalist Church, to William Ellery Channing, Theodore Parker, James Freeman Clarke, James Martineau of the Unitarian Church, to Frederick Farrar of the Church of England, to John G. Whittier of the Friends or Quakers, and many, many others; but occupying a conspicuous and honoured place in the list must forever stand the name of Oliver Wendell Holmes.

* * *

Having described Dr. Holmes' creed as the Fatherhood of God, it is hardly necessary to add that his religion was an eminently cheerful one. How could it be otherwise, based upon so great and noble a faith? One of his heaviest charges against the Calvinism in which he had been reared, was the fact that it was a religion of gloom and despair. He said, if God is worthy of our

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worship at all, if he is in any sense our Father, then he must be pleased to see his children happy in this world, and he must have planned their ultimate happiness in the world to come. Why then should we not make our religion joyful, and in harmony with everything that is bright and beautiful, as well as everything that is good ?

But let us not suppose that because his religion was cheerful, it had in it any place for lazy ease or indifference. It was a religion of lofty ideals, of growth, of strenuous striving for the best. He believed with Lowell :

"They must upward still and onward
Who would keep abreast of truth."

His motto was that of Paul : "Not as though I had already attained : but I press forward." I cannot but think that the very finest poem of all that we have from the pen of Dr. Holmes, is "The Chambered Nautilus"—a poem written expressly to teach this lesson. It is exquisitely beautiful as a piece of literary art. But it is just as beautiful in its religious meaning. I must not take space to cite the whole ; but I could not forgive myself if I did not quote at least the last three verses.

"Year after year beheld the silent toil
That spread his lustrous coil ;
Still, as the spiral grew,
He left the past year's dwelling for the new,
Stole with soft steps its shining archway through,
Built up its idle door,
Stretched in his last-found home, and knew the old no more.

Thanks for the heavenly message brought by thee,
Child of the wandering sea,
Cast from her lap, forlorn !
From thy dead lips a clearer note is born
Than ever Triton blew from wreathed horn !
While on mine ear it rings
Through the deep caves of thought I hear
A voice that sings :

Build thee more stately mansions, O my soul,
As the swift seasons roll !
Leave thy low-vaulted past !
Let each new temple, nobler than the last,
Shut thee from heaven with a dome more vast,
Till thou at length art free,
Leaving thine outgrown shell by life's unresting sea."

* * * *

My portrayal of Dr. Holmes would be far from complete if I failed to call attention to him as a Hymn-writer. His hymns are not numerous, but their quality is superior. One he calls a Hymn of Trust. It is very tender. I will quote only its first verse :

"O Love Divine, that stoops to share
Our sharpest pang, our bitterest tear,
On thee we cast each earth-born care ;
We smile at pain while thou art near."

One of his hymns I must quote entire is so fine, nay, so great. Whether judged its literary art or by its spiritual power know not where in the whole range of hymnology to look for its superior.

"Lord of all being, throned afar,
Thy glory shines from sun and star ;
Centre and soul of every sphere,
Yet to each loving heart how near !

Sun of our life, thy quickening ray
Sheds on our path the glow of day ;
Star of our hope, thy softened light
Cheers the long watches of the night.

Our midnight is thy smile withdrawn ;
Our noontide is thy gracious dawn ;
Our rainbow arch, thy mercy's sign ;
All, save the clouds of sin, are thine !

Lord of all life, below, above,
Whose light is truth, whose warmth is love,
Before thy ever-blazing throne
We ask no lustre of our own.

Grant us thy truth to make us free,
And kindling hearts that burn for thee,
Till all thy living altars claim
One holy light, one heavenly flame !"

What a lyric of insight, beauty, fire ! Did Milton ever pen more splendid lines ?

A single other poem, in hymn form, must quote and then I shall have done. It found in very few editions of Dr. Holmes works,—indeed, in none printed before death. It has a special interest because it the last poetical composition that he ever in public. Though penned when he reached the advanced age of eighty-three, felt himself to be that "last leaf" cling upon "the old forsaken bough" of which had written so pathetically, there is no weakness in the thought or expression. Rather the poem remarkably vigorous and characteristic, and in every way worthy to be spiritual "swan song."

"Our Father ! while our hearts unlearn
The creeds that wrong thy name,
Still let thy hallowed altars burn
With faith's undying flame.

Not by the lightning gleams of wrath
Our souls thy face shall see ;
The star of Love must light the path
That leads to heaven and thee.

If 'mid the gathering storms of doubt
Our hearts grow faint and cold,
The strength we cannot live without
Thy Love will not withhold.

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Our prayers accept ; our sins forgive ;
Our faith and zeal renew ;
Shape for us holier lives to live
And nobler work to do."

Here, then, we take leave of this brilliant writer, (and shall we not say, this great preacher ?). By his literary art and genius he has delighted, amused, and instructed the English-speaking world. But better still, by his ethical elevation and his noble religious spirit, he has done much to broaden, sweeten and deepen its whole intellectual, moral and spiritual life.

THE GREAT POET

J. T. SUNDERLAND

THE Great Poet is God.

The Universe is the Infinite Volume of his Poems.

The Story of Evolution is his Stupendous and Majestic Epic.

The Histories of Nations are his Mighty Dramas.

The Revelations of Geology (the Tales of dead Eons told by the Rocks) are his Solemn Elegies.

Mountains, especially Great Mountain Chains, are his Sublime Odes.

Great Trees are his Sonnets.

Sunrises are his Hymns of Thanksgiving and Gladness, and Sunsets his Peaceful Chants of Aspiration, Devotion and Worship.

The laughter and moans of Winds in Great Forests are his Canticles of Joy and Woe.

The gentle Sighs and Sobs of the Ocean on a hundred Sandy Beaches are his Requiems.

Storms of Thunder and Lightning, the Rushing of rapid Rivers, and the Roar of Great Ocean waves in deep Fiords and on Rocky Shores are his Mighty Symphonies.

Waterfalls are his Cantatas.

Rippling Brooks are his Lyrics.

Singing Birds in Groves are his Madrigals.

The marvellous Migrations of Birds over Continents and Seas are his Ballads.

The changeful, never-failing, mysterious Procession of Days and Nights and the august Procession of the Seasons, are his Operas and Oratories.

The Flowers that everywhere beautify and gladden the Earth are his enchanting "Songs without Words."

* * * *

The glad and care-free Playing of lambs, colts, puppies, kittens and all Young Animals ;

The rippling and laughing of Water in brooks, and the soft patter of Rain on roofs ;

The flittering about of Butterflies and Bees and the fluttering down from the sky of the pretty White Feathers which we call Snow-Flakes ;

The Twittering of Small Birds, the Chirping of Crickets and the Piping of Young Frogs in marshes ;

The Winking of Fireflies, the shining bubbles on Water and the Twinkling of Stars,—

These are his Little Child-Poems, his Little Kindergarten Ditties, his Little Rhymes and Jingles for Happy Little Children.

The Hidden Nooks in the Hills and the Solitudes of the Deep Woods ;

The Silent Night Skies glorious with Moon and Stars ;

Broad Views from Mountain Summits, with the world at one's feet, and

Mysterious Sea-Horizons, where the Vast Waters below meet the Endless Heavens above, suggesting the Infinities of the Human Soul,—

These are his Voiceless Psalms, forever calling men to Peace and Quietness of Spirit, and to Contemplation of the Things That Make Life Great.

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VALUE OF LIFE IN EPIC INDIA

By Prof. U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

TWO of the most fundamental rights of man are the right to live and the right to own property. The morals of any age are best studied in its estimate of human life and property. The difference between the ancient and modern notions of values is perhaps nowhere better illustrated than in the value attached to life. In ancient times, as a rule, killing an enemy was always regarded as an act of heroism : and killing as such was hardly ever sufficiently condemned. In modern thought, on the other hand, a much higher value is put upon human life. Wanton killing, just for the display of one's physical strength, would be regarded as a grave sin and even killing an enemy would seldom be justified. To us suffering a wrong is a virtue while committing one is not ; and loving one's enemy instead of cursing him and retaliation is regarded by us as a superior moral ideal. It was not so in ancient times. It was not so in pagan Europe. And it was not so in Epic India.

Between ancient times and now, there were important differences, social and political and economic, which made justice a private affair of the individual. No machinery for administering justice between individual and individual existed in those times—and as to justice between one community and another or one race and another, well, such a machinery has perhaps yet to come into being. It is no wonder, therefore, that, in ancient times, every man had to deal with his enemies himself. Such a condition naturally made life and property less secure then than now.

Whatever the reasons may have been, the fact can be easily proved that life was and could be taken with much more impunity then than now. Specially when a Ksatriya—a prince of blood royal—fell out with a brother Ksatriya—it was a point of honour with him to vindicate himself by drawing his bow or wielding his mace. There were, of course, canons of honourable warfare : but war in itself was not considered bad : and a man-to-man fight on the slightest provocation, ending in death on either side, would also receive no condemnation. The virtues of patience, forgiveness and humility were also taught, but not as profusely followed. Probably we may even detect a conflict of the two ideals—the ideal which culminated in Buddhism and Christianity and the earlier warlike ideal of the martial races. But the former was only trying to make headway. The latter retained the field to itself.

In Mahabharata, i. 141. *et seq.* we have an account of the attempt made by Duryyodhana's party to get rid of the Pandavas by burning them alive. This conspiracy is nothing new to history. We have hundreds of such cases recorded in history. Attempts to get rid of a rival heir to a throne are as old as kingship and may appear even today. This, therefore, is not an instance from which any inference can be drawn as to the value of human life in those days. Besides the tenor of the narration of these deeds perpetrated against the Pandavas, indicates that these were regarded as impious.

Nor should we refer to cases like the killing of Hirimba (i. 154) or Baka (i. 164) by Bhima, for the victims in these cases are not described as men but Raksas. Perhaps they were cannibal savages. They ate human flesh, we are told. They killed and were killed in turn. Such cases are not indicative of the ordinary value of human life in that age. But the same cannot be said of the killing of Sisupala in ii. 45. What are the facts of the case ? King Yudhisthira is performing a great sacrificial ceremony *Rajasuya*. All the neighbouring kings and potentates have been invited to attend. There is a large and distinguished gathering. It is customary on such occasions to present an *argha* (offering) to the invited kings as a mark of greeting. But the first offering can be given only to the most distinguished among the

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Yudhisthira sought the advice of Bhisma, the grand old man of the family and also a distinguished man of the country, as to who among the assembled Ksatriyas can be regarded, by common consent, as the first man and who should be honoured as such by the offering of first *arghya*. Bhisma thinks it is Krisna and to Krisna accordingly the first offering is presented. But there is a group of Ksatriyas who resent this honour to Krisna and as the leader of this group Sisupala makes a public protest. He says some ugly things against Krisna and wonders how such a man can be regarded as the foremost among the Ksatriyas of the land. It is not difficult to imagine that this leads to a serious altercation and mutual recrimination. Angry words quickly lead to blows. There is a single fight between Krisna and Sisupala and the latter is *killed* in presence of the assembled Ksatriyas, who, it seems, look on as the Romans looked on a gladiatorial display or the Spaniards looked on a bull-fight.

It is interesting to remember that Sisupala was Krisna's own cousin—being his father's sister's son. With the blood of this man on the holy ground, the *Rajasuya* ceremony of King Yudhisthira begins and all opponents are put to silence for the time being. But we may say that the seeds of the larger battle of Kuruksetra are sown and the profound party-faction of the Ksatriyas of India is begun.

What we are interested in in this affray is the ease with which a Ksatriya could take the life even of his near relative for the sake of what we would regard as false honour and prestige. And we should further note that the assembly of men—the best men of the time—considered only the prowess displayed by either party: they had nothing to say of the morality of the event. Would modern society approve of the way in which the quarrel was settled?

That there was a general insecurity of life and property in those good old days cannot perhaps be disputed. The tribal chieftains were more or less in a perpetual state of war with each other; and an actual war might break out at any time between any two chiefs at the slightest provocation. And between one community and another, *e. g.*, the Aryans and the non-Aryans, the relations were far from cordial and happy. A quarrel between individuals of different communities was a common thing, and any private quarrel in those days might end fatally. For instance, we are told in Mahabharat, iii. 14, that when Krisna was away in Indraprastha at Yudhisthira's Rajasuya ceremony there, the news of the killing of Sisupala had spread among his friends and relatives and one of them, Salva, taking advantage of Krisna's absence from Dwaraka, attacked that territory. Krisna heard of it, swiftly returned to his territory, and killed that man in battle. Such incidents were common enough. They were common enough in Europe also in the days of chivalry and among the clans of Scotland in mediaeval times.

But what shall we say of the incidents described in Mahabharat, iii. 116. *et seq.*? There we are told that a Brahmin woman slipped from the path of virtue and was guilty of unchastity. Her husband came to know of it and was naturally very angry. He ordered his sons one after another to kill the woman. Out of affection for their mother, they were unable to carry out these orders. The father punished them with curses. The youngest son Parasurama, a well-known name in the Puranas, was, however, found willing to carry out his father's command and killed his mother. He received his father's benedictions for this deed of courage and filial duty and by virtue of this blessing, brought back his mother and brothers to a normal life again. But although the drama apparently has a happy ending, we cannot but be struck by the complacence with which a father could order a son to kill the mother and the equally complacent manner in which the son carries out the order. Is not this indicative of a poor estimate of life?

But this is not the whole story. This Brahmin, the father of *Yamadagni*, is once attacked by a Ksatriya: his cottage is demolished and his property is destroyed and a calf belonging to him is snatched away. It is a wanton deed of pillage and destruction. But all this is done in the absence of his gifted son, Parasurama, who attained special skill in arms by killing his mother. When he returns home, his father complains to

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him against the Ksatriya marauder. Parasurama flies into a passion, goes out to attack the plunderer, and recovers the plundered property from him. The Ksatriya, however, is unrelenting and incorrigible. He bides his time and once when this formidable son is away, he again attacks the father and this time makes short work of him. Returning home and finding his father dead, this martially-minded Brahmin organizes a formidable expedition against the Ksatriyas as a class and that Ksatriya in particular. Do not all these incidents show how poorly life was valued in those good old days ?

We cannot deny that such events may happen any day and in any society. But the difference is that here these actions are perpetrated by men whose names have become historic. They were thus never regarded as criminals. And this makes an important difference.

But we have perhaps a worse case in Mahabharat, iv. 13. There we are given the description of a great autumn festival in the land of the Matsyas where, among other amusements, a wrestling display was organized. A large number of wrestlers had assembled there. But there was one among them, Jimuta by name, who struck terror into the heart of all. He challenged anyone to come and wrestle with him, but no one ventured. At last, the king ordered his chief cook, who was a strong-built, muscular man, to wrestle with him. The cook could not disobey orders and entered the arena. But this cook was no other than Bhima in disguise.

The result can now be foreseen. There was vigorous wrestling for a long time, both sides displaying considerable skill and might. At long last, however, Bhima overpowered his rival, picked him up in the air and spun him round and round and threw him dead on the ground. There were uproarious plaudits all round. The king was immensely glad and bestowed great honour and rewards upon the victor. And a vast number of wrestlers was killed by Bhima in this manner to the great amusement of the company. How shall we think of the time when for the joy of kings and potentates, and for reward in money and goods, men killed one another like wild beasts in an attempt display of physical strength and courage. It reminds us of the Roman gladiators and our judgment ought to be the same on both.

We may also refer to the murder of Kichaka in iv. 22. The incidents are well known. They have been represented in literature and on the screen often enough. The story is briefly this : Draupadi, the wife of the Pandavas, along with her husbands were spending a period of exile *incognito* in the house of the king of Matsya-desa. Her beauty attracted the notice of the king's wife's brother, Kichaka, who was also the commander-in-chief of his army and a powerful man in the realm. He wanted to have her. She was working as a maid-in-waiting to the queen, the sister of Kichaka. Draupadi was asked by her mistress to visit this man. She, however, secretly met Bhima, who was also a servant in the same household, and narrated her grievances. Acting under Bhima's advice she expressed her willingness to the queen to visit her brother. As a matter of fact, however, Bhima disguised as a woman, visited him in her stead. When the discovery was made, there was a tough fight and Bhima ultimately killed Kichaka.

Now, love-intrigues of this kind do take place even in modern society. And even murders of this kind are as likely. But however much modern law may condone it, the act is at least a homicide. The main circumstances in the narration show that the murder was pre-meditated. And whatever we may think of the provocation given, it is difficult to imagine that a modern court of law would exonerate the murder completely. This makes a difference between ancient times and modern. But the difference perhaps lies deeper. In ancient society there hardly existed any machinery by which the aggrieved husbands could secure any redress to themselves. They had, therefore, to depend on their own physical courage and strength. And the result was that in those old days life was taken in circumstances in which modern society would not tolerate the taking of life, and, further, life was taken for causes for which we have to think of other punishments. This is not an unimportant difference.

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We shall not dwell upon the night-attack on the camp of the Pandavas by the last surviving warriors of Duryyodhana and the cold-blooded murders perpetrated by them: for they are part of the war-programme and must be judged according to the ideas of right and wrong in war. In the same way, the premeditation with which Dhritarastra wanted to kill Bhima in xi. 12. is also one which perhaps deserves censure but must nevertheless be viewed as part of the war-activities and judged accordingly. These incidents may not be a correct index of the general valuation of life.

But the perfect unconcern with which a duel or a war could be declared certainly shows that loss of life was not regarded as a formidable calamity to society. In this connection we may refer to the unprovoked attacks on neighbouring kingdoms made by kings who aspired to imperial suzerainty. Such, for instance, was the attack on king Jarasandha of the east by Yudhisthira's party (ii. 14). And the attack on Krisna's kingdom by Salva (iii. 14.) was of a similar nature. The attack on the king of Matsya by Duryyodhana's party (iv. 25. *et seq.*) may also be added to the list. All these unprovoked wars caused loss of life without doubt. Yet the epic mind had no horror of this loss.

The many murders of Raksasas and Gandharvas, etc., *i.e.*, beings like man but not exactly human, also illustrate the same callousness towards loss of life. These so-called Raksasas were after all perhaps none other than men—only men of a different complexion and of a different community—but none the less men. Their habits must have been different—they even may have been more cruel and less civilized: they may even have been inimical to our forefathers—the Aryans. Yet that is no excuse for the wanton manner in which they were slaughtered now and then. The murder of these men always redounded to the glory of the murderer: it was an act of heroism. And we are given all possible details of the method of torture and murder. For instance, in Mahabharat, i. 154, we are told how Bhima killed Hirimba: Bhima caught that fellow with his arms, stretched him upon his knee and broke his spine in the middle—'like a stick,' adds the commentator—and killed him as one would kill an animal.

Again, in ii. 24. we have another similar exploit of Bhima. King Jarasandha was challenged to a duel. We do not mind that he was defeated: but the manner in which he was murdered can hardly be described as civilized. He was caught hold of by Bhima, who pressed his knees upon his back and broke his spine—in his *peculiar* way—and then took hold of his legs and parted them in such a way that the pelvic region was totally ruptured.

We have a repetition of similar exploits by Bhima in iv. 22. There too Bhima killed Kichaka in more or less the same brutal manner. The man was smashed: all his limbs and even the head were driven inside the trunk, so we are told, and there was left nothing but a lump of flesh. And our author repeats the expression used once before, 'killed him like a beast.' Even without expressing any opinion on these cases of killing as such, the method in which they were perpetrated shows a lack of regard for human life and a reprehensible indifference to human suffering. But the epic mind was greedy of these details and gloated over them, it seems. They looked on these contests: whenever possible: even the women did so with wondering eyes and with profound admiration. And in describing them, the author also dilates,—according to our way of thinking, needlessly—on the details.

A grosser display of callousness to human life—nay, of brutality, can hardly be imagined than the incident described in Mahabharat, viii. 83. It is the well-known event of the battle—the killing of Duhsasana by Bhima. Bhima in a fit of anger vowed that he would drink the blood of Duhsasana in battle. He kept his word, and was praised for it. But let us have the description of the event in the words of the author of the Mahabharata himself, freely translated:

"He, Bhima, got down from his cart, keeping his eyes fixed on him (Duhsasana), took a sword and approached him who was trembling with fear, lying flat on the ground; pressed his foot upon his neck and ran the sword into the chest and drank the gushing stream of blood. Then he severed his head from the trunk and drank again the warm blood coming out of the neck: drank it again and again and looked

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around and exclaimed 'Mother's milk, honey, clarified butter, wine, pure water, milk, curd, all that people regard as soothing drink, is nothing to me today in comparison with the blood of my enemy.'

Can we think of anything more barbarous than this? We do not forget that there are not many incidents of this kind even in the Mahabharata and that it would be unjustifiable to conclude from this single instance that the warriors of the epic age were all and always as barbarous as this. But yet, after all, when all the facts are considered together, we cannot get rid of the conclusion that these people were not of a very mild sort: and that to take life was not as heinous for them as for us: and human sufferings of this kind were much less horrible for them than for us.

From the anecdotes that we have considered it will be apparent that life in epic India was valued rather lightly. In peace or in war, in private quarrels or in quarrels between kings and in defence or in offence, life for life was certainly the ruling principle: but sometimes people went further and took life either for nothing or for such things for which no one would dream of taking life today. When passions were roused, a Ksatriya with brawny muscles to obey his will, would not hesitate to make short work of another fellow-being. And if nothing that was regarded as mean was done, the action would not only not be condemned but it would even be applauded.

This, however, does not mean that there was no feeling of pity in people's minds in those days. We have one or two cases when life was spared where it could have been taken. Thus in iii. 271, king Jayadratha who was running away with Draupadi was overtaken and captured by Bhima. Bhima then wanted to kill him but released him at the intercession of Yudhisthira. This case, however, is rather an exception than a rule.

In some of the discourses by Yudhisthira we have, no doubt, fine expressions of lofty sentiments regarding the virtues of forgiveness and restraint of the passions, especially anger. For instance, in iii. 28 *et seq.* when Draupadi and Bhima urge Yudhisthira to be more manly and more like a Ksatriya towards his enemies, when he is urged to retaliate for the wrongs done to him by the Kurus, he gives expression to some very fine sentim and dilates on the high merits of the vi of forbearance and forgiveness. This dialo however, can, at best, be regarded as apparent conflict of ideals. It may be poi out that Yudhisthira typifies an ideal of vi and goodness which subsequent times idol but which certainly was not the leading i of the time of which we are speaking. Oth of his times did not subscribe to this ide even his brothers did not, although gui by prudence and friendly advice of oth they would always avoid a rupture with h by abiding by his decisions even when th vitally disagreed with him. That a conf of ideals was already at work may be seen a number of directions. But what we ha to guard ourselves against is the hasty co clusion that the virtues that later tim applauded in Yudhisthira were the prevailin virtues of the time. That was not the ca The morality of the people of any time is be shown not in what the best men of their ti say but in what the generality of them follo in practice. So, as far as practices go, w have seen some of the leading incidents o the epic and have also seen the conclusion to which they inevitably lead.

Besides, even the fine sentiments Yudhisthira here must be taken with a certa amount of reservation. It must be careful considered how far he really believed in th doctrine of humility and forgiveness—th principle of turning the left cheek also to o who smote him on the right—and how f this professed forbearance was but a part a deep-laid plan and policy. For in iii. 36 *et seq.* we have a frank admission from hi that he was not unmindful of his interests a king and a ruler. But his consider opinion was that the time was not ripe yet t strike. He had to wait and prepare for final attack on the enemy by collecting force He had few friends left to him. Most of th powerful princes and warriors were alienat from him and were friendly to Duryyodhan and would fight on his side if he were attacke So, it was an extremely inopportune mome to attempt an attack. Forbearance wa therefore, a virtue out of necessity and forgive ness was, at any rate, a temporary necessity Surely this attitude was not Christia

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forgiveness or Buddhist resignation to fate and leaving things to the gods. It was definitely this-worldly; only it involved more wisdom and foresighted policy than the impetuous and impulsive Bhima was prepared to follow.

So, in spite of the fine and lofty sentiments to which he gives expression, Yudhisthira was not entirely free from the time-spirit of his age. With all respect to him, we must say that he was more actuated by the dictates of prudence than a lofty idealism. He was a Ksatriya and planned and carried out a savage struggle for winning back his lost kingdom and, thanks to the wisdom of his policy, he was successful. And as nothing succeeds like success, he was eventually acclaimed as a great apostle of virtue. So far, however, as the times to which he belonged are concerned, in spite of his and many others' denunciation of the passion of anger, human life was not too sacred to be destroyed, sometimes even on the slightest pretext.

It is an admitted fact that even in a modern society, a criminal may turn up at any moment, point a dagger or a revolver and snatch away the property of another: and whenever there is any show of resistance, kill the man outright. But such deeds are *crimes* nowadays and not acts of heroism. And in spite of such occasional risks of life, we in modern times have a general sense of security. We sit in our homes, go about in the streets and even to distant places, unoppressed by the thought that we may be waylaid anywhere and robbed of our belongings and of our life. But could a man in epic India have the same sense of security? The events that we have considered show that he could not. Unless he had powerful muscles himself or an array of physically strong friends around, he might find, as Jamadagni did, his home successfully invaded any moment, and himself murdered. The social machinery which could prevent such deeds was yet to be evolved. And opinion itself was not yet against them. We mean no disparagement of our ancient forefathers when we say this. They had their virtues, too; but this fact also is there.

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN THE VILLAGES

By Dr. SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS, M. A., Ph. D.

THE expansion of primary education in Bengal, with the object of making it universal, has for some time past engaged the attention of the Government and the public alike. The most notable contribution to the literature on the subject is contained in the two reports drawn up by Mr. Evan E. Biss, late of the Indian Educational Service. These reports were printed and circulated for the information of the public, but difficulties, mainly financial, stood in the way of any action being taken on the lines indicated in them. However alluring the idea of the spread of primary education may be to its advocates, it has always been abandoned ultimately on purely financial grounds. Hence the problem reduces itself to the devising of a means which will not be too costly to be adopted in the villages. An additional education cess has always been disliked and opposed by the people. It is, therefore, necessary to reduce the cost to an absolute minimum.

It will, perhaps, be admitted that in order to be made universal among the masses of any country, education must be made compulsory. No form of compulsion can, however, succeed unless the scheme is made acceptable to the people.

Therefore, the first point to consider in any scheme for the extension of primary education is what the curriculum should consist

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of, in order that it may help an all-round development of village boys and girls. Generally the curriculum should consist of the following four parts :

(*a*) Physical, for bodily growth, and hand and eye training. This should include drill, exercise, domestic crafts, modelling and, if possible, gardening, toy-making, and spinning and weaving.

(*b*) Mental, *i. e.*, the ordinary course of studies for intellectual growth—the three R's, history, geography, elementary science and hygiene.

(*c*) Cultural, for keeping alive the traditions of the villages which are almost dying. This can be done by means of *kirtans*, *jatras*, *kathakata* and recitation of village ballads, etc.

(*d*) Spiritual, consisting of regular recitation of prayers, hymns or national songs before the class begins for 15 minutes daily, and moral lessons and lives of saints, great men and prophets, for 15 minutes daily before the class disperses.

The question next to deal with is the period of study. As far as the present conditions obtain in the villages, the majority of schools, which are meant for the children of the peasant and other labouring classes, will have to be held either in the morning or in the evening. Hence the period cannot exceed three hours and a half. Leaving out 15 minutes in the beginning, and 15 minutes at the end, for singing, recitation and prayer, the remaining period of three hours may be divided into four periods of 45 minutes each, of which one period may be set apart for the teaching of the vernacular, one for arithmetic, and one for history and geography on alternate days.

The most vital question to be tackled with regard to the spread of primary education is provision of adequate funds. Financial difficulty seems to be the greatest impediment in the way of any solution of the problem of primary education. It has been suggested in some quarters that it is not possible to find any solution of this problem unless there is a special tax for primary education. Fresh taxation will be greatly resented by the poor cultivators, who are already overburdened with taxes, *abwabs* and other impositions. If notwithstanding the opposition that proposal for levying fresh taxation aroused, such tax is imposed, this will the very purpose for which the imposi proposed to be made.

Much ink has been spilt over prepa of schemes and drawing up of plan establishing in the villages an ade number of efficient and improved typ schools. But whenever the questio carrying out the plans has come up problem has been shelved or abandone the plea of want of funds. In order to rid of this difficulty some sort of arrange should be made at once. I, therefore, d to make the following suggestions for immediate provision of primary educatio the villages.

In approaching this question a prac difficulty that has got to be faced is lac sufficient funds for providing the neces accommodation. Attempts may be mad avoid expenditure for payment of r acquiring land and erecting buildings, making arrangement with the authorities existing day schools, clubs, associatio libraries, etc. The village credit society offi —in cases these are able to accommod the students and may be spared for purpose,—Puja *mandaps* and temple premi Maktabs in mosques, and private *dar-dal* may also be utilized for holding prim classes either in the morning, or in the ev ing regularly. If energetic efforts are m in this direction, I have no doubt that adequate number of schools can be starte the villages of Bengal without running expenses of renting houses, etc., for accommodation.

The next matter to be taken up consideration is provision of suitable teac arrangements. Considering that three teac will be necessary for each school, calculating their monthly allowance at Rs per month per teacher, on an average, annual cost on this head may be estimate Rs. 720 for each school. Both boys and may be admitted to the same school if f do not permit of opening separate schools girls. But at some places separate sch should be started specially for girls. services of the lantern lectures already eng

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by the Bengal Co-operative Organization Society should be utilized. The lectures should include some study about lives of great men, geography, natural phenomena, co-operative principles and hygiene.

It is thus seen that even if there be no expenditure for the habitation of a school, still about seventy rupees a month would be required for the maintenance of each village school. Where to find that amount? It will be beyond the means of the ordinary union board to contribute the whole amount, nor will it be possible for the Government to give any assistance in the present financial position. But the difficulties are not insurmountable. By the co-ordination of the several institutions working in the villages, these difficulties regarding funds may be adequately solved. If the union board and the village co-operative credit society co-operate, they can easily find out a plausible solution for the difficulties stated above.

It has been urged that the present system of accumulation of reserve funds of village co-operative societies has not been of much practical value to the villagers. The societies with their age grow lifeless for want of any motive force for higher co-operation, which can only be realized through adequate education, and they ultimately go into liquidation. As soon as the credit question is partially solved, members of the society become callous to its value as they are not able to appreciate the real objects of co-operation in its diverse aspects for want of education. Eventually the society is dissolved or liquidated and the reserve fund is misappropriated.

The reserve fund of a society may be very well utilized in the cause of primary education and this would ultimately help the cause of co-operation in its real aspects. A village society generally makes a profit of 50 to 60 rupees per annum. This sum may be set apart for the expenses of the school. The members of the society will at once find that their children are being given education from the profits of the society.

This will serve as a great incentive to the villagers to become members of the existing societies as well as to start new societies in villages where there are no societies. The secretary of the society will be the principal teacher or head master of the school. He may, therefore, be expected to take personal interest in the efficient management of the institution. But the aforesaid sum would not be sufficient, as the three teachers, including the secretary-teacher, will have to be paid Rs. 60 per month.

Another source may be provided by starting a sale and supply branch of the society catering to the needs of, say, about 50 families on an average in each village, who will get from it their supply of the necessaries of life—rice, *dal*, *gur*, sugar, oil, kerosene, tobacco, matches, soap, spices and also cloth. Each family will purchase things worth at least Rs. 10 from the store. Thus Rs. 500 may be taken to be the monthly approximate out-turn of the store; and taking profits at 2 annas per rupee (after deducting the pay of the salesman) the store may be expected to make a monthly profit of Rs. 62-8 of which Rs. 50 may be set apart for the pay of the teachers and the balance may be distributed to the members as rebate on their purchase.

Saleable crops of the village may also be dealt with under the system. The Central Banks after paying for their establishment charges, etc., will make a profit of at least one anna per rupee. This profit may also be utilized for the promotion of primary education. Thus Rs. 5 from the credit society, Rs. 50 from the store branch, together with the profit from the saleable crops of the village and contribution from the union board, will be sufficient to meet the salaries of the three teachers, *viz.*, Rs. 60, and contingency expenses of Rs. 5 per month.

The next question is, how to recruit teachers. Teachers may be recruited from (*a*) village matriculates, (*b*) teachers of existing schools and (*c*) retired teachers. Rs. 20 a month will certainly attract local unemployed matriculates, who will thus be able to earn their living at home. The employment of such teachers will also improve the moral atmosphere of the villages. But before these teachers enter upon their duties, they must be given some training in the line. The training of the teachers must be thorough. Arrangements should be made for providing

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such training at selected centres within easy reach of groups of villages. Regarding the training of teachers one year's course should be prescribed. Some stress should be laid on professional subjects, such as child psychology, etc., and half the time should be devoted to an intensive study of academic subjects. The teachers should have a thorough knowledge of the vernacular.

The village primary schools will chiefly be meant for the children of the agricultural, industrial and artisan classes. The Bhadralok class may give any education they choose to their children. The children of members of a credit society and the store branch will receive free education but the children of non-members will have to pay some fees, for that will induce the non-members to become members of the society. The village matriculates who want to make teaching their profession in life will make a fair living out of this and will be grateful for having found an employment at home. Things can go on very smoothly if only members are conscientiously loyal to the institution and send their boys and girls to the co-operative village school. The success of the scheme will entirely depend on the co-operative spirit and loyalty of the members.

Next comes the question of organization and control of the school. The policy of centralization is to be resisted. Each school should have a committee to exercise control over it. The committee should consist of some representatives of the members of the society, a few gentlemen of the village who are willing to assist and the secretary-teacher of the society who will act as honorary secretary of the school. A general board may also be formed with purely advisory functions to assist and guide the committee in the discharge of their administrative control.

Primary education, in order that it may be effective, should be free and compulsory. This is the first step towards making it universal. Every civilized country has arranged to impart free and universal primary education to its children by making it compulsory. The adoption of the principle of compulsion should follow the establishment of a network of primary schools in the villages. Before primary education is made compulsory, it would be necessary to open a sufficient number of schools for accommodating all children of school-going age requiring free primary education. It is also urged that no scheme for the spread of primary education can be worked on voluntary basis. A large number of schools may be established all over the province, but students will not be forthcoming, if primary education is not made compulsory. Whatever be the difference of opinion regarding this point, it is admitted on all hands that primary schools should be started at once in the villages and vigorous steps should be taken to make primary education in the near future compulsory throughout the province. This is the first step towards the reorganization and reconstruction of the villages.

INDIA

By MATILDA ERNESTINE

The bells ring forth their custom
From the ancient vale of man,
And the Gods pour forth their wisdom
To transmigrate their plan.

The carven marble symbol,
Of Life's deep hidden drama
Form the spirit of the temple
And the mystery of karma.

Thy wise and noble Buddha,
With his perceptive soul,
Might save the world from dogma,
If we would note his scroll.

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THE EMPIRE CRUSADE AT OTTAWA

AN UNREALIZABLE IDEAL

By J. M. KUMARAPPA, M. A., Ph. D.

THE British Empire has travelled far since 1887, when for the first time, in the splendour of the Victorian era, the representatives of the colonies were invited to a conference in London. Within less than half a century since that first meeting, the colonies have gradually evolved into full-fledged sovereign States. And the culminating stage in the development of the relations between them and the United Kingdom was reached in the Imperial Conference of 1926, ending once and for all the old time subordination of the empire units to the London Government. Now the United Kingdom is only the senior member in the family of equal States and the King is as much the King of any of the self-governing dominion as he is of the United Kingdom. The dominions are, therefore, virtually independent; they rule themselves, make their own treaties and formulate their own tariffs to protect their industries from outside competition. Even the colonies, directly governed by the Crown, are subject to the kind of economic liberty which has been defined in its mandates by the League of Nations. In spite of such freedom the dominions have not been able to save themselves from the virus of nationalism. Hence their energies are directed to the development of their natural resources in order to compete with other countries in the struggle for political and economic independence.

In order to counteract the tendency to drift away from the mother country, to promote British trade and fight against the present economic crisis, some leaders like Lord Beaverbrook and his followers, have been working diligently to bring about a closer economic association of the empire units. Unfortunately, however, the first conference held in London for this purpose ended in complete failure. In defiance of the negative results of that first assembly, the recent Ottawa Conference was called in the belief that the present conditions were more favourable for such a federation. In view of the fact that this conference met in the midst of the greatest commercial depression in the history of the world, much was expected of it by all those inclined to be optimistic. But, strange as it may seem, the fact that has emerged out of the discussions is that the British Empire is not, and never will be, self-contained. In spite of the professed unity of race and similarity of traditions, why is the scheme for an economic federation of the Empire unrealized and unrealizable? The answer is not far to seek; it is found in the difficulties encountered at the Ottawa parley, to which we shall now turn our attention.

I

What the empire crusaders want to acheive is the transformation of the British Empire from Labrador to New Zealand and from London to Hongkong into a Zollverein. They want to deepen the channels of intra-imperial trade by judicious adjustments of tariffs and other measures in order to create a larger volume of mutually profitable trade between the different units of the empire than now exists and to make their unrivalled resources available in a greater extent to every member of the Commonwealth. In other words, they want inside the Empire free trade and outside it a wall of tariffs to exclude foreign competition. This seems simple enough and yet its achievement is anything but easy as has been made clear at Ottawa. "We cannot approve of any economic fence around the empire and we cannot limit our trade to the few countries within the Empire," declared Mr. Havenga, Minister of Finance and leader of the South African delegation

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to Canada. Such utterances as these made at the Ottawa parely, indicate very clearly that the nine industrially and commercially ambitious empire units, like the other countries of the world, are not free from the cumulative results of economic nationalism. "Canada First"; "Australia First"; "New Zealand First"; "South Africa First" and "Ireland a little more first than the rest" Such is the policy of self-interest of each of the nations comprising the British Commonwealth.

Hence even within the Empire one fails to find a united front. As the colonies include almost every possible variety, not only in natural resources and race but also in the stage of culture and civilization, they are torn asunder by many conflicting interests. Some are reluctant to accord preferential treatment to others of the empire; such of them as are industrially more developed do not yield easily to reciprocal agreements, and most of them want a market so protected as to steady the price of food and raw materials. To Britain the cheapest possible supply of food and raw materials is essential, both to the standard of life among her people and to the cost of manufacture for export into neutral countries. Economically and electorally a system of food taxes imposed on Britain for the sake of the dominions would be, as it always has been, a very serious matter. Then again, the dominions themselves are not satisfied with merely supplying food and raw materials for export; they want to develop rapidly their own manufactures and apply high protection to their infant industries.

When such spirit of economic nationalism prevails in the dominions, is it any wonder if the inheritance of British tradition common language and allegiance to the same crown fail to inspire them to think and work for the good of the larger whole? Since the self-governing units have repudiated the authority of the British Parliament, declared their independence and asserted their right of peaceful secession from the Empire is it surprising if they, filled with a patriotic pride over their sovereignty, refuse to permit any encroachment on their economic independence? The Ottawa parley has resulted, therefore, as some expected, in emphasizing again a paradox that has invariably emerged at the various imperial conferences. The dominions meet,—that is a fact. But they meet only to draw apart. Every conference has registered steps along the path of decentralization, leaving the dominions more assured of their autonomy.

II

The phrase "empire free trade" is rather misleading. Some take it to mean a free entry for dominion food and raw materials into the United Kingdom with tariffs against foreign countries, and in return a free entry of manufactures into the dominions. Such a conception is a complete illusion. Canada, Australia, and South Africa have all become largely industrial on the basis of tariffs, and they do not mean to allow any effective competition with their industries even from England. For the most part what imperial preferences to the United Kingdom really means to the dominions is preference as regards such commodities as it is willing to have imported from abroad. Though this appears a simple matter, yet much difficulty was experienced in the tariff negotiations at Ottawa. At every point in the programme there were demurers, and on one pretext or another, the sphere of bargaining was reduced to a small percentage of imperial commerce.

The British delegates went to Ottawa to see whether it was not possible to scale down the trade obstacles responsible for the world depression. The dominions, on the other hand, planned to get all they could for themselves from the United Kingdom at the expense of the foreign countries and the British consumers. The United Kingdom expected to be asked for concessions and preferences but found that in addition to these she was expected to add to trade obstacles by special discriminations against foreigners. Equality of status has meant to the dominions the right to make their own tariffs, and therefore they are intent on making full use of this liberty. However, the delegates did not merely or mainly discuss there the banking, credit, currency and other machinery for carrying on international trade. They had the courage to contend over tariffs

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quotas and other obstacles to a free flow of world commerce. Whatever view be taken of the positive results of this great meeting, we must admit that the Ottawa parley has made clear one point of prime importance to civilization. It has brought many statesmen to the realization that no economic discussion is worth while unless the agenda includes what may be called commercial disarmament. There can be no freer trade unless nations are ready to set trade free. No discussion is entirely fruitless which shows how enormously difficult it is to adjust by artificial restrictions the normal currents of world trade. The agreement achieved among the units is in itself neither very serious nor likely to increase very greatly the volume of trade between them. But what is of real value is the realization that any obligation on their part to maintain high tariffs against the rest of the world would have the most serious consequences upon the chances of their subsequent negotiations with extra-empire countries.

III

About the international trade of "Greater Britain" there is no mystery. In the main it is trade conducted by Britain with one or other of the dominions or colonies. Hence this aspect of inter-imperial trade frequently led to an alignment of the dominions on the one hand and Britain on the other. To understand this vital point, it is necessary for us to take note of the export situation of the British Empire. The statistics show that 61 per cent of the trade is consumed by countries outside of the imperial association. This means that about three-fifths of British and dominion exports are absorbed by countries outside the empire. It is true, on the other hand, that some of the British key industries sell mainly within the empire. This is the case for 74 per cent of paper production, 61 per cent of the electrical materials and machinery, 59 per cent of motor cars, 55 per cent of metallurgical products, 49 per cent of silk, 44 per cent of cotton textiles. This state of affairs naturally provides the ground for the temptation to seek ways and means of taking shelter behind the solid wall of imperial preferences and leaving the rest of the world to stew in the juice of a prolonged economic crisis.

Great Britain wants a larger market for manufacturers, particularly of iron, steel and textiles. The dominions in turn want the United Kingdom to continue the preferences which their lumber, wheat, meats and diary products enjoyed under the new British tariff. Ostensibly the two plans seem complementary: a proposed bargain between manufacturers on one side and the producers of raw materials on the other. But in reality this proved more difficult than it appears. Hence the discussions at Ottawa took the form of negotiations between Great Britain on the one hand, and all the dominions, acting separately and jointly, on the other. For instance, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand formed an alliance to force Great Britain to break her trade relations with Russia. But on all matters of vital concern to each individual unit, the members of the Empire themselves were divided against each other. Canada's reluctance to repeal dominion tariffs on British cotton goods was, for example, enough to drive the Canadian and the English textile manufacturers into two hostile camps. Such conflicts reveal the fact that whenever self-interest is at stake, it is practicaly impossible to weld the mother country and her colonies into a single unit.

IV

In the aggregate the dominions wanted from great Britain more than she could possibly give, no matter to what extent she sacrificed herself. Even if she did say "yes" to all of their demands, the dominions would be no better off than they are now because instead of competing with foreign countries for British trade, they would then be competing with each other. Therefore, the rivalry of the dominions in getting into the British market, which is not big enough to satisfy them all, is bound to supersede the show of unity among them. Even if foreign commodities, such as Russian wheat, were excluded from Great Britain in accordance with the demand of the dominions, would not the foreign producers seek other channels of distribution for their commodities, and flood

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markets of the extra-empire countries in which the dominions must still trade, in spite of the Ottawa agreements,—because the empire produces far more than it can consume ?

On the side of Britain it must be said that she, because of the individual advantage of certain industries, however numerous, cannot set aside altogether the general economic considerations. Much less can she, being party to about forty trade treaties with extra-empire countries, afford to impair her commerce with them for the benefit of her dominions. France, Germany and the United States are better clients of the United Kingdom than any single dominion. Hence if imperial preference means, for instance, isolation from the United States, Great Britain cannot afford to have it; and if it means her being segregated from political influence in Europe, then too Great Britain cannot afford to have it. Such considerations make it impossible for her to divert, for example, her purchases of chilled beef from Argentina to South Africa as was suggested at the Ottawa parley. With about six billions of rupees of British capital invested, the maintenance of Argentina's export trade is a matter of prime importance to British bond owners. In fact, it is by selling meat that Argentina pays for her purchases of British goods and her interest on British investment.

Similarly, it is equally difficult for Great Britain to raise tariff against Scandinavian dairy products, as the Australian delegates proposed. For, the trade of Scandinavia, like that of Argentina, is highly complementary rather than competitive. Even if the British Empire were fully hospitable to British commodities, still Britain would have to depend mainly on the hospitality of the world beyond the empire frontiers. Could she then commit herself to any preferential tariff arrangement with the dominions that might penalize her trade with the rest of the world ? Under such circumstances it is not only natural but necessary that the British industry should seek to retain liberty of action in arranging reciprocal arrangements. If the dominions were willing on their part to make possible an increase of British export that would compensate for the loss of foreign trade, then of course, Britain make some concessions to the dominions.

But such opening of the dom market would mean that Britain mu admitted as a rival of dominion m facturers, and these manufacturers, wh they be Canadians, South Africans Australians, take the view that indu competition is not any the less compe because it happens to be imperial. Be even the dominions realize that they can afford to ignore world markets for the s advantage they may get out of inter-imp trade. British markets may provide an let for three-fourths of the export New Zealand and South Africa, Australia must go outside the em to sell half of her surplus goods. also Canada, India and the Un Kingdom must seek extra-empire mar to sell about two-thirds of their prod Therefore, they too cannot establish prefe ces and thereby jeopardize still more impor trade outside the empire. It is no won therefore, if every proposal at Ottawa rais complex questions which transcend even wide boundaries of the British Empire.

V

Though the trading possibilities of empire are great, yet even so great an ag gation as one-quater of the human race not profitably shut itself off entirely contact with the rest of the world. How at Ottawa certain preferences have exchanged, some increase of British purc have been promised, and some decisions been reached which will tighten, no d at some points the bonds of Empire and at others shut off markets on which fo nations have depended. But the re achieved are modest by comparison with forecast some months ago, and the reason this is inherent in the problem which the ference encountered. International tra the product of tariffs, commercial tre and capital investments not in any one n or group of nations but in all of them bined. The focussing of fresh attention o above point has thrown into bold relief the

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that any scheme for an economic unity is unattainable, at least for the present. And this, I believe, is the real gain obtained at the Ottawa parley.

In fact, in view of the present arrangements for the interchange of world trade, the conference for economic federation must aim to increase the total volume of international commerce, imperial and foreign alike. Any conference which secures a relatively small extension of inter-imperial trade at the cost of much more world trade would be disastrous both in its economic effects and in its ultimate reaction upon imperial relations. Hence, on the basis of the difficulties disclosed at the Ottawa parley, it must be concluded that the scheme for an intra-imperial trade is founded on the erroneous assumption that the British Empire could, despite the geographical obstacles, the trade obligations to the nations of the world and the conflicting interests of the dominions, be welded into an economic unit. Therefore, any negotiations in the future for an economic federation must begin with the realization that a Self-contained Commonwealth of Nations is not attainable.

WHY ENGLAND WENT OFF THE GOLD STANDARD

By B. N. CHATTERJEE

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THE suspension of the Gold Standard by England in September 1931 was an outstanding event of such importance in the long financial history of that country that it merits a detailed and serious study. That this momentous decision was taken by the British Government after the most careful and anxious deliberations in consultation with the ablest bankers and financiers of the country with a full knowledge of its implications and its repercussions on England's enormous banking and insurance business, her credit and her trade and industry points to the gravity of the situation.

A comprehensive study of the causes and the circumstances which finally led to England's abandonment of gold standard would necessarily over a wide field and would be an ambitious attempt which for obvious reasons cannot be undertaken in the course of this article.

The break-down of the monetary systems of the world, the dislocation of the foreign trade of the leading countries, the Reparations and Inter-Government Debt tangle, the growth of economic nationalism even in the most advanced industrial countries and the prolonged economic depression through which the world is passing, and the like of which it has never known before, are some of the legacies left to us by the last great world-war.

The causes of England's present-day difficulties as those of other countries are all the outcome of war conditions. The close of hostilities found the U. S. A. the only one among the great countries which was not in a state of exhaustion. For the first time in the history of the world America emerged as a great creditor country. Her industrial expansion was greatly accelerated by the exigencies of the war. America which in pre-war years was a good customer of English manufactures considerably reduced her demand for foreign goods after the termination of the war by imposing high tariffs. Thus the payment of interest to America on the huge loans granted to the Allies, during the war, was rendered particularly difficult. America would not accept payment in goods. The situation might have been easier, if she had agreed to lend her foreign balances to the European countries, but all the evidence goes to show that her lending to Europe was considerably much below the figure that her prosperity would seem to justify.

Not only did America reduce her takings from England but she started competing with England in the empire and non-empire markets. Mr. Gillet, speaking at the annual meeting of the Association of British Chambers of Commerce, held on the 10th April 1930, said:

"Although the Canadian total imports had increased by over £ 100 millions from 1913 to 1927, the United Kingdom had secured only 11 millions out of this as against £ 55 millions secured by the U. S. A."

"Similarly Australasia had increased her trade by £ 86 millions of which the United Kingdom secured some £ 27 millions as against £ 31 millions which went to the U. S. A."

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"In India the United Kingdom and U. S. A. each had approximately secured £ 12 millions of £ 69 millions increase."

"But in 1913 India took £ 83 millions from the United Kingdom and only £ 3 millions from the U. S. A."

In pre-war years the Continent used to absorb about 2/5 ths of England's exports, her most important customers being Germany, Austria and Russia.

With the termination of the war trade with Russia practically ceased. Attempts were made from time to time to re-establish trade relations between the two countries but owing to mutual distrust and suspicions nothing tangible materialized.

The position of Germany was different. Germany was required under the Versailles Treaty subsequently modified by the Dawes scheme, and later by the Young Plan to pay very heavy reparations to France, England, Italy and other allies. The creditors of Germany refused to accept payment of their claims in goods. The result was Germany was forced to take short term credits from America and England by raising the bank rate, and pay the reparation instalments with money borrowed from her creditors. It was an extremely unsatisfactory situation, and Germany fully realized that such a policy could not be continued for long. Consequently she was forced to reorganize her industries mostly with the help of foreign capital. The depreciation of her currency helped her considerably in this direction. Thus equipped she set out to seek foreign markets and with all the facilities which her great Credit Banks placed at the disposal of her industries, she succeeded in ousting England to an increasing extent from the world markets.

In the situation in which Germany found herself, she was left no other alternative, if she was to avoid bankruptcy. She considerably cut down her purchases of foreign goods from England and other countries by adopting a policy of intense economic nationalism.

Austria and the other Central European countries, owing to their reduced purchasing power, unsettled political conditions, consequent on territorial readjustment, and lastly their policy of high Protectionism, were no longer large purchasers of British goods. Unfortunately for England far from being able to make up for her lost markets by capturing new markets or extending the sales of her goods in the old ones, she began to experience the most intense competition in her established markets not only from Germany but also from Japan and the U. S. A. These three countries succeeded in extending their markets at the expense of England.

An examination of the causes which brought about this unfortunate state of things would involve a study of the organization, equipment and conditions of the principal British industries, *e. g.*, cotton, iron and steel, w coal.

Cotton Industry: The importance British cotton may be gauged from the fa during 1927-29 the average value of exp cotton goods from England was £140 m equal to the total value of exports of iron, and machinery.

The following figures will give some the magnitude of the cotton industry of E and also the state of the industry in the p years.

British Exports of Cotton Piece-Goo
Million Yards

	Average 1909-13	1925	1926	1927	1928
Total	6482	4637	3923	4189	3924
To India	2508	1336	1460	1551	1452
China	587	191	194	117	210
Far East	574	447	319	360	335
Central and South America	798	582	460	444	454
Near East	824	679	392	494	399
Balkans	316	399	310	340	354
Australasia	214	204	211	220	172
U. S. A. and Canada	146	134	97	93	82

—*Financial News* 7-3

The following table read with the above clearly indicate how England has been st losing ground so far as the cotton tra concerned.

International Trade in Cotton Goo
£ Millions

From	1925	1926	1927	1928
United Kingdom	150.63	116.05	110	107.30
Japan	36.61	40.13	37.24	33.64
France	16.24	14.28	18.84	16.60
Italy	18.38	14.56	13.31	14.12
U. S. A.	16.56	14.32	14.44	14.77
Belgium	5.21	4.98	5.23	6.21
United Kingdom's Percentage of Total	53.8	49	47	47.4

In connection with the figures given first table, Sir Ernest Thompson, Chair the Cotton Trade Statistical Bureau, re

"The total fall compared with the pre-war about 2500 million yards a year. The deve of new industries which have ousted imports in their home markets is respons about 1500 million square yards. The re 1000 million yards has been lost through competition in neutral markets. The chief in the former group have been in India, Brazil and Canada. Neutral markets in wh trade has been seriously affected by co importers include the Dutch East Indies East Africa, the Argentine, and other American markets."

Since the above remarks were made cotton exports to India have received a

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set-back owing to the Boycott movement started in 1929.

In August 1929 a Committee of the Economic Advisory Council was appointed by the British Government to report on the conditions and prospects of the industry. The Committee's investigation showed that the trouble in the industry was primarily due to over-expansion during the war accompanied by a considerable falling off in trade with the Far East and South America and partly due to over-capitalization consequent on the factories changing hands during the boom period at inflated prices. Not the least important cause of the trouble was the high production costs in the industry. Thus, for instance, while the British weaver's wage for working week of 48 hours was 36*s.* 10*d.*, a Japanese weaver's wage for a working week of 60 hours was only 13*s.* 6*d.*

The production cost in the Japanese industry has been further cut down by a process of rationalization, and bulk distribution. About 80 per cent of the Japanese cotton industry is controlled by only four firms which produce and distribute staple lines in bulk. Moreover Lancashire paid very little attention to marketing with the result that it failed to establish that relationship between the producer and consumer which is so essential now-a-days.

The Committee reported as follows :

> "We are satisfied from the evidence laid before us that the British Cotton industry has failed to adapt its organization and methods to changed conditions and so has failed and is failing to secure that cheapness of production and efficiency in marketing which alone sells staple goods in the East today."

Since the cotton industry contributes more than any other industry to the total of England's oversea exports it is only to be expected that the depression in the industry would have serious reaction on her balance of trade. (*Cf.* Thomas' *British Banks & Industry*, Ch. II.)

Iron and Steel : The condition of the great iron and steel industry of England was also far from satisfactory. The British steel industry was originally organized for the production of acid steel by the Bessemer process. On the other hand, the steel works on the Continent which were of much later origin took advantage from the outset of the later discoveries with regard to the production of basic steel from phosphoric ores.

The final report of the Balfour Committee on industry and trade published in 1928 pointed out that the average blast furnace capacity in the United Kingdom in 1925 was only 41,000 tons per annum as compared to 138,000 in U. S. A. and 96,000 tons in Germany. Some idea of the depression in the iron and steel industry can be had from the fact that while the world production of pig iron increased by 25 per cent between 1913 and 1930 British production decreased by 27 per cent in the same period.

The production costs in this industry owing to high wages and absence of rationalization were much higher than in the Continent or in America.

Thus Great Britain paid her steel workers 100*s.* per week, against 67*s.* paid by Germany, 50*s.* by France, 49*s.* by Luxemburg, 47*s.* by Belgium, 42*s.* by Czechoslovakia. The net result of all this was that the export of British steel to oversea markets fell by more than 6,00,000 tons in 1929.

In France owing to reparations and the depreciation of the franc the iron and steel industry had considerably increased its capacity and had been equipped with the latest plants.

In Germany, thanks to rationalization, the United Steel Works (Vereingete Stahlwerke) controls nearly 50 per cent of the entire output of the German iron and steel industry and has succeeded in cutting down fuel costs by nearly 70 per cent.

The Woollen Industry : The difficulties referred to in regard to the cotton industry apply more or less equally to the woollen industry. The British woollen industry has suffered in recent years "from fall in wool prices, the boycott of woollen goods in China and India, foreign competition, short time working, excessive individualism leading to cut throat competition, weak selling and high production costs and lastly the change in fashion leading to the replacement of woollen fabrics by artificial silk."

The result is a considerable fall in the exports of woollen goods from England.

The Coal Mining Industry : It is the same with the coal industry. In spite of the natural advantages England enjoys in regard to this industry it is far behind other countries in both equipment and organization. As has been pointed out in an article in the *Economist* (25th January, 1930) the output is wastefully dispersed over a great number of small producers, the rate of production per man is lower than in any important country and the methods of distribution to the consumer are extremely uneconomical. The industry was further handicapped by intense foreign competition following over-production throughout the world and partly the use of alternatives such as oil and electricity.

It is true that some new industries have sprung up in England since the termination of the last war. England has made considerable headway in the development of the artificial silk, electrical, and dye industries but she has not been able to make good the decline in the value of the exports of the products of her major industries by the development of the new industries.

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The enormous difficulties which the English manufacturers of cotton, iron, and steel, woollens and other products had to face in selling their goods at competitive rates in the oversea markets will be clear from the following table.

	British wholesale price	Cost of living	wages
Pre-war average	100	100	100
1924	81	94·5	99
1929	65	89·5	98.25

The lag between the fall in wages and fall in wholesale prices is clearly shown in the above table. It is a curious fact that the high standard of living of the English labourer which has been the pride of England should be a cause of so much embarrassment to that country.

The following table will give an indication of the extent England has lost ground in competition with other countries.

INDEXES OF VALUES OF EXPORTS OF LEADING COUNTRIES.

Monthly Averages 1927 100.

Year	U. K. £100 mil.	U. S. A. $100 mil.	Germany Mks. 100 mil.	Belgium Fcs. 100 mil.	France Fcs. 100 mil.	Italy Lires 100 m.	Denmark Kroners 100 mil.
1927							
1928	£102 mill.		105·8	113·2	110·1	93·7	107·6	103
1929	102·8		108·3	122·7	121·4	91·1	104·7	107·1
1930 (6 months)	88·6		90·1	110·6	117	85·2	90·5	109·9

The situation was considerably aggravated by the acute economic depression which set in since 1929. The value of British exports declined still further.

So far we have discussed only the visible exports from England. England, as is well known, derives a handsome income every year from her carrying trade. The *net* income from this source was estimated at £124 millions in 1925, £120 millions in 1926 and £140 millions in 1927. Moreover she had a good income from the Acceptance business of the London banks and many other services rendered by them. After deducting the payment made to foreign banks for services rendered by the latter the net income of England from this source was estimated at £60 millions in 1925, £60 millions in 1926 and £63 millions in 1927.

In addition to the income from the above two sources she also used to earn anything between £12 to 15 millions net on account of the services rendered by the British Life, Fire and Marine insurance companies.

The most important source of her income from abroad however, was from her extensive oversea investments. Competent experts estimated the total of her foreign investments in 1914 at £3500 millions. For many years British capital sought investment in foreign countries. British capital was responsible for the opening up of gold mines in Australia and South Africa; the development of Brazil and Argentine, the construction of railways and irrigation canals, the starting of jute mills and tea plantations in India, the establishment of rubber plantations in Malay, the planting of cotton fields in Sudan and the financing of municipal and Government enterprise all over the world.

During the war England was compelled to part with a large amount of dollar securities partly for financing the war but primarily for 'pegging' the sterling dollar exchange. In consequence of such sales, the total amount of overseas investment of England is now estimated at £2000 millions. Her net income from this source alone was put at £250 millions in 1925, £2[illegible] millions in 1926, and £271 millions in 1927.

Unfortunately, however, since 1928 her income from all these sources declined considerably. On account of the large amount of tonnage laid down by America, Italy, France and Japan since 1919, England had to meet intense competition in the shipping business. Moreover, the economic slump, the end of which is not yet in sight, made its influence felt in 1929.

The result was that a considerable proportion of British ships lay idle in the yards and England's income from shipping declined by more than 25 per cent by the end of 1930.

Her income from the other sources was also adversely affected by the industrial slump. British capital was for the most part invested in industrial undertakings which had to pass dividends after the slump had set in.

On the other hand, England's imports jumped up from £709 millions in 1927 to £728.9 millions in 1929. England, as is well known, is mostly dependent on foreign countries for her supplies of foodstuffs. In addition she imports annually large quantities of luxury goods like silks, wines, laces, etc., from foreign countries. The result was that the balance of trade turned against England in 1930. The net favourable balance which was £ 55 millions in 1929, fell to £ 2 millions in 1926, rose again to £ 102 millions in 19[illegible] fell again in 1928 and 1929. The Macmillan Committee made a careful calculation of the estimated adverse balance which was put at more than £ 100 millions. There were clear indications in 1930 that there would be a huge deficit in the budget for that year and the year following. A National Government was formed to deal with the situation. Drastic retrenchments were made in various directions. Heavy duties were imposed on luxury goods with a view to restrict imports and create a favourable balance. But nothing availed.

In the meantime external forces were operating in the international monetary centres which made the task of the British Government in maintaining the gold standard one of utmost difficulty.

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For a proper appraisement of the situation it is necessary to give a short history of the financial developments which followed in the wake of the restorations of gold standard in England in 1925. By the Gold Standard Act of 1925 the Bank of England was obliged to sell gold in the form of bars at £ 3-17-10½ in quantity of not less than 400 oz. troy of fine gold. As section 4 of the Act of 1844 was not repealed the Bank of England was obliged to buy all gold offered to it at the rate of £ 3-17-9.

The Bank of England started with a stock of £ 155 millions. In September 1928 it succeeded in increasing its holding to record amount of £ 176½ millions in gold, but by the end of the year it was clear that it would not be in a position to keep all the gold it had acquired. Economic forces were working against the Bank of England.

France underwent a long period of currency inflation during the years immediately following the war. A very natural result of the depreciation of the franc was the flight of a very large amount of French capital to London which was held in sterling there. All these balances were liable to be withdrawn from London and thus depress the London exchanges. The prosperity of France started with the stablization of the franc at 124 in 1926, at which rate it was officially revalorized by the Act of 1928. The French wholesale price was 620. Corresponding to the gold index number of 124 compared to 145 for England and 148 for U. S. A. Thus the price level in France being 20 per cent lower than in England, the export trade of France received a great stimulus. The balance of trade turned heavily in favour of France and she succeeded in acummulating heavy balances in foreign centres including of course London. From June 1928 till September 1931, France imported gold from foreign countries amounting to £ 136 millions, the greater part of it coming from the vaults of the Bank of England.

France was not the only country to withdraw gold from London. America also came in for her share of gold. She had an extremely favourable balance of trade in relation to the world to the extent of 837 million dollars in 1928 against 583 millions in 1927. The world paid to America in that year 1109 million dollars for commodities, 882 million dollars for interest on private investments, 210 millions for war debt payments and 67 millions for miscellaneous items, making a total of 2268 millions. On the other hand, America paid to the world in the shape of new loans, interest, freight payments, missionary remittances 2200 million dollars in all.* All these factors combined to turn the European exchanges in favour of America and the effect on the London rate was particularly adverse as London was the favourite market for the continental purchase of dollars.

The prosperity of the American industries led to a colossal stock exchange boom in the Wall Street. In ordinary course such a boom would have been of an ephemeral character but owing to the constitution of the American money market and particularly owing to the lack of control of the Federal Reserve Banks over the American money market the boom continued unabated for three years. The financing of the New York's colossal stock exchange business occasioned the withdrawal of American balances from London and other centres. The collapse of the boom was followed up by an acute stringency in New York money market, 10 per cent being frequently paid for call money by stock brokers. In order to take advantage of such high rates not only Americans withdrew their money from foreign centres but Europeans also including British bankers and capitalists remitted money to New York. The effect on London market was extremely serious. The Bank of England rate was at once raised from 4½ per cent to 5½ and later to 6½. The raising of the bank rate coupled with the action taken by the European banks succeeded in checking the flow of gold to New York. The bank rate was gradually lowered to 2½ per cent on 1st May, 1931.

During 1931 there were clear indications of an impending financial crisis. The largest bank in Austria, the Credit Anstalt which had an enviable position owing to its connection with the well-known Vienna House of Rothschilds found itself in difficulties. The Austrian, Government had to guarantee the depositors against loss and considerably helped the reconstruction of the bank by liberally contributing to its capital. For this purpose the Bank of England allowed a credit of £5 millions to the Austrian Government through the National Bank of Austria. The Austrian financial and banking crisis proved to be the beginning of more troubles to come (*Cf. The Manchester Guardian*, Financial Supplement, 1931).

In the meantime the financial situation in Germany became acute. In June 1931, the flight of capital from Germany began in all seriousness. Very large amounts of gold were exported to Paris and London from Berlin. President Hoover's proposal for the suspension of all reparations and war-debt payments for one year from July 1931 did not ease the situation to the extent as was anticipated. The Reichsbank had to raise the discount rate to 7 per cent. At the end of June, the Bank of France, the Bank of England, the Federal Reserve Bank of New York and the B. I. S. jointly granted Reichsbank a credit of £21 millions and shortly afterwards a further credit of 10 millions was arranged in New York. In spite of these measures, the withdrawal of gold from Berlin continued.

* *The Times*, July 1919.

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On July 13 the Darmstadter und National Bank suspended payment. The consequences of the suspension of such an important bank were very serious. All the German banks were closed for a week and when they reopened they expressed their unwillingness to repay foreign debts on demand. Special measures were taken and by means of severe currency restrictions the financial authorities were at last able to keep the mark fairly stable in relation to dollar. The German banking crisis was followed by a crisis in Hungary. As the Hungarian General Credit Bank of Buda Pesth was closely associated with Credit Anstalt it was taken for granted that the latter's difficulty would affect the former. There was a run on the Hungarian Bank. The National Bank succeeded in obtaining a short term credit through the Bank for International Settlements but it proved inadequate.

The Central European crisis produced a serious repercussion on the London market. London banks had commitments in Germany amounting to £ 100 millions which became frozen for the time being. The situation was the same as far as London's claims on Austria and Hungary were concerned.

Apart from this, the foreign banks holding sterling balances on London were anxious to withdraw them. Moreover the budgetary position of the British exchequer caused much nervousness in financial circles in foreign centres especially Paris and exchange in London on Paris and Brussells fell below gold export point. In July the export of gold from London amounted to £32 millions reducing the gold reserve in the Bank of England to £132 millions, *viz.*, £18 millions less than the amount recommended by the Cauliffe Committee. This forced the Bank of England to raise its rate from 2½ per cent to 4½ per cent in gradual stages.

In the first week of 1932 the Bank of England obtained a credit of £25 millions from the Bank of France in French francs, and a further credit of £25 millions in dollars from the Federal Bank. The Treasury gave the Bank permission to increase its fiduciary issue of the Bank to £275 millions.

The Franco-American credit of £50 millions was, however, inadequate to inspire confidence. According to figures published in the *Macmillan Report* the amount of London's short term liabilities at March 31, 1931, was £407 millions without including the sterling bills in the custody of foreign banks and against this the amount of London's short term claims which could be called in from foreign debtors was negligible. If we allow for the frozen credits in Germany and elsewhere the net amount which could be withdrawn in the course of a few months could not have been short of £300 millions. In addition the foreign holders of British securities were also in a position to sell their holdings and withdraw the proceeds. Thus the most conservative estimate placed the amount at £500 millions which was liable to be withdrawn practically without notice. (*Cf.* Einzig *Peep behind International Finance*, p. 106). Hardly had the Franco-American credit been granted the sterling exchange on New York and Paris fell below gold point.

A further credit of £80 millions was raised half in Paris, and the other half in New York for the purpose of supporting sterling.

On September 18 the French authorities were informed that the second credit of 80 millions was nearly exhausted and that the British Government had no alternative but to suspend gold standard. A last hour effort was made to raise a third credit. France was prepared to participate in it to the extent of £32 millions provided that the U. S. A. also agreed to take up a similar amount. But the American Government refused to consider the proposal.

Since July about £200 millions had been withdrawn from London in gold and foreign exchange and there were no signs yet of the outflow of gold being stemmed in the near future.

On September 20, the British Government announced that the Bank of England would no longer redeem its notes in gold. The bank rate was immediately raised to 6 per cent.

Thus England definitely gave up the Gold Standard. Sterling has since been left to follow its course. At the end of September 1931 the dollar sterling cross rate was quoted at 3.92 dollars and London Paris Cross rate 98.75 francs showing a depreciation of 20 p.c. During October 1931 the exchange was more or less steady during the first fortnight but it weakened off later, and in November the exchange touched 3.23 dollars and 85 francs. In 1932 during the first half year the sterling exchange showed considerable firmness but it again recorded a fall in the second half year and since October it has been fluctuating between 3.29 and 3.21 dollars.

The suspension of the gold standard has been a great blow to the prestige of the London money market which had in the pre-war days carved out for itself an unique position as the only free gold market in the world. London was looked upon as the clearing house of the world. The trade between many foreign countries used to be financed by London Bills and the London banks used to earn enormous amounts (estimated at 50 millions) by way of commission on their acceptance business. All this business is in danger of being lost to England. It is only such countries the currency units of which are linked to sterling which can afford to let their trade be financed by sterling Bills and the number of such countries is extremely limited.

There are critics who throw the entire responsibility for the abandonment of the gold

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tandard by England on France and America. There is no doubt whatsoever that the continual low of gold to America since 1924 and to France since 1928 has been mainly responsible or the economic plight of England. The ollowing figures will give some idea of the bsorption of gold in America and France.

The total monetary gold of the world is stimated at 12000 million dollars. Out of this mount the U.S.A. and France between them eld on the 30th September, 1931, 7295 million ollars or £1499 millions at par or 60 per cent f the entire monetary gold stock of the world.

France held 58576 million francs and the J.S.A. 5000 million dollars.

The gold holding of the Bank of France in December, 1927, stood at 18126 million francs £145 millions). It increased to 50807 million rancs (£413 millions) in December, 1930, 5924 million francs in February, 1931, and 8576 million francs in September, 1931.

Much has been said and written during the ast twelve months about the futility of France and America holding such an enormous amount of old. French and American banking and inancial circles are certainly not unaware of he fact that a depreciated sterling will place England in a position of advantage in the ompetitive markets. But in this as in other matters political considerations are very often apt to outweigh purely economic and trade interests.

There is already a talk of having a sterling standard for the British Empire which is to be managed on the lines of the gold exchange standard. But it is extremely doubtful how far such a standard will be a practicable proposition. Recent events have clearly demonstrated the fact that the world has not yet lost its faith in gold. There is still a scramble for gold Even the Bank of England has not lost the unexpected opportunity afforded to it by the exports of large amounts of gold from India, of increasing its gold reserve which stood at £120 millions early in 1932 to £140 millions in September 1932. Political pressure too has been brought to bear upon England to adopt Gold Standard. In these circumstances the restoration of the Gold Standard, according to many competent experts, is only a question of time. It is true England has succeeded in reducing her adverse balance of trade by more than £85 millions during the year 1932 but so long as the War Debt problem is not satisfactorily solved and so long as the world does not turn the corner of economic depression any attempt to restore the Gold Standard will make England vulnerable not only from within but from without as well.

ECONOMIC DEPRESSION AND LAND MORTGAGE BANKS

By RAMANIKANTA ROY

THE zemindars of Bengal have approached the Government of Bengal with the proposal for expediting the establishment of land mortgage banks, which has unfortunately not yet materialized, although favoured with the attention of the Government for many a long year. The utility of a bank of this character has been keenly felt all the world over and there is hardly a country today that has failed to discharge its duty to the farmers in particular and landholders in general by neglecting to set them on foot.

The proposal was first mooted over half a century ago by that staunch friend of India, Sir William Wedderburn, but was put aside, as it was then the belief of the authorities in England that there was no agency available for working it out.

The Royal Commission on Agriculture appointed in recent years seems, however, to have realized and emphasized its importance, as is evident from their recommendation about the creation of co-operative banks on the German model for the benefit of farmers. The opinion of the Central Banking Enquiry Committee was exactly on the same lines and they favoured the creation not only of co-operative banks for meeting the financial need of small farmers, but also joint stock land mortgage banks to serve the landed classes who might require long-term loans.

That responsible opinion on the matter like this is bound to be unanimous is further exemplified by Sir Arthur Salter, former financial expert to the League of Nations, specially invited by the Government of India,

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who added the weight of his authority to the said volume of recommendations.

One of the zemindars approached on their behalf the Government of India, the Finance Member of the Government of India, and on the latter's advice the Government of Bengal ; he was informed that the matter had been forwarded to the Secretary, Department of Commerce and Agriculture, for disposal, and it was still receiving his consideration, though more than six months of valuable time has been lost since then.

It is true that the Government are themselves in difficulties and have been largely affected by the economic depression. It may be pointed out in this connection that every country in the world and England in particular has usually met such crises by granting loans freely for productive purposes by an expansion of its currency. The U. S. A. raised its currency of late to $1150,000,000 for a similar purpose. So did France and even Germany. England spends £100,000,000 in yearly doles to relieve the unemployed. Bengal, equal in size to England, has to depend on agriculture as its sole or main stay and the slump in the price of agricultural produce has reduced her to the direst poverty and she is in urgent need of financial accommodation. It is failure on the part of the ryots to pay rent that has affected the zemindars, who cannot even realize enough to meet the demand of Government revenue and cesses and are mostly in default and some had even to suffer their estates being struck down by the hammer for realization thereof.

Failure of indigenous banks and loan offices and slump in coal, jute and tea concerns have also affected many. The need for financial accommodation has become thereby very pressing.

Further, it is an undeniable fact that by closing the mint to the free coinage of silver the Government have not only reduced the accumulated hoard of silver of the millions of Indians to the vanishing point, but also by raising the exchange value of the rupee to the monopoly price lowered further the price of agricultural produce leaving no margin of profit to the cultivators. It has also raised indebtedness of the millions threefold. All the fine arguments so elaborately and co ingly set forth by the British Cabinet a payment of war debts apply with a greater force with respect to the millio Indians, inasmuch as they have been mis impoverished by the closing of the against silver.

According to Senator Borah, economist of U. S. A., the closing of the to the free coinage of silver has been o the causes of the world depression, millions of Indians and Chinese have lost as potential buyers in the world mar

His Excellency the Governor has pleased to observe that no earthly power extract money from empty pockets. therefore, pertinent to enquire why pockets of the people of the province fertile in India should be empty. The an of the query is contained in Senator Bo conclusions. The Meston award, ag which His Excellency has taken so bra stand, also supplies an additional re Every pice of the jute export duty income-tax is needed to fight malaria w by sapping the manhood of the Beng has caused the downgrade move which His Excellency referred to.

The utility and urgent necessity o land mortgage bank in this country as o the effective weapons to combat the fina situation being now beyond contro there are reasons to complain that Government has not been desirably aler the matter ; ways and means have not been discussed and avenues explored for early organization.

The measure being now beyond co versy, the question of ways and means be discussed to find out if the Govern are really incapable of lending a helping in the existing circumstances.

It is true England has been ob humbly to approach her creditor for remi or cancellation of her debts. It is mor of respect for principles rather than for inability, that she has done so.

Whatever might be the conditions in standard countries, India has a great ad tage over them in this that while an o of gold which now costs £6-8-0 pro only £3-17-10½ sterling an ounce of

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which costs no more than a rupee produces, when minted, nearly Rs. 3 in coins.

The Government can, therefore, inflate the rupee currency to any extent that may be needed to meet the emergency. There is, therefore, no reason why there should be any money famine in India. There is no risk of India going off the silver standard as England has gone off the gold. And the controlled inflation now euphemistically called reflation by the London economists is the only means by which the price of agricultural produce can be raised, without which prosperity can never return.

It is also pertinent to enquire in this connection what is the earthly use of 240,000,000 of the gold currency reserve exacted from the ryot when England is off the gold standard and no return to it is immediately possible. Why should not the Government invest half the amount in the purchase of silver and coin the same into rupees, retaining one-half, if thought necessary, for reserve and utilizing the other half (nett profit on coinage) for the purpose of lending it freely to the landed classes through the creation of land mortgage banks, removing thereby their indebtedness which is crushing their manhood with usurious interest charged by the grasping money-lenders. Funds can also be raised by issue of debenture bonds with Government guarantee against mortgaged estates.

It is true that it is not the province of the Local Government to answer these questions, but it is equally true that, if placed before the proper authorities whether in India or in England, the scheme stands a very good chance of being accepted. It is further clear that the silver question must be solved in the forthcoming economic conference. It is bound to raise the price of silver, and the Government then shall have lost the chance they now have so profitably to coin the silver and solve the question of agricultural indebtedness of India.

But this requires the broadness of view and promptness of action on the part of an economist to seize the opportunity and rise to the occasion. And such a man should not be wanting.

Expert opinion in support of Reflation

I

U. S. Loan Bill. Further Expansion Of Currency.

Washington, July 18, 1932

The Home Loan Bill permits expansion of Government Bonds paying up to 3¾ p.c. interest as a backing for notes—thus further expanding the currency by 1108 million dollars. It is intended to help the people who bought houses and lands on mortgage and are now unable to pay. —*Reuter.*

II

Silver Currency Plea. M. Caillaux And Potential Buyers in The East.

Vienna, Oct. 25, 1932.

The restoration of silver currency was urged today by M. Caillaux, the former French Finance Minister, in an address on the world crisis before the Austrian League of Culture.

Millions in India and China, he declared, who lacked gold had been lost as buyers on the world market.

If silver currency was restored they would become potential buyers. M. Caillaux also urged the dropping of custom barrier. —*Reuter.*

III

If India Sold Silver. Mr. Montagu Norman's Forecast Recalled.

Nampa (Idaho), Oct. 26, 1932.

The suggestion that the demonitization of silver in India was one of the causes of world depression was made by Senator Borah in a speech here. He quoted in this connection the testimony given by Mr. Montagu Norman before the Royal Commission on Indian Currency in 1926 in which Mr. Norman forecast wide disturbances of prices in China with reactions in Europe and even in America if India sold a large amount of silver. —*Reuter.*

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MENTALLY DEFECTIVE CHILDREN—WHAT WE SHOULD AND CAN DO FOR THEM

By GIRIJABHUSHAN MUKHERJEE, M.A., B.L.

HUMAN civilization, in its onward march, has always been confronted with the most difficult problem of what to do with mentally defective children. Such children, born of normal parents, are units of the society in which they are born, and when, with the growth of their age, they are found to be mentally defective their position in that society comes to be like a square thing in a round hole, each being wronged by and wronging the other.

In ancient times, indications are not rare that such children were either persecuted or killed. In Sparta they were left to die in the hills. In Greece and other countries such children were thrown into the rivers. Plato's conception of the happiest condition of the defectives and dependent classes, both for themselves as well as for the society, was a condition of death. In India too, as we find in the Mahabharat and Bhagabat, the cases of *Jara-bharat*, Hastamalak and others indicate not only the existence of what we now term as mentally defective persons, but also the bad and heartless treatments meted out to these persons by the normal section of the people.

Public recognition of the claims of these children was effectively begun in Europe early in 1800 when Dr. Itard, of the Paris School for the Deaf, made an attempt to train the savage of Aveyron,—a young man, found wandering in the woods, with marks and scars on his body indicating that he had been brought up by wild animals. The most diligent attempts to impart training to him for bringing him from barbarism to civilization proved infructuous.

Edward Seguin, one of Dr. Itard's pupils, however, developed the best lines for training the feeble-minded, many of which are still in use.

In the nineteenth century many institutions sprang up all over Europe and America, and the Western nations were not long in coming to realize that in the interests of both the society and humanity such children should be collected in special institutions and given the proper training. Psychologists and Psychiatrists extended their researches into the case of feeble-minded children, the doctors devoted their special care and attention to the subject, and men who dedicated their lives to the cause of humanity, all collected and joined hands in laying down the dictum that mentally defective children must be taken charge of by the society that produces them.

In support of this dictum I may summarize these points :

On humanitarian grounds we should consider and bear in mind that,

(*a*) they are our children, and we afford to neglect them by leaving absolutely at the mercy of the normal humanity to be stared at, ridiculed, despised always looked down upon as useless units society ;

(*b*) we have many humanitarian insti and organizations nowadays, *e.g.*, the insti for the blind or the deaf mutes, the asylums, the society for the prevention of to animals, etc. As against these we h organization or institution in our country we can deal with these children,—a secti none but ourselves,—who are absolutely h because they have not got that very th "brains" which gives to human life its full and import. On social grounds also, we s remember that,

(*a*) a mentally defective child in a monopolizes almost the entire time, attention energy of the parents at the cost of the normal children of the family with the that the whole family gets a serious set-b its normal activities and growth and the s as a whole suffers in the long run ;

(*b*) these children, as they grow infancy into boyhood, and from boyhood youth, present the greatest embarrassmen only to their parents but also to the publ large who, not knowing their real weakness defect, always persecute them by staring at or ridiculing them or otherwise posi maltreating them. The result is disastrous. treatment not only kills for ever whatever fraction of that most precious element of human mind these children have got, *viz.* *confidence*, which is the impelling power i human mind for all advancement and gro but also causes these children to grow positively unsocial, irrational and cruel of society and leaves them very often to the ranks of hardened criminals.

(*c*) The laws provide for the safety of society against violence to life and pro and other offences. We have Boards of He and other similar organizations to protect s against diseases. We have quarantine la protect society against infectious diseases. exactly the same principle we must have

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guards in respect of the defective section of ourselves. The law holds an idiot not responsible for murder and excuses him from punishment upon that plan. But lack of legal responsibility does not in the least minimize the danger to which society is liable to danger from such persons. Hence, in the supreme interest of society these children should be specially dealt with so as to keep it safe from any mischief by such children.

(*d*) Such children, where they grow up, are married without any hesitation or compunction by their parents. In the case of girls the parents are compelled to place them in the hands of their husbands because there must be somebody to take care of such girls in the absence of their parents. The inevitable follows, and by propagation their numbers are swelled. These parents never think what serious consequences are involved in such a thoughtless and selfish action. Conjugal happiness as also the peace of the family in which such a feeble-minded son or daughter is imported by marriage is shattered for ever. We must realize that our duty to these children, duty to society, duty to humanity and duty to our Creator demand that we stop this practice of marrying such children.

A consideration of all these points necessarily leads us to the only question—How should we deal with such children ?—The answer is—place them, not only for their greatest well-being but also for that of society, in an environment of gentleness and understanding and love,—a place free from the complications that confuse their thoughts. They will be guarded there from problems and playmates that discourage and give them a sense of inferiority. All this is possible in an institution specially established for them. In such an institution a defective child lives in an atmosphere, every part of which is planned to recognize his shortcomings and to meet his needs, every soul attending him is pledged to the creed of fertilizing his barren life with the leaven of love, and an education is imparted to him which, being specially adapted to him, makes him not only economically independent but able to have the chance for the fullest life of which he becomes capable. From such an atmosphere he gains *confidence* which ultimately, through the special methods of tuition and mode of living, unfolds his intelligence beyond expectation.

In Europe and America there are such institutions everywhere, even several in every district. These are mostly run by the public who recognize such children or adults as legitimately their own burden. In such institutions pupils are trained to be agriculturists, carpenters, blacksmiths, weavers, masons, etc., and they do lots of productive work that can stand comparison with that done by normal men. We can do the same thing here in India, too. It is a great shame we have not done anything so long.

To remove this great want the Bodhana Samiti was organized on April, 24, 1932. The name *Bodhana* was specially coined by the great Rabindranath Tagore. Excepting the three doctors who are Vice-Presidents and the Principal of the Deaf and Dumb School of Calcutta, all the members of the Governing Body are parents or guardians of such children. As these children are invariably constitutionally delicate, it is absolutely necessary that such an institution should be located in a healthy place. The Governing Body have been lucky enough to secure from

Raja Narasingha Malla Dev of Jhargram

Raja Narasingha Malla Dev of Jhargram (District Midnapore) a free gift of about 250 *bighas* of lands (over 80 acres) at Jhargram. The place is very healthy and is only 96 miles from Calcutta. Arrangements are already in progress for the building of the houses, digging of wells, etc., required for the institution.

The Governing Body have also been lucky enough in securing qualified persons to take charge of the Home. A Bengali lady, having had special training in England in the Montessori method, is now studying the subject there by visiting some big Homes in England for mentally defective persons. She is expected to join the Home at Jhargram very soon.

The Governing Body have already in hand applications from the parents or guardians of about 50 such pupils to have them admitted into this Home as soon as it is started.

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The completion of the buildings, the sinking of wells, the laying out of the gardens, the purchase of implements and other articles and furniture, including the didactic materials for the educational portion of the work—all these would require about Rs. 12,000. The Governing Body have to depend solely on contributions from the generous-minded public for the whole of this amount, and make this following appeal to each and everyone of the public:

Let us all look to the interest and well-being of this most unfortunate and helpless section of humanity whose lot is darker and harder than even the blind or the deaf and dumb, or the cripple, because,—

"The closed soul-vision theirs, the blighted mind :
Babes, though full-grown : the page of life a blot."

Think of the lot of these children think of the serious problem involved. H Bodhana Samiti in the name of God and ity, and help it in the interests of the by being the *giver*, not only of your *mo* also of your *time* and *interest*.

All letters and other communications be addressed to the Secretary, and all rem to be sent to the Treasurer.

Treasurer and *President*,
Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee
2-1, Townsend Road, Bhowani Ca

Secretary (Founder),
Sj. Girijabhusan Mukherji, M.
6-5, Bejoy Mukherjee La
Bhowanipore, Calcutta.

FORCING THE PACE OF WOMEN'S LITERACY

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

I

In almost the centre of Kathiawar—the small peninsula projecting from the mainland of Gujerat into the Arabian Sea—lies a small State, Gondal by name. It comprises only 1,024 square miles and has a population of 206,000 persons.

One day, not so long ago, as I was motoring about the country I passed a village well a few miles from the capital of the State. A knot of women were bending over the high parapet drawing water in brightly burnished brass pots. Others had filled their vessels and were tying into neat knots the ropes that they had used to draw up the water. Two women—quite evidently close friends—were chatting as they wended their way homewards.

It was a colourful, happy scene. Scarfs of homespun, with black and yellow designs printed on a deep red background, falling from the heads of the village dames, set off their copper-coloured, boldly chiselled features. Their short-sleeved bodices of deeper red were adorned with scores of tiny mirrors round which deft fingers had embroidered intricate patterns that had descended from mother to daughter since the *gopikas* stood entranced by the strains is from Krishna's bamboo lute.

At the sight of my Kodak the veils quickly drawn over the faces. Tha tantalizing though it was, focussed atte upon their tall, well-proportioned figures. supple were they that the water pots r securely upon their heads, unsupporte their hands.

I have wandered far upon the face o globe. I have, however, yet to see w who in poise excel ours.

And feminine grace in rural India nothing to art. Elsewhere it is a mat assiduous cultivation.

II

Round the corner from the well w stone building. The man who had des it was evidently a utilitarian. Wi wasting much thought or money upon de tion, he had produced a structure mea defy the ravages of time. The rooms large and lofty—light and airy—suite every way for a temple of learning, discovered it was.

The school was built upon a tongu land lying just outside the walled vi

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he Public Works Department of the State ad obviously pressed a useless piece of round into service.

It soon became apparent that word had one into the settlement that some strangers ad arrived. In a trice humanity poured ut of the village gate, which bore signs of aving been recently constructed.

Upon entering the school I was mediately struck with the large number f girls attending the classes. Their ages nged, I judged, from 7 to 12 or 13. They t with the boys without any sense of kwardness.

III

After spending a short time at the place, y friends and I got into the car and we oceeded on our tour. The road was solidly ilt and there was not much traffic. We uld therefore move at the maximum speed ermitted in the State (25 miles an hour).

We must have been motoring for thirty inutes or perhaps a little more when I xpressed the desire to stop again and visit e village we were nearing. Here, too, the hool was the most substantial and comodious building in the place.

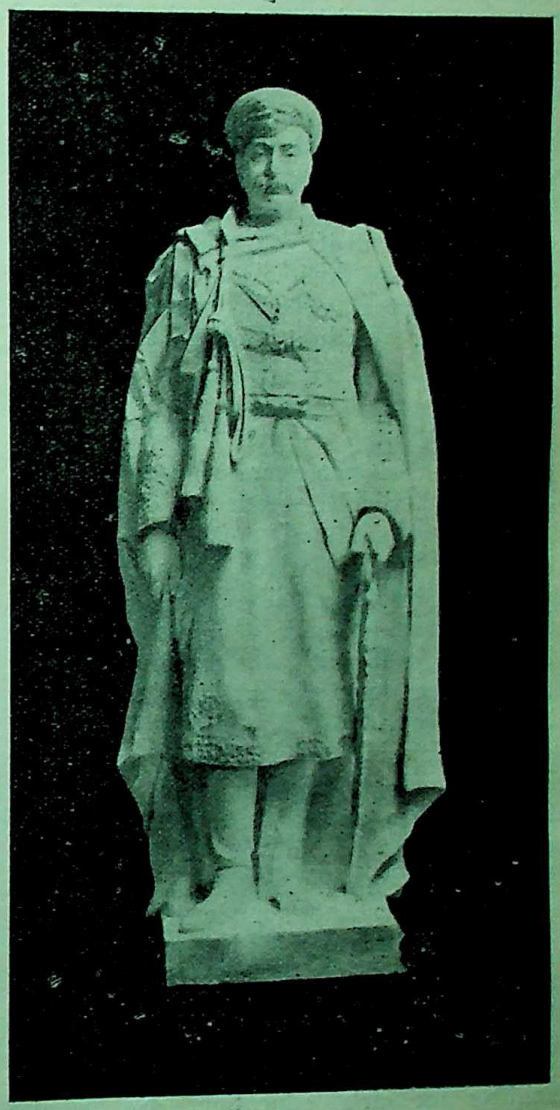
When I went in I noticed that many girls ere attending the classes. They appeared, fact, to be more numerous than the boys. hinking that I might be mistaken, I asked e head master for the attendance roll. he figures confirmed the evidence gathered y my eyes.

It was strange, I thought, that in a small, ut of the way place the number of girls ttending school should exceed that of the oys. Was it merely an accident?

But I had had a similar experience in the ther village which I had visited less than n hour earlier. Two occurrences of that ind could hardly be a matter of chance, specially in a land where even the village-omen observed purdah.

"How is it that there are more girls than oys in attendance in these schools?" I sked Mr. Chandulal Bahecharlal Patel, the idya Adhikari (the Minister of Education) ho was kindly showing me round.

Born of peasant stock, he was dressed coarse homespun. His manner was so simple that no one who had not expressly been told would have taken him to be a Minister of a State. From his father, who had spent the best part of his life as a school teacher and was, I was told, no mean poet in Gujerati, he had inherited a deep love for his mother-tongue and considerable literary skill.



Copyright photo by St. Nihal Singh.
His Highness Shri Sir Bhagvat Sinhjee, the Maharaja of Gondal (Kathiawar). The photograph is from the clay model of a statue in marble by Mr. V. P. Karmarkar, the Bombay sculptor.

"Primary education is compulsory for the girls," the Vidya Adhikari replied in his laconic, unostentatious way.

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"That explains why there are so many girls in attendance: but not the disparity between their number and that of the boys" I reminded him.

"Education is not compulsory for the boys," he told me.

I was surprised at the matter of fact way in which he imparted that information. Judging from his tone, I might have concluded that compelling girls to attend school and letting the boys do as they pleased was quite a normal procedure in India.

But I knew it was not. So I remarked:

"Evidently your Maharaja takes the view that woman constitutes the social fulcrum—that if you educate a boy you educate merely an individual: but if you educate a girl you educate the whole family."

I thought that remark would draw out the Minister. It did. Here is the story it elicited:

IV

Just about sixteen years ago the Ruler—Shri Bhagvat Sinhjee—noticed that, despite all the efforts he had made to stimulate literacy, the rate at which it was spreading among the women of his State was disappointing. The number of girls attending school compared with the boys was much smaller. For every girl at school there were almost six boys.

Aided by his enlightened consort—Shri Nandkuverba—who had girdled the globe at a time when Indian ladies of her class hid themselves behind the purdah, he had tried to jolt the people out of their prejudices by setting them an example worthy to be followed. They had sent their own daughters to school, first in Gondal and later in Edinburgh or Paris.

At the same time, he had gone on, from year to year, increasing and improving facilities for girls' education. He had also been founding scholarships and prizes to encourage them to avail themselves of these advantages.

The old notions persisted however. Education was regarded as a purely bread and butter proposition.

The boys were sent to school since the instruction they would receive there would increase their earning capacity. And in the generality of cases.

But no such need was felt in resp girls, at least by parents with a circums intellectual horizon. They would, i thought, graduate from maidenhood wifehood—go from the home in which were born to that of their parents-i And since they were merely to "sit at h if not actually had their existence behi purdah, they did not, it was considered, in need of schooling.

The purdah system, too, blocked the The gentry observed it rigidly, commonalty followed their example.

V

The Maharaja might easily have himself trouble by saying that in this re his State was no worse off than most of India. Everywhere in our country percentage of literate women was smal that date—and unfortunately remains sm even to-day—than that of the men.

This disparity in the rate at w literacy has been advancing has unfortu tended to create an intellectual gulf betw the sexes. Such a gulf made neither happiness in the home nor for nati efficiency.

The effect would have been even w but for the fact that Nature has dowered women with great intelligence. They moreover, benefited from our oral typ education.

When all this has been said and dered it must, nevertheless, be admitted lack of literacy is a handicap and that h cap is felt all the more when one par the wedlock labours under it and the does not.

It must be stated, on the other that the Indian women's world has remained static during the half century. from it.

There have been great changes feminine realm especially during the last years. As time races on advancem that realm shows signs of becoming s and swifter.

Many of our ladies have carved bri careers for themselves and have rea

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invaluable service to the nation. In so doing they have to set a fine example to their (and our) less advantageously placed sisters. That example is having a stimulating effect.

The institution of purdah, too, has been losing its rigidity in all places where it was being observed; and is even disappearing from some. It may soon be but a memory of the past.

Economic pressure is increasing in all parts of India. As it increases, old-fashioned notions that held back women and through holding them back held back society as a whole, are losing their potency.

The percentage of literacy amongst women has been rising from one decennium to another. The increase is much faster in their case than in that of the men. This is undoubtedly a hopeful sign of the times.

Making allowance for all these facts it must, nevertheless, be admitted that the percentage of girls attending schools continues to be relatively smaller than that of the boys. So long as that remains the case it is difficult to visualize the time when the intellectual gulf between the sexes will, of itself, be wiped out.

VI

Thinking along some such lines, Bhagvat Sinhjee came, in 1917, to the conclusion that something more than setting an example and providing facilities for obtaining knowledge was necessary to stimulate education amongst girls to the point of evening up matters between the sexes in respect of literacy. The plan he finally formed to force the pace of literacy among girls appeared to involve certain risks, owing to lack of education among the people in general. But he was man enough to take the necessary risks.

With one stroke of the pen he made education compulsory for girls of school-going age. To obviate any hardship that may be felt he, at the same time, ordered that they were to be exempt from fees of every description.

VII

To unthinking—and even some thinking—persons this action seemed to be astounding.

Copyright photograph by St. Nihal Singh.

Garba dance in a secondary school in Gondal. Scholarships and prizes have been founded to stimulate higher education among girls in the State.

It applied compulsion only to one sex, and that, in their opinion, to the wrong one.

If His Highness had to make education compulsory, they declared, he should have done so either for both boys and girls; or if

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it had to be applied only to one sex, compulsion should have been limited to males. Their minds worked along that line partly because, as I have already written, education had only an economic value for them and partly because purdah was rigid among the higher classes in that corner of India and even the common people aped the aristocrats in that matter.

But in thinking in that way they had overlooked one of the main reasons that had impelled Bhagvat Sinhjee to introduce that innovation. He felt that the uneven distribution of education between the two sexes exercised a prejudicial effect upon society in general and held back progress in every sphere of life. He was, therefore, anxious to adjust the balance.

VIII

Before making up his mind to take such action, the Maharaja of Gondal sought carefully to anticipate all arguments that might be urged in favour of it as well as against it. It was no doubt true, he realized, for instance, that education would improve the earning capacity of any young man who took advantage of it.

There was however a similar consideration, on the opposite side, that he must not forget. As society was then regulated in his State, boys acquired an economic value and actually took their place in the economic world even before they had entered their teens.

That was unfortunate for the boys. It was still more unfortunate for the body politic. But it was none the less a fact. He was too much of a practical administrator to shut his eyes to it.

For generations untold the farmers, who constituted the bulk of the population of his State, had been dependent upon the labour of their sons in agricultural operations. It was therefore only to be expected that they would be greatly disturbed by any attempt upon his part that might deprive them of such assistance.

Girls, too, rendered themselves generally useful at home and sometimes even in the fields: but they could be spared from such tasks relatively with greater ease than their brothers. They were not an integral part of the economic system at any rate, not to the same degree. They therefore could be sent to school with less disturbance to the family's output than boys.

IX

In the then existing social conditions in the State, a girl's education may or may not have an economic value. But it had a social value that could not be exaggerated.

She, in time, would bear children and the children would be under her almost undivided influence during the most impressionable years of their lives. If her mind were enlightened they would imbibe education as they had fed at her breast, or were dandled at her knee or tugged at her *sari* as she went about performing her daily tasks.

A girl who was educated might therefore well mean a whole family uplifted whereas a boy who attended school might only mean that a single individual had acquired knowledge. That was a point that no administrator truely interested in his people's welfare could afford to ignore in framing an educational programme for his State.

Knowing the people as he did, Bhagvat Sinhjee, moreover, felt that the boys in villages and towns alike would intensely dislike being left behind by the girls in the educational race. Pride would impel them to strive to obtain at least as good a mental equipment as their sisters and their wives to be.

If perchance such pride were lacking, a girl who had passed through the portals of a school would not be likely to be enthusiastic at the prospect of being tied for life to an unlettered yokel. Her outlook upon that subject would tend to influence boys to attend school.

Arguing along these lines the Ruler of Gondal issued, in 1917, a notification making education compulsory for girls and left the question of extending it to boys to a later date.

X

To minimize any risks involved in compelling girls belonging to conservative classes to attend school, the Maharaja asked his educational officials to tour about the villages and explain the motives that had led him to take that action. They were to go from

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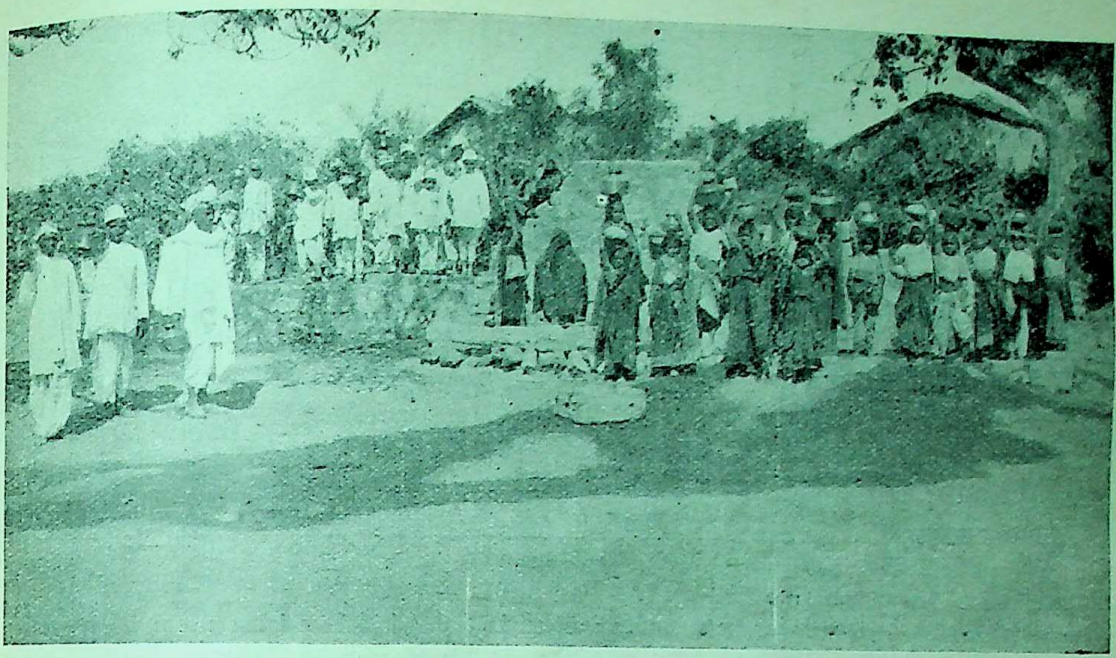

Copyright photograph by St. Nihal Singh.

Every village school in Gondal must have a garden tended by the pupils and teachers. The photograph shows a group of boys and girls and some of the teachers carrying water in brass pots from the village well, just across the road, to water the plants in the school garden.

house to house, from field to field, and have heart-to-heart talks with the cultivators. They were to listen patiently to every objection, however trivial it might appear, that might be raised against the scheme and answer it to the best of their ability. By gentle suasion fears were to be allayed, opposition was to be disarmed and support secured for making the venture successful.

A fine of one anna for every day a girl was absent from school had been provided: but it was to be imposed only in cases of extreme obduracy upon the part of a parent. Duress as an instrument of social reform did not appeal to his Highness. He preferred to win the people over to his way of thinking by the reasonableness of his demand—by the strength of his argument—the justice of his cause.

XI

So well was the ground prepared for the experiment that it proved a success almost from the very beginning. The number of girls attending schools increased year by year throughout the State.

At the end of the year prior to the one in which the element of compulsion had been introduced there were only 891 girls attending all the schools of the State. The number of boys was 5,371. For every girl receiving instruction there were roughly six boys. Alarming disparity, indeed!

The fiat of the Ruler making primary education compulsory evoked such response that at the close of the next year the number of girls had risen to 4,101. The number had almost quadrupled during twelve months.

That decree also had, as the Maharaja had anticipated, the effect of stimulating the education of boys. Their number, too, rose to 5,821—say by one-twelfth.

These were pleasing indications. The plan was not being resisted. It was, in fact, succeeding even better than he had dared to hope.

The author of the scheme was however not used to resting on his oars. He had all his life subjected his emotions to rigid control and was not easily elated. Instead of being content with the steady progress that was being achieved he began thinking of expedients that would accelerate it.

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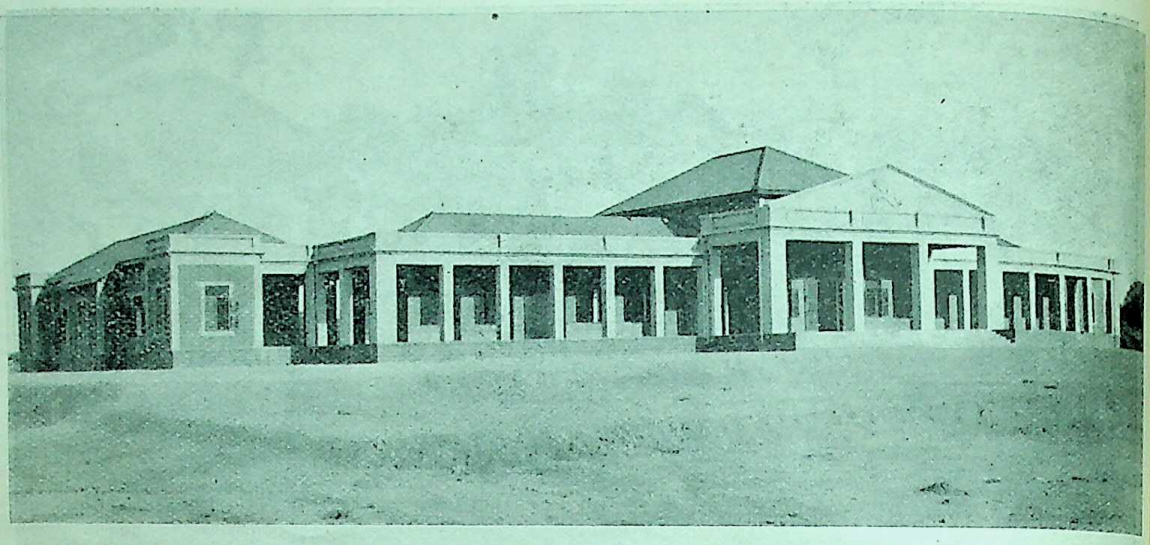

Copyright photograph by St. Nihal Singh.

A village school in Gondal, just completed. Built on land that had been lying waste, it is so solidly constructed that no recurring expense will be required except the annual whitewashing. It contains large, well-lit, well-ventilated class-rooms for boys and girls and affords ample space for gardens and playgrounds.

XII

One of the ideas that he adopted, some years later, was to give a turn to education that would be of special benefit to his people and would therefore have a pecular appeal to them. They were mostly farmers, living in the country districts. In that matter India was reproduced in miniature in his State. It stood to reason therefore that if education was to be of any great value in Gondal it must be suited to rural tastes and serve rural needs.

Such a type of education would be doubly useful. It would provide the future citizens with a mental equipment that they would find of great material and moral utility. It would, in addition, put a period to the process that was constantly gnawing at the rural population.

No trouble had been taken to provide this kind of education in that part and even perhaps in other parts of India. Schooling was, in consequence, doing much harm—and not good—whether regarded from the point of view of the individual or of society as a whole. It turned the growing boy into a stranger to the very place of the birth.

Instead of inspiring him with love for the peaceful, simple environment in which he had his being, it made him peculiarly susceptible t the lure of city lights and city excitements Instead of making him a better farmer, wh could grow two grains of wheat—two pod of cotton—where only one was produce before, and something of a business man, wh showed discernment in chosing his crops an in effecting their sale, it implanted in him th "urge" to seek clerical work, so ill-paid as t chain him to a narrow unhealthy existenc in a city slum.

Education should have fostered in th young man gratitude towards his parents wh had made it possible for him to acquire i It, on the contrary, made him an upstart. H considered himself to be far superior to h "elders."

I have spoken advisedly of the boy, rath than of the girl. The physical, domesti social and moral needs of women had hard been in the minds of men who original designed schemes of study. Some effort ha been made during recent years to take the into account: but the result had bee haphazard.

No wonder that schooling often left th real girl largely untouched. It had hardl more effect upon her than water on a duck back. Or else it disquieted her and mad

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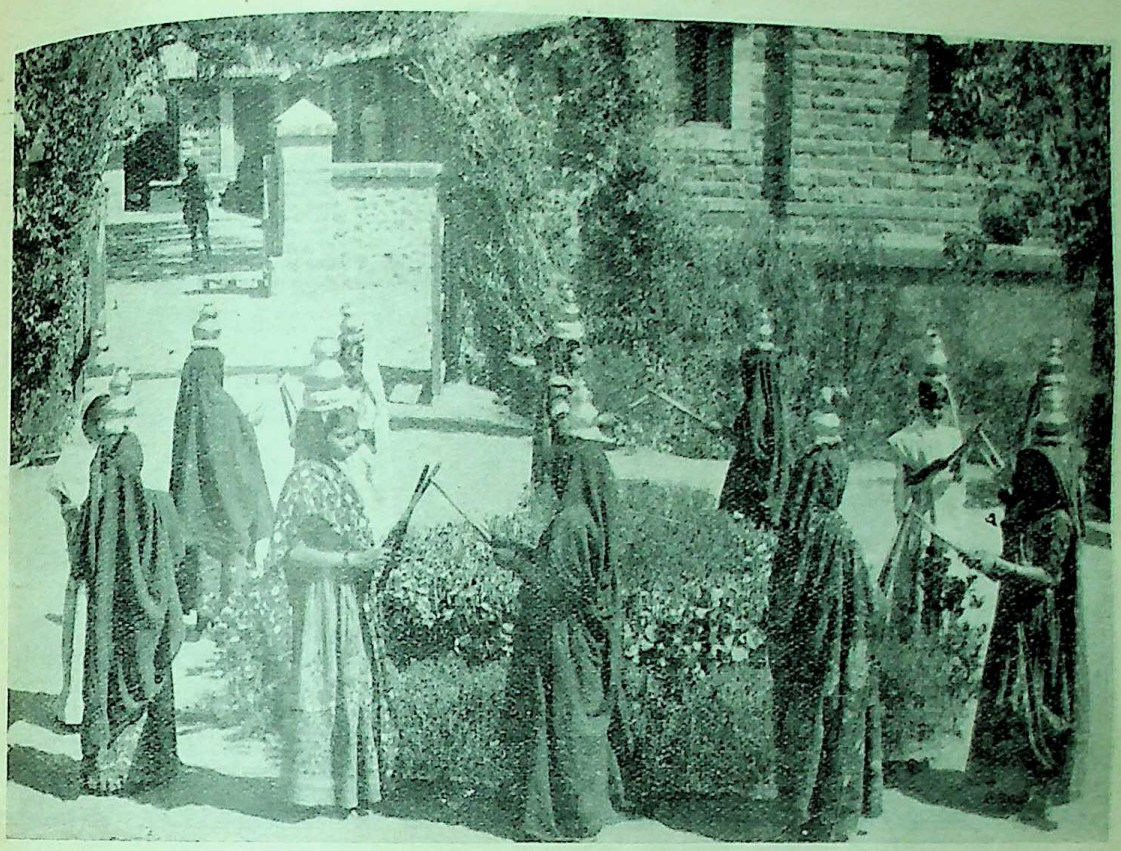

Copyright photograph by St. Nihal Singh.

Girls performing the *rasa* in a village school garden in Gondal, as did the milkmaids of Brindaban in Krishna's time. His Highness the Maharaja believes that physical exercise should be obtained without costly apparatus and with this object in view he has introduced the centuries-old Indian dances and games in the schools of his State instead of Western drill.

her a disturbing factor in the family and the village in which her life was cast.

Shri Bhagvat Sinhjee decided to alter the system so that the girls and boys who had received education would fit better into their natural surroundings. By so doing he would not only increase individual efficiency and happiness but would also remove the main objection that the farmers had to sending their children to school. As soon as they became convinced that their boys and girls would not become divorced from their rural surroundings and drift to the cities they would, he was convinced, whole-heartedly co-operate with him in filling the school houses to their utmost capacity.

To carry out the idea was not easy. Elsewhere efforts had been made to give a "rural bias" to education : but the results had not been brilliant.

Shri Bhagvat Sinhjee did not let the fear of possible failure deter him from making the attempt. It finally necessitated the entire recasting of the scheme of studies and the compilation of a set of text-books for use in the schools in his State.

XIII

I have not the space to enter into details. Nor would details be of interest to the general reader.

Suffice it to say that some of the subjects considered essential elsewhere were, upon careful examination, found to be not of sufficient importance to be retained in the curriculum. Their elimination meant, for one thing, the shortening of the total school period by one whole year. The release of the children one year earlier from the school appealed to the peasants.

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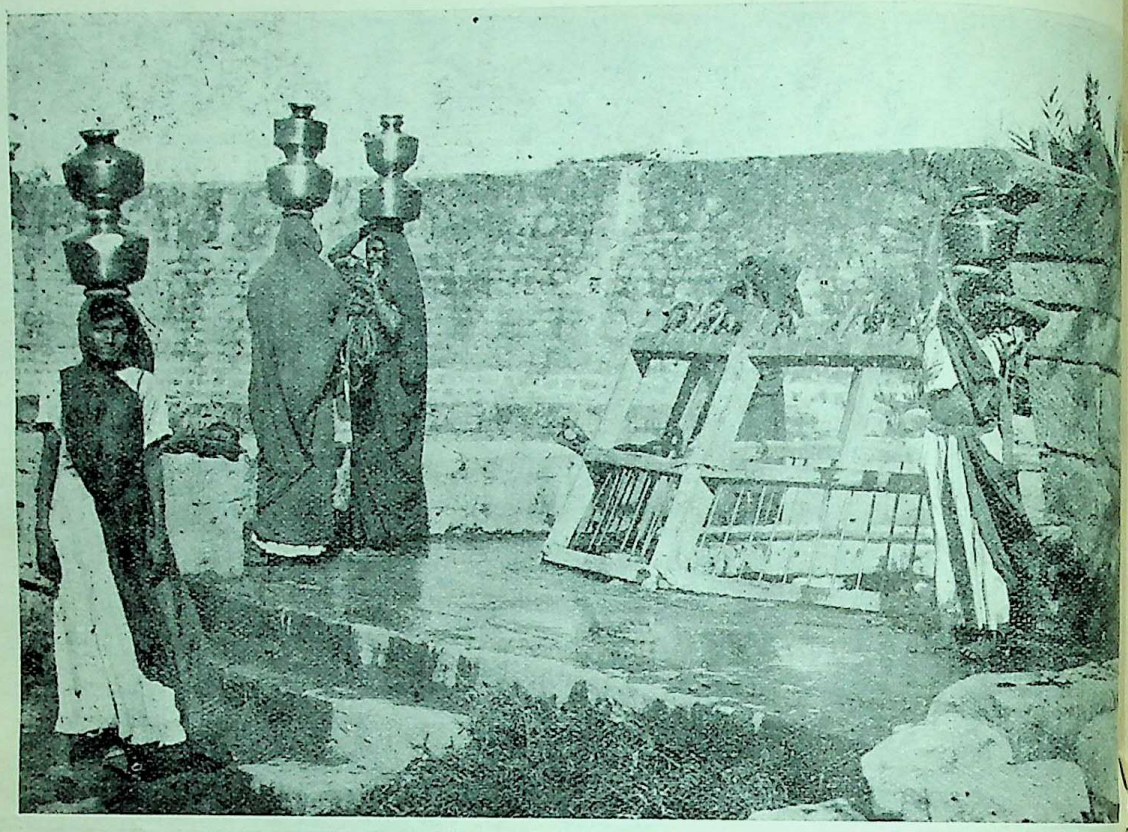

Copyright photograph by St. Nihal Singh.

Women at the well in a Gondal village. Here as everywhere else in India the well is the "woman's club," where they meet and exchange friendly gossip and keep in intimate touch with one another.

The girls were made free just at a time when they could be useful in the home. What was still more important, education would not stand in the way of their marriage, especially in view of the fact that the marriage age was rising in the State.

The boys, too, would leave school when they could do almost a man's work. Their parents could have the benefit of their toil in the fields without fear of interference from the educational authorities.

The shortening of the school period was not deemed so important however as to preclude the State from adding to the curriculum a few subjects that it considered vital to rural well-being. One of these was gardening.

Shri Bhagvat Sinhjee insisted that each school should be set in a garden plot and that this plot should be kept in as good a condition as possible by the pupils and teachers. The soil of Gondal, while fertile, is dry and the rainfall scanty. The culti tion of annuals and even perennials invo therefore back-breaking toil. Prizes exhibition were founded to stimulate endea in this direction.

XIV

The "readers" specially compiled for in the schools also contained matter exto the glory of country life and the mother Here is a piece selected from one of them

> Saurashtra,* the favourite land of the Krishna,† is a gem upon the earth. Her vegetation soothes the eye....Beauty dwells i trees and streams. . . . How I love to roam the green pastures. . . .
> Many living streams flow over the bree Saurashtra. Their banks witness every d assemblage of birds chirping as they ligh upon the low-bent branches of trees.

* The ancient name of Kathiawar.

† Lord Krishna built Dwarkapuri on the we most point of Kathiawar and also that of and died near Veraval in the southern part Peninsula.

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Here the farmers sing rustic songs and pastoral ballads. The young folk play in the cool shade of the tamarind and *nim* trees. They engage in various rural games—hockey, hide-and-seek, wrestling and the like. Some amuse themselves by showing their sleight of hand tricks, some defeat their rivals by their agility in running. . . . The hearts of the aged rejoice as they watch the innocent frolics of the boys.

The banyan tree spreads its long, protecting arms over the outskirts of the village. The votive clay memorials immortalizing the name of heroes of gone-by days rest at its roots. These men achieved deathless fame in defending the rural settlement against incursions of wild tribes of plunderers. They set before themselves the ideal:

"This is our native land. These are our fellows. So long as rich, red blood flows in our veins, we will never suffer any one to offer indignity to our Motherland."

None of the villagers thinks of abandoning the village in quest of lucre. The surplus milk is presented to guests. The women work at the spinning wheel during the day. Their toil removes dependence. They have no time to waste in scandal-mongering or conceiving evil thoughts and designs to ruin their neighbours. Their life belies the libel that women lack intelligence. They are horrified at even the shadow of sin."

XV

These expedients have been successful in forcing the pace of literacy—especially among the so-called "weaker" sex. Nor has the fruit that has resulted from education been disappointing.

A new spirit is already beginning to manifest itself in the homes. Children are being better taken care of. It is patent that compulsion will not have to be applied to ensure the youngsters that are being born to the young educated mothers the advantages of schooling.

Statistics officially gathered for the State give a clear indication of the change that is taking place. 3.2 per cent of the female population in Gondal was at school in 1925. The percentage for Bombay was only 2.25.

The pace of feminine literacy has certainly been forced. The figures pertaining to male literacy make that fact particularly clear.

The percentage in Gondal was 6 while in Bombay it was 8.56. But for the compulsory element introduced by the Maharaja Shri Bhagvat Sinhjee, Gondal would have been behind Bombay in respect of girls' education instead of being well in advance of that Presidency.

Courge pays in administration as it does in other spheres of life. India lags behind in the world-race because most of her rulers are, I fear, content with discharging the purely routine type of administration or are disposed to be timorous. Administrators who, while refusing to be rash, will take all the risks necessary in the interests of advancement can alone help our people to come up to the level of other nations in respect of literacy.

BUDDHA'S HERMITAGE

By K. P. JAYASWAL

1. At Rajagriha the Sakyamuni Buddha lived in a hill hermitage called Gridhrakuta. It became something like his permanent preaching place towards the latter part of his career:

"*When Tathagata had guided the world for some fifty years, he dwelt much in this mountain, and delivered the excellent law in its developed form.*" —Yuan Chwang (Beal's Translation of the *Si-yu-ki*, ii-153).

The place is so much associated with the Great Teacher that Fa Hien was moved to tears when he visited the place (*Travels*, p. 83).

2. The Hill was identified by Cunningham, but he could find none of the cave-houses described by the two Chinese pilgrims. After Cunningham serious exploration of the Rajgir sites has been practically given up by the Archaeological Survey of India. Fortunately public interest has increased, and something is being done by that new motive. And the discovery of the actual hermitage of the Sakyamuni, we owe to that individual public interest.

Last August Mr. P. C. Chaudhuri, a member of the Indian Civil Service, posted

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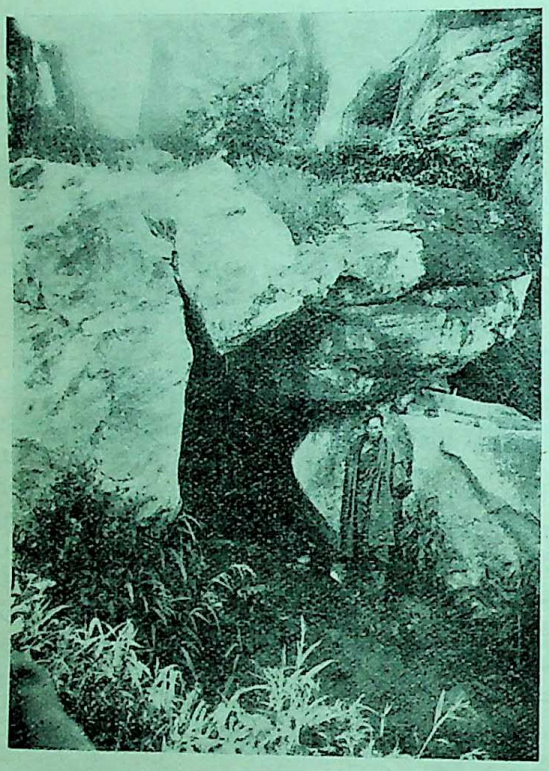
in charge of the Bihar Sub-division of the Patna District, invited me to see the caves which he along with a Burmese monk (Rev. Kaundinya) had discovered. The location fully agreed with the description left by the Chinese pilgrims. Several caves had been cleared and three were discovered and cleared in my presence, making a total of about 11 or 12. I shall briefly describe their characteristics.



A Cave discovered by Mr. P. C. Chaudhuri and Rev. Kaundinya.

From the foundations of the old palaces of Bimbisara discovered and surveyed by the late V. H. Jackson, a road branches off to the east, which has been recently improved by the Burmese monk Kaundinya. Beyond a rivulet an ancient road about 2 miles long, 12 or 14 ft. wide, built of rocks in the manner of the fortification walls on the Rajgir Hills, that is, without any mortar, leads up to the Southern Hill over a narrow valley. On the way there are two groups of ancient bricks, marking the sites of two *stupas*. There is no doubt that the road is the same which the Chinese accounts note as the road built by Bimbisara. There is a ravine in of the southern ridge which was up in the same ashlar style, served as a deep reservoir. One range hills stands on the north and the other south, the two being connected on the The reservoir is in the middle just below southern range. The caves are situated the face of the southern range. They are natural, but have been improved artificially having been in places walled up in the same as the Rajgir fortifications. About six of are fairly large and others small. In one of caves there is an ascetic bed made in bricks, and in that cave an image of Buddha was installed, fragments of which still to be seen. One fragment bearing inscription in the script of the 10th century A. D. has been presented by Mr. Chaudhuri to the Patna Museum. It is evident that of these caves which are almost in a was occupied by the Buddha. One cave roof of which has now collapsed, was connected with a south-facing cave, like the described by the Chinese pilgrims as Buddha's cave. A large, beautiful valley to the south and the range or rather the stands abruptly above it. On the top of caves there was a monastery where an was discovered last year but since stolen the dealers of Bihar. A brick, bearing a in Chinese, was discovered there. It has presented by Mr. Chaudhuri to the Museum. Several small things and marked coins have also been found To the east on the summit of the mountain remains of a large *stupa* or temple in are to be found. I had last month bricks brought to the Patna Museum from latter site, and one from the top of the All these bear Brahmi letters and arrow-marks indicating the right direction to the One Brahmi letter seems to have a mark in the style of Bhattiprolu would mean that the writing at Rajgir be several centuries older than Asoka. brick letters will be soon published. letters were inscribed before the bricks burnt.

I give here photographs of some caves.

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Interior of a cave having a masonry bed and the broken remains of an image of the Buddha.

The description of Yuan Chwang (Beal, i. 153-55) fully corresponds with some details still in *situ, e. g.*,

> "The summit of this mountain is long from the east to the west and narrow from north to south. There is a brick *Vihara* on the borders of a steep precipice at the western end...the door opens to the east."

This is the *Vihara* on the top of the group of caves overlooking the valley to the south.

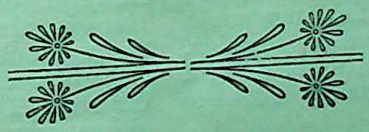
The cave of the Buddha would be the one facing south below the monastery.

According to Fa Hien (p. 83) these caves had been in existence before the time of the Buddha. The *Arhats* and others had used them.

Yuan Chwang's biographer says that "*the mountain is a connected succession of ridges, the northern peak. . . . is in shape like a vulture*" (p. 114). This is true. The northern portion of the ridge does look like a vulture.

Here we have remains going to and beyond the time of the Buddha. Some of the brick buildings were certainly contemporary with the Buddha, and the Chinese authors have recorded true archæological information that they were built by Bimbisara. This seems to be confirmed by the inscribed bricks.

Gridhrakuta Caves. Taken from the hill opposite. (Dark spots are cave-mouths)



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A PLANET AND A STAR

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

The White City

XVIII

IN the silence and solitude of the sky Maruchi fell to musing aloud for he was a thinker by nature and habit. 'I am thinking,' he said, 'that what we have seen so far is neither very extraordinary nor quite unexpected. The human beings that we have seen are very much like ourselves. There is of course some difference, but that is because nature does not duplicate and merely repeat itself. In some respects the people that we have seen are superior to us, in others they may be inferior. The wild forest people we have just left are not quite like the savages on our planet and would be a most interesting study for tracing the descent of man on this planet. We have seen highly magnetic men and at least one woman who are charged like an electric battery and whom we can touch only at our peril. For that matter, there are fish on the earth that can give an electric shock that would kill a horse and render a man unconscious for a time. Of the achievement of science we have got a valuable specimen in our possession. We have seen horses that still retain a stunted growth of their original wings. The human institutions that we have seen are excellent. There may be others not quite so good. And we have still to see Raba which may be more wonderful than our volcanic mountains. You, Sahir and Orlon, are both observant men. What are your impressions? Are you satisfied or disappointed?'

Orlon was also thoughtful, but he answered without hesitation. 'No, I am not disappointed. Ours is not a quixotic quest and we are not looking for wonders. Neither do miracles happen in nature. What we saw at Opi has convinced us of the possiblities of psychic powers. It was no magic, no display of hypnotic powers. The people there seek no publicity. What we saw was a privilege and not a show. There are undoubtedly spiritual powers latent in some if not all of us to which we have given no thought. We have not seen enough of this new world to be able to form a comprehensive opinion. But our adventure has been well worth the risk and the trouble. We have certainly added to the store of our knowledge.'

'Orlon is right,' I observed, 'for he has reason on his side. We would have been disappointed if we were looking out for miracles and then we would have been foolish. If it could be possible to go round the whole universe we would find everywhere some sort of order, graduated scale of all things and not the confusion of topsy-turvydom.'

'Quite so,' continued Maruchi, 'nature does not delight in freaks as does the human imagination. There is enough of imaginary creatures and things in the Arabian Nights alone to fill seven planets with confusion and chaos. By exercising his gift of imagination man fancies himself to be another creator. But most of the creations of the human imagination is mere patchwork. A cherub is a fine, fat human child with a pair of wings clapped on its back. The sculptors of Nineveh, the artists who carved the winged bulls had seen both bulls and wings. In imagination we can people whole worlds with fantastic creatures. The human mind is incapable of imagining what the eye has not seen. All the imaginary beings of ancient times, the centaurs and satyrs, the fauns and nymphs, the genii and angels were shaped out of living creatures that the human eye had seen. Half man and half horse, half man and half goat, half woman and half fish, this is how monsters and supernatural beings were conceived. The wonders of the imagination are nothing more than the creation of impossible hybrids. Similarly, an imaginary heaven and hell were fashioned of materials that can be found upon earth. The imagination may play pranks that will hurt nobody since it deals only with unrealities. The romancers and poets have filled other worlds and planets with grotesque and amazing beings we may admire their inventiveness, but we understand all the time that their fancies are not real and need not be taken seriously.

It cannot be denied that nature's powers of invention are inexhaustible, but the ordering of the universe follows certain fixed and immutable laws and there is nothing like caprice and an irresponsible riot of the imagination anywhere. We know the conditions under which life can exist and the law of production by fertilisation. There is also the law of the inevitable change that we call death. It is quite conceivable that under other conditions the existence of life may be different. The principles of anatomy and physiology may be different, nourishment may be derived from sources other than those known to us, there may be other methods of production besides the the mating of the sexes and there may be intelligence of a different kind from what we possess. At the same time, there

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a rigid uniformity in all the laws of nature that cannot be violated. Among these is the law of progressive evolution. In this process we find that man possesses the highest intelligence and our cousins on this planet resemble us closely. But we have no right to assert that the evolution of intelligence ends with man. We have constantly to guard against the presumption that the progress of the universe is limited by our knowledge and intelligence. The similiarity between the Earth and Mars has been suspected for a long time and we have been fortunate enough to verify it with our own eyes. But what are two insignificant little planets in the cosmogomy of creation? What do we know of the vastness of created objects that we call the universe? On some peopled planets unknown to us the beginning of intelligence may mark the end of human intelligence on earth. I do not say that we have come to the end of the evolution of the human race, but there is nothing in nature to prevent the existence of other races as superior to us as we are to the brute creation. We speak of a sixth sense as a figure of speech but why should it not exist as a reality among another race of which we have no knowledge? In imagining higher beings we always think of physical novelties, of the nimbus round the head, the wings on the back and the ethereality of the figure. Nature would have no difficulty in creating a brain compared to which ours would be as elementary as that of a mollusc. Of course the physical shape and figure cannot be ignored for they must conform to the mental equipment, but beauty of face and figure is not a necessary indication of a high and benevolent order of intelligence, for a man with the head and features of an Apollo may be a callous and hardened criminal. If we must imagine things why cannot we imagine the existence of a race to whom the possession of an extraordinary insight and intelligence may be a congenital gift, who may know by intuition what we learn by much patient study and research, and whose pursuit of knowledge may comprehend things of which we have never dreamed?'

Maruchi paused and Ganimet butted in. 'I don't know about beings superior to ourselves. We have not seen anything here like our machine. Our race appears to be a long way ahead in the invention of machinery.'

'Yes,' grimly retorted Maruchi, 'there was a time when our ancestors thought of making mechanical men and women. They thought in machines. Haven't you read of the Robots, the machine-made things like men and women, which moved about, did some mechinical work and which had steel wires for brains and motors for hearts? Men had the audacity to believe that they could make creatures like themselves of metal instead of flesh and blood. Fortunately, the danger of the machanisation of the whole race was perceived in time and wild and universal experimentation was strictly prohibited. Mechanical inventions are now confined to a certain number of selected men and that is why we have such superior machinery now. How would you like to have a wife of shining steel, eh, Ganimet?'

Ganimet was silenced and Maruchi proceeded, 'The difficulty is that we cannot move forward harmoniously all along the line, or rather different lines. The earliest thinkers of the human race, and they were among the greatest that our world has known, concerned themselves mostly with abstract problems and the questionings of the spirit. Then followed the reaction and man gave all his thoughts to material things, inventions and discoveries, the fashioning of machinery and mechanical contrivances, the employment for his own purpose of the mysterious and inexplicable agencies of nature. The result was apparent in the spiritual decadence of the race, the limiting of our vision to things right in front of our nose and the loss of a sense of perspective of the higher things in our nature. Whenever man is wrapped up in earthly things he drags himself down to the level of the earth. When he prides himself upon his powers of invention he forgets that inventiveness is not creativeness. He can create nothing and all that he can do is to make use of materials that already exist. If he manufactures steam and electricity and harnesses them in his service he does not create them any more than he creates the iron from which steel is made, or the cotton and wool out of which he makes his clothing.

Of all living things on earth man alone has the faculty of star-gazing. Most other creatures never look up at the sky. A dog bays at the moon not because it is in any way interested in that satellite, but because it lifts up its head when baying and a dog howls on a dark night as well as on a moonlit one. A lion or tiger roars with its mouth close to the ground to intensify the repercussion. A vulture or an eagle soars high up in the sky but its eyes are always seeking for carrion or prey upon which it may swoop down. It is man alone who is curious about the heavenly bodies and it is this curiosity that has brought us here. But it is not by such mechanical flights or a multiplicity of inventions that human nature is uplifted. There is an unseen ladder of the spirit of which the top cannot be reached but which we must keep steadily mounting if we wish to rise higher in the region of the spirit.'

'Does not the quest of the spirit,' I asked, 'lead towards mysticism, and is it not also a fact that the pursuit of science inclines the mind towards agnosticism, if not atheism?'

'It all depends upon how you look at these things. A properly balanced mind will not shy either at mysticism or agnosticism. Let us insist upon the absolute fearlessness of thought and the uttermost frankness of expression. The

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man who deliberately seeks to mystify an issue or who hides his meaning in a mist of words is not a mystic. A real mystic is one whom we can respect though it may be difficult to understand him without an effort. He has thought more and learned more than we have. We are mystified because we have not reached his level. Would not an ignorant villager be completely mystified by this machine? Would you for that reason call Nabor and Ganimet mystics? It is immaterial whether we are referring to mechanism or spirit-realism. And as for mystery are we not hemmed in by it on all sides? The seen and the unseen, the known and the unknown are all full of mystery. Because there are certain laws that we understand, certain things that can be explained it does not follow that mystery ceases to be the predominant note throughout creation. The realm of the unknown must always remain larger than the area of the known and mystery is inseparable from that which is unknown. Real mysticism is the veil which is all around us and which man ever seeks to penetrate, occasionally with some success but more often in vain.

What is called agnosticism is in reality nothing more than a confession of ignorance, the inability to lift the veil that baffles us everywhere. This is an attitude which may be commended for its honesty, but it is less easy to understand the position of an atheist. To emphasise a negative is merely a trick of rhetoric. When an atheist vehemently denies the existence of God or a First Cause he merely pits a negation against an affirmation. But the pose of an atheist is sometimes ludicrously silly. Take the case of the man who took out his watch and placed it on a table and scoffingly declared, "If there is a God let Him strike me dead in five minutes." When the five minutes were over he triumphantly announced, "That proves that there is no God." Evidently that man expected God to obey his order and to launch a thunderbolt at him within the stipulated time. The believers in the deity being in an overwhelming majority the unbeliever makes himself important by blatant theatricality. Men who are absorbed in the pursuit of science frequently drift away from belief in a creator because they can find nothing behind the laws of nature and material phenomena. But can any one deny the existence of an all-pervading Energy which is the mainspring of all phenomena? If one closes his eyes and denies the existence of the sun in the heavens it means the temporary blindness of that man and not the non-existence of the sun. It is perfectly true that there is no optical evidence of the Deity as there is of the sun, but the evidence of the eyes is not always conclusive and sometimes it is even deceptive. A merely negative frame of mind leads us nowhere. Positive phenomena cannot be explained by a negative cause. If we content ourselves by attributing everything to some law of nature is the whole creation explained by number of blind forces unilluminated by intelligence? Can an unintelligent law produce an intelligent being? We men pride ourselves on being the lords of creation while we know very little of creation. We never dream of stultifying ourselves by admitting that we are devoid of intelligence and yet we unhesitatingly assert that the power or the engery or the law that creates us and which has created the universe is destitute of intelligence. Is not this rank sophistry? We may rightly plead ignorance of the nature of the ultimate power behind creation, we may justly confess our inability to comprehend it but on what grounds can we deny the very existence of such a Power?

Let us for the movement leave out of consideration the wonders and the magnitude of creation. Take merely the singular complexity of human nature. When a great dramatist skilfully portrays various characters, brings out their several traits in the movement of the drama, when he depicts the strength and weakness of man and woman, shows us the hero and the villain, the currents and undercurrents of motive and action, paints with the haud of a master the glowing light of love, the red of wrath and the purple of passion we are lost in admiration of the genius that created such vivid and life-like pictures of human nature. Do we look upon the dramatist as a man of superior intelligence or one lacking intelligence? And what are the portraits of fiction and drama compared to the realities of human nature? Was there ever such a strange conglomeration of contradictions, so strange a medley of good and evil, such smug and boundless self-complacence? The ugliest man in the world is perfectly satisfied with his features when he looks at the glass. No man or woman can discover any blemish in himself or herself. Not one in a thousand is capable of forming an accurate and impartial estimate of himself. The prickings of conscience are rarely felt, its still small voice is easily stifled. Every living human being is buoyed up with a curious sense of superiority. In their hearts of hearts very few men admit that they are inferior to any other men. The clown with the tinkling fool's cap on his head considers himself as important a personage as a king with a crown. Physicaliy we are all shaped alike. No man can be mistaken for another. The natures of no two men are absolutely alike. Is this endless variety in the midst of a certain similarity the outcome of a blind, blundering Law unendowed with reason? The power that has constituted human nature is not only exceptionally intelligent but must have a rare sense of humour, for who except a great humorist could have created the mind of man, so entirely satisfied with itself and perfectly unconscious of any blemishes? And to complete the comedy

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dictoriness of human nature man is obsessed with an idea of permanence in the midst of impermance, He goes about the functions of life as if he had all eternity at his disposal. Thoughts of the uncertainty of life do not cause him the slightest uneasiness or hesitation. He builds out of the dust great edifices which he thinks will last for all time and all his plans are made without regard for the brevity of the span of life. And all the time Death stalks behind him, silent-footed and keen-eyed, waiting for the hour to strike when he will put forth his hand to snatch the man away from the midst of life. To deny the existence of an all-knowing, all understanding Deity is to deny ourselves even a glimmer of intelligence.'

Maruchi was in a mood of introspection and exaltation.

XIX

Presently, Maruchi's mood changed and he began talking of the next objective of our flight. 'We have so far,' he said, 'been keeping to our time table and following a prearranged programme. Our first descent was at Opi about which of course we knew nothing, but we were lucky in finding the monastery. Since then we have been moving about according to schedule. At Sipri we had a splendid time and the visit to the forest was also on our programme. We have been in clover all along, and have not yet met anything that may be called a real adventure. We intend visiting other places of which we have been told, but why not also drop down on a place about which we have heard nothing ?'

'We would like nothing better,' said Orlon, his eyes brightening.

'I know,' responded Maruchi, 'you fellows are the real stuff and will not turn your backs on anything. Let us alight at the first large town we come across.

'Agreed', briefly replied Orlon.

We were flying very fast and had left the forest several hundred miles behind us. We passed over the cultivated fields and hamlets dotted over the landscape, placid lakes shining and smooth like glass, broad rivers with sweeping curves, the flowing waters glistening in the sunlight. The day was waning and there was about an hour to sunset. In front of us at a distance of about a hundred miles was a long range of low hills and beyond that the faint outlines of the white towers of a large city with the sun slowly sinking behind it. Maruchi looked at it through his glasses and directed Nabor to make for it. As we approached nearer we took up the glasses which Maruchi had passed to us and were at once struck by the primness and precision by which the city had been designed. Close to the hills were what looked like a number of villas surrounded by well laid out gardens, and from these ran a straight wide road to the city. It was a white city and all the buildings were painted a bright white. The city was in the form of a square enclosed within four walls which formed a perfect square. The walls were about twenty feet high and about seven feet broad at the top. There were square watch-towers at a uniform distance from one another. There were four gates in the four walls exactly in the middle of each. The figure of a square was rigorously maintained everywhere. All the houses were in the form of squares and they were all very much alike, the difference being only in the size of the squares. The streets were straight and crossed one another at right angles. From the air we could see that the city was divided into sixteen equal squares with a square park in each. People of both sexes were sauntering in the parks. Maruchi told Nabor to select the park which was least crowded and to alight very carefully. Circling slowly over the city Nabor discovered that one of the parks was nearly deserted. There were no promenaders and only a few couples were seated in some arbours. Nabor silently and softly alighted in the middle of the park.

Nabor was directed to remain at his post but the rest of us descended to the grass and looked around. As we did so a tall and strongly built man wearing a kind of uniform stepped out from the shade of a tree and accosted us gruffly in some language which we could not understand. Maruchi replied in the language which we had learned at Opi and Sipri that we were travellers and he mentioned the name of the Damato. The watch or policeman shook his head, took up a horn that was dangling at his side and blew a loud blast upon it. In an incredibly short time eight or ten other men wearing similar uniforms came up at the double. At their head was a man who looked like an officer and who happened to know the language we had learned to speak. The dialogue that took place between him and Maruchi was highly interesting.

The officer asked, 'By which gate did you enter the city ?'

Maruchi replied, 'We did not enter the city by any gate. We came down from the sky.'

The officer did not show his astonishment by so much as the flicker of an eyelid. He merely said, 'But that is not permitted. You can only come into the city by one of the gates. You are all under arrest.'

'On what charge ?'

'Trespass, and there may be other charges, for it may be an offence to pass over the city through the sky.'

'But we are ignorant and inoffensive travellers, and are known to the Damato of Sipri and the monks of Opi.'

'That does not concern us. You may tell your story to the Commander of the City. We

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must also take that thing that you have brought with you.' And he made a move towards the machine.

This was getting serious. They might drag the machine about and damage it seriously. Maruchi shouted out an order to Nabor. The machine was fitted with thin copper wires that ran around the frame in parallel lines and which could be charged with electricity by merely pressing down a switch and there was a regulator for the voltage. Maruchi quickly followed the officer and warned him not to touch the machine as it was dangerous to do so. The man looked at Maruchi with contemptuous incredulity and went up and laid his hand upon the machine. The next instant he was reeling back, trembling from head to foot, with his eyes bulging out of his head and beads of perspiration on his forehead. Meanwhile Maruchi had surreptitiously pulled out a pair of thin rubber gloves and drawn them over his fingers, without being noticed by any of the men who had rushed to the help of their officer with a cry of dismay. As the shock was not a severe one the officer soon recovered and Maruchi told him that the warning should not have been disregarded. Next he himself went up leisurely to the machine and laid his hand upon it with perfect unconcern and of course without any ill effect. The officer and his men stared at Maruchi and ourselves somewhat shaken out of their stolidity. They must have been convinced that we were wizards and what they had just seen was our magic. They did not again attempt to touch the machine or approach it very close, but neither had they any intention of leaving us alone. The officer ordered us to accompany them to the Commander.

Maruchi turned towards us. 'We can ask Nabor to switch off the current and we can board the machine and leave this place. These men will never venture to lay their hands upon the machine again. Or, we may go with these men and see the matter through. I do not believe there is any actual danger. What do you say?'

We said we would not run away without seeing something of the place. 'We shall perhaps see only the four walls of a prison,' grumbled Ganimet but he would not be left behind. Maruchi told the officer we were ready to accompany him to the Commander.

'The Commander of the White City,' co the officer.

We marched out of the park down a st street for some minutes, the officer and his marching in front and behind us. We t to the right and entered a large, square bu guarded by some men who were standing and lookiug straight in front of them. were taken into a bare room with some be and were told curtly to wait.

Orlon chuckled. 'This is something like adventure and we may find ourselves in a place.'

Ganimet was still gloomy. He said, we may find it difficult to get out.'

Maruchi was calmly looking about him. observed, 'We have been here only a little and we are not yet free to go about as we But have you noticed anything particular the people here?'

We had all done so. It was the utter ab of the feeling of curiosity. The guards and officers had practically asked us no que and had expressed no surprise at our h come through the air. On the street ver people had turned their heads to look at Whatever the feelings and weaknesses of people curiosity was not among them.

The officer who had arrested us came in beckoned to us to follow him. We p through two other rooms and found our in the presence of a large and stout man a round face and fierce mustachios and ferret-like eyes. He was rolling on some cu and looked up sharply as we entered. are you?' he interrogated sharply.

Maruchi courteously replied, 'We are trav from a distant country.'

'Why did you not seek admission at c the gates?'

'We were not aware that it was necessary we were flying through the air.'

'You are not birds or bats and we have heard that men can fly.'

'It is a new invention. By and by, others will be flying like ourselves.'

'Not in the White City. No innovation permitted here.'

Maruchi held his peace. The stout looked at a small, thin man who was sitti a corner turning over the pages of a very book. The Commander asked him, 'What punishment for flying over the White City?'

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BOOK REVIEWS

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ENGLISH

ETHICS.—*By Nicolai Hartmann, translated by amon Coit (Allen and Unwin), Vol. III. pp. 288.*

In this third and final volume of his Ethics, Hartmann makes a very substantial contribution he study of the problem of Freedom. Having ed the historical development of the problem d after removing a number of misconceptions out it, he proceeds to examine critically Kant's lution of it. But he thinks that the antinomy the causal nexus to which Kant drew our atten-on, is much less difficult to solve than the antinomy teleology. "In a world determined finalistically roughout," says he, "such as the later metaphysics der the spell of time-honoured prejudice accepted most unanimously, moral freedom is an im-ssibility" (p. 72).

To the question of 'proof' of freedom, he devotes complete section; and the ontological possibility freedom also is thoroughly investigated. But, as frankly admits, "a rigid proof of freedom of will nnot be given" (p. 246).

Besides, there are the antinomies between ethics d religion. Hartmann considers as many as five them. Religion, we are told, looks beyond this orld, whereas ethics is "wholly committed to this fe." Hartmann thinks that "by no compromise n this antinomy be solved" (p. 263). Again, thics is always concerned finally with man, religious ought with God." This also is a "complete, genuine tinomy, which for Reason is insoluble" (p. 264) with regard to the other antinomies. "In them that human insight here can see is an irrecon-able antithesis" (p. 274). But so far as this es, ethics, according to Hartmann, is not called on to remove the antagonism.

In spite of all these difficulties, however, Hartmann's nclusion is, as might be anticipated, that moral edom is a fact and that it is quite consistent with r idea of a world determined thoughout, mentally well as physically, by the law of causation. The ficulty of proof is no bar to our acceptance of edom as a fact.

While reviewing his first volume (*Modern Review*, June, 1932), we congratulated Prof. Hartmann on the freshness and vigour with which he presented his case. After a study of this last volume, we again congratulate him on the thoroughness with which he deals his subject. Perhaps he is not entirely free from obscurity; but this is partly due to the nature of the investigation he has undertaken, and partly it may be due to the fact that we are reading him in translation. But his general position is quite clear, his arguments are well arranged and his treatment of the subject as a whole is illuminating.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

WHAT IS MUSIC? DOES IT HELP EDUCATION?—*By Opendra Chandra Singh. Published by the Author from 13, Bechu Chatterjee St. Cal., pp. 39. Price As. 4.*

A few years back public opinion was not in favour of a taste for music. Most probably the associations of the music-teachers and the circumstances suitable for a comprehensive knowledge of music were not thought to be quite happy and desirable. But lately there has been a change in the angle of vision and public are interested to hear and have lessons in music with the result that it is now supposed to be an accomplishment rather than a fault.

This small book helps a great deal to clarify this fact. The author tries to show that the system of Indian music is based on scientific principles: It depends on the pitch-number, rhythm, simplicity and periodicity, quality, amplitude, intervals, etc. Apart from the existence of physical principles attention has been drawn to the aspect of music in the mental sphere.

The preference of a graver form of music to the lighter ones by some individual or *vice versa* deserves attention. The ideations and associations occurring in the mind together with a particular mood or bias present at a particular time have a direct bearing on a particular *musical interval* or *Rāga*. The habit also helps a great deal in producing the

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proper affective tone to the music irrespective of the conceptions and nomenclature of a particular system of music, although the author shows a certain degree of bias towards Indian music. The affective tone induced by the expressions along with the effect of language, if there be any, seems to satisfy the artistic side of music.

No one can deny the existence of a definite system and explanation along scientific lines but at least some of the master musicians of this country do not seem to be in a position to appreciate this. The belief is that they are in possession of a store of the black art like the alchemists of the old days and they fear to disclose the secret to the pupil. It is desirable at this stage that everybody should appreciate that there can be no end of perfection and knowledge in this department also. It is no over-estimation to state that (*i*) series of lessons arranged properly in order to develop visual kinaesthetic imageries in the student help a great deal in creating an insight into the grammar of *time-interval*—the *Tāl*. (*ii*) Apart from other physiological factors the undue strain which is generally put on the vocal cords is to be avoided and the importance and the resonance in the sinuses present in the skull which is probably helpful in producing good voice, should be taken into consideration.

The author points out the importance of the physiological condition of the body and especially the nerves with some change in the electric potentials during a song and he summarizes by saying that music is a sort of *Yoga* system. In Yoga there seems to be the effect of practice and the practice ripens into habit and this habit has something to do with the self-culture, a culture which, when fully developed, leads into divine salvation as also the realization of God.

Music has its origin in the Vedas and is supposed to be necessary for recitation of the divine hymns in general. This affinity of music with the religion creates a beneficial mental atmosphere to the students and there is no reason why the educated men should not appreciate this fact.

The author concludes by drawing the attention of the public to the evil of using tempered scale as a sort of standard for training up pupils. There are reasons to support this but without entering into an explanation one can reasonably state that the defects of using such a standard seem to outnumber the merits.

M. GANGULY

CANONS OF ORISSAN ARCHITECTURE: *By Nirmal Kumar Bose. R. Chatterji, 120-2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.*

By his rational method of investigation the author has succeeded in presenting a very useful guide to Indian architecture of the Orissan school. The author may well claim to have made a good beginning in the workable restoration of Indian architecture. Books like these will really revive the indigenous Indian spirit in architecture. So long the "Western Complex" had its way with authors of such books, and had retarded the natural study of Indian architecture from within. But this book is different to others and has clearly demonstrated the value of such study.

The chapters on classification of soils and disposition of water in the neighbourhood of a building,—though very cryptic—would give a modern engineer food for thought and whet his appetite for further study on the lines laid down in the books.

Although reasons are not given, the dim of the various parts of the structures and specifications for building work are quite sou not at all incompatible with the theory of str of the present day. In fact, a study of proportions would enable the modern archi introduce improvements in modern design.

B. N. De

HINDUSTANI PHONETICS: *A p Study of the Hindustani Language as spoken educated person of Hyderabad-Deccan: by S. G. uddin Qadri, M.A., Ph.D. (London): with an duction by Prof. Jules Bloch: Imprimerie L Typographique: Villeneuve, Saint Georges, pp. 116.*

Dr. Mohiuddin Qadri, of the Osmania Uni Hyderabad, Deccan, is one of a small band of scholars who are studying their mother-tongues a scientific point of view, and in this ex valuable little work we have what we may s first fruits of his labours in the field. With Jules Bloch of Paris, from whom (along wit R. L. Turner of London) the present gener linguistic and philological investigators of India h a considerable extent received and are receiving inspiration, everybody who would like Ind progress in science will feel glad that this firs in the direction of a phonetic description of H tani, which among Indian languages has es been an object of study all over the world, has taken by an Indian scholar who is by the wa Muslim. 'It is only fitting,' as Dr. Bloch obs 'that the sons of a land where the first methodical observations on pronunciation have made, and which can be said to be the foun phonetics, should take again a brilliant part same studies, which have recently been de in the West, by the use of instrumental me Bengali (in the standard form and in dialects), Sin Tamil, Marathi, Western Panjabi, Central P Eastern Panjabi, Shina, Malayalam, Awadhi, S and Telugu (and a few more, though to a extent) have already received more or less att from Indian and European scholars and phonetician it is gratifying to find the premier lang modern India—Hindustani—added to the do phonetic investigation by one whose mother it is.

Dr. Qadri's investigations into the begin Urdu literature are well-known—his *Urdu S* and his *Urdu-ke Asalib-i-Bayan* are indis books on the subject. He is also a literary c eminence in Urdu, and has also essayed imp literature in his historical story of *Tilasm-i-* Dr. Qadri studied phonetics in London where school of the science has grown up round Prof. Jones and his colleagues. In the phonetics labor Paris he took palatograms and kymographic so necessary for accurate phonetic observati London he prepared his thesis on Urdu, and won for him the Doctorate in Philosophy of the sity of London. It was a happy thought to without delay this little work on the so sound-habits of one form of Hindustani—that as Dakhni—which was taken to the Deccan centuries ago from Northern India.

In his first chapter, Dr. Qadri has given historical development of Hindustani and

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cated the devergences between the Northern and the Southern forms of the language. Dr. Qadri supports Prof. Hafiz Muhammad Shirani and other Panjab scholars in their view as to the origin of Hindustani, and accepts the claims of the Panjab as having been the real birth-place of the language, in the 12th century. Hindustani is thus peculiar in having always thriven on a foreign soil: a language created in the 12th century on the basis of the dialects of the Panjab, —about 800 years ago—it made a home for itself, first in Delhi in the 13th century, where a different dialect was current; it then went down to the Deccan early in the 14th century, where in Marathi and Telugu surroundings, it flourished as a literary and court language; and it also found a luxuriant *floraison* at Lucknow where the popular dialect is Awadhi. The question of the origins of Hindustani is still unsolved, although the theory of Panjabi origin seems to shed more light on this knotty problem of New Indo-Aryan than any other: and a closer study of Dakhni Hindustani is also essential for its solution, as that of an early form of the original Hindustani. Dr. Qadri has gone into the history of Dakhni as a distinct dialect, before giving us the points, phonetic and morphological, which mark off Dakhni from Northern Hindustani (pp. 29-44).

There are some interesting points to note in these divergences, especially phonetic. The weakening of long [a] to [ʌ] and of long [i, u] to corresponding short vowels, in disyllabic words with both the syllables long, is noteworthy: this happens specially before two consonants. The assimilations of consonants are remarkable, as well as doubling of consonants (pp. 32-33), which smacks of Panjabi. The so-called deaspiration of voiced stops (specially dental) (p. 34) requires closer study, as also the apparent transference of aspiration and modification of aspiration (pp. 35-37). In morphology, the use of the long nasalized [a] for the plural of the noun, both nominative and oblique, and the development of an active construction (in which the verb agrees with the subject and not with the object) for the past of the transitive verb—these are two of the most important deviations marking Dakhni from Northern or Standard Hindustani. Compounding in the Persian style, with the *izafat*, of native Hindi and foreign Persian or Arabic words, is another speciality.

After this valuale introduction on the history of of the language, Dr. Qadri proceeds with the subject of his book, the Sounds of Dakhni Hindustani. In Chapter II he discusses Vowels and Diphthongs, and Nasalization (pp. 47-60), and in Chapter III the Consonants and Assimilation (pp. 63-104), followed by a discussion of the sound attributes of Stress and Intonation (Chapter IV, pp. 106-116).

One cannot but admire the clear and business-like way in which Dr. Qadri now proceeds to describe in detail his sounds. Palatograms and kymographic tracings add immensely to the value of the work. When Dr. Baburam Saksena's work on Awadhi is published, we shall have another Indo-Aryan speech available for students with as detailed a phonetic account, including diagrams and all. In Dakhni, [e] and [o] are also found as short sounds, and there are some six diphthongs. The consonants are those of Standard Hindustani—with a peculiar treatment of the voiced aspirates. These are weak, and tend, in the final position specially, to be deaspirated. Connected with these aspirates [gh, jh, dh, bh] is the behaviour of the voiced glottal fricative [h]. I have not had opportunities of observing the matter closely, but I suspect that the [h] is really turned to the glottal stop, and the voiceal aspirates become voiced recursives, *i. e.* voiced stops with accompanying glottal closure. This is widely prevalent in New Indo-Aryan dialects, and Dakhni, so far as my impression from listening to one or two speakers goes, shares in the same characteristic. I have discussed the matter in my paper on the *Recursires in New Indo-Aryan* in the second number of the *Bulletin of the Linguistic Society of India* (Lahore). The matter is well worth a careful investigation, and I trust Dr. Qadri will undertake it, and let us know the real situation.

The foreign (Persian) sounds of [x] and [ɣ], velar spirants, have become so far naturalized as to invade native words (e. g. [rakh] *ashes* becomes [rax[, [ugʌldan] *spittoon* becomes [ugʌldan] etc.).

In the matter of Assimilation, Dakhni shares with other New Indo-Aryan a number of general traits.

Sentence Intonation has also received some treatment—the first serious investigation, it would appear, into the subject in Hindustani.

On the whole, this unpretentious little work is of first-rate importance in the scientific study of New Indo-Aryan, and the significance of such a little work, it must be confessed, is not properly appreciated by our ordinary authors and teachers of Indian languages in India. Linguistic is a neglected and much misunderstood science in India, and it will be some time before the value of experimental phonetics in the study of language comes to be properly understood and appreciated in our country. The thing is still in its inception and in Dr. Qadri we welcome another pioneer worker. We students of New Indo-Aryan hope to hear something final on the origin of Hindustani and its early history, linguistically, from Dr. Qadri and others engaged in investigating the matter: and in this preliminary little work of his we see plentiful promise that this hope will be realized.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

PRINCIPLES OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT, PT. I—AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SCIENCE OF POLITICS: *By Akshaya K. Ghosh, Bar-at-Law. D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., Bombay. Rs. 7.*

The printing and get-up of the book is all that can be desired, and is of the kind one associates with Messers. D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., but the price seems to be rather high.

The book is divided into three parts—the first one deals with the essentials of Civil Government. Here the author might have been more philosophical, and taken note of the newer political theories, generally associated with the names of Lâski, Krabbe and others. It appears that the author has relied too much upon the older writers like Blüntschli and Sidgwick.

The second part is a survey of the constitutions of the several Dominions of the British Commonwealth of Nations, of England, U. S. A., Switzerland, Egypt and Japan. In his preface the author gives one an impression of being very up-to-date (April, 1932), but in the text he has failed to note the effect of the Statute of Westminster on the status of the Dominions. This Statute received the Royal Assent as early as the 11th Dec. 1931. It has not achieved uniformity of status, but rather has accentuated diversity. It applies without power of alteration by the dominions concerned to Canada, South Africa, and the Irish Free State, while Australia, Newfoundland and New Zealand have the power of partial or complete adoption, and partial or complete repeal of such adoption. The power of extra-territorial

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legislation is conceded to the Canadian provinces, while it is withheld from the Australian States. The sovereignty of the British Parliament seems to have been affected, but its effect is not noticed in the text. Sec. 4 of the Statute of Westminster runs thus :—

"No Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom passed after the commencement of this Act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to a Dominion as part of the law of that Dominion, unless it is expressly declared in that Act that that Dominion has *requested*, and *consented* to, the enactment thereof."

At p. 113, the author says "the marks of inferiority of the Dominions are : the selection of the Governor on the advice of Imperial Ministers ; the power to withhold assent to Acts of Parliament or to disallow such Acts even if assented to by the Governor ; the power to pass Imperial Legislation applicable to the Dominions ; and the subjection of the Dominion Courts to the control of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council."

The author has missed and failed to notice the effects of the Imperial Conference Resolutions of 1926 and 1930 ; and of the Statute of Westminster ; and the whole of the above passage has become inaccurate. For example, no longer is the Governor appointed on the advice of the Imperial Ministers ; Mr. Isaac Isaacs, the Chief Justice of Australia, was appointed Governor-General on the advice of the Dominion Ministers.

Again, in places where the author has tried to be informing, he has produced a wrong impression either because of the inaccuracy of figures, or because some statements or facts have not been more fully described. For example, the statement on p. 118 that the House of Lords consists of 994 peers is misleading ; the present strength being in the neighbourhood of 740 ; and never before it exceeded that strength. While the author is particular in giving the occasions and dates when the first dukedom, the first marquisate or the first viscountcy was created, he has not noticed the fact that since the creation of the Irish Free State, there have been no elections to the House of Lords by the Irish peers ; and that at present there are as many as 10 vacancies out of 28 elective Irish seats.

Dealing with the franchise, the author has failed to note that by the Representation of the Peoples Act, 1918, female suffrage was first introduced. He has equally failed to note the provisions of the Representation of the People (Equal Franchise) Act, 1928 by which the qualifying age of women was reduced from 30 to 21 ; and the qualifying period of residence was reduced from 6 months to 3 months. Occupation of land or premises of the annual value of £ 16 is apparently a misprint for an annual value of £ 10 ; but he has failed to note that a man or woman, 21 years of age, is also entitled to vote if he or she is the husband or wife of a person having the business premises qualification.

One is rather surprised to find in a book meant for university students in 1932 that "no member [of the British Parliament] receives any payment of allowance whatsoever from the country for his service in the House or on any Committee thereof." Every member now receives £ 400 per annum.

The third part deals with the General organization of the Government of India ; and here one regrets to find many inaccurate statements and misleading figures. A few of them are noticed here.

"Each Presidency or Province is under a provincial government consisting of a Governor * * * with an Executive Council * * * of 4 other colleagues of whom 2 are Indians, and one at least must have been at the time of his appointment in the service of the Crown for 12 years" p. 208.

The implications are (1) that two out of four seats are reserved for Indians and (2) that four is the statutory number of Executive Councillors. The true position is given in sec. 47 of the Government of India Act. Four is the maximum, and there is no reservation for Indians, though usually half the full number are Indians. In the provinces, as opposed to the presidencies, the strength of the Executive Council is usually two.

"A substantial majority of the members of the Legislative Councils are elected" p. 210. The true position is given in sec. 72A (2) thus ;—"Of the members of each Council not more than 20 per cent shall be official members, and at least 70 per cent shall be elected members."

"To each department may now be attached an Under-Secretary selected from the ELECTED members of the Council" p. 212. Sec. 52. (4) which deals with the matter runs thus :

"The Governor * * * may appoint from among the NON-OFFICIAL members of the local legislature Council Secretaries, etc."

At p. 252, one is sorry to find that among "the principal sources of Revenue of the Government of India are.....Land Revenue.....Excise .....Stamps, Judicial and Revenue, [and] Registration."

We shall now try to point out some minor errors. There are 273 districts in British India, and not 350 (p. 212). The ruling powers were conferred on the Maharaja of Benares in 1911, and not in 1908 (p. 214). There are 776 municipalities with an income over 12 crores, and not 1000 municipal towns with a revenue over 6 crores (p. 268). The cesses are not realized by the officers of the local bodies, but by the Government (p. 269). The Jumna Canal is not in Sindh, but in the U. P. (p. 271), and neither in the Panjab and Sindh "98 per cent of the area cultivated depend upon canal water" (p. 271). A reference to that annual publication—Agricultural Statistics of India, would have given the correct idea. The Railways employ 800,000 men and not 600,000 ; and the number of Europeans is less than 5,000 and not 40,000 as is suggested (p. 272). It was in 1853 and not sometime before 1858 that the post office was started. There are now 167,000 miles of postal route, and not 250,000 ; and 1170 million letters and packets are yearly carried, and not 1000 millions (p. 273). The number of the Savings Bank Depositors is nearly 21 lakhs, and not 16 lakhs ; and the value of deposits is over 34 crores, and not 15 crores. The post office is no longer a very profitable source of income to the State (p. 274). The Telegraph system covers 96,000 miles and not 300,000 miles (p. 274). Neither is the Annamalai University of Annamalainagar, near Bezwada (p. 292), nor the statistics for 1920 the latest statistics for university education (p. 292).

A reference to the statistical abstract for British India (latest edition) would have prevented many of these petty errors. From the frequency of such errors one is tempted to think that the author unfortunately both for himself and his readers depended too much upon his amanuensis.

After all, with all its defects and minor blemishes, the book is an eminently readable one giving one a bird's-eye view over the whole range of political

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science with especial application to India; and we hope to see its next edition free from all defects at an early date.

LAW OF USURY: *By Khan Bahadur Moulvi Muhammad Fasihuddin, B. A., M. L. C. (Retired Collector) Budaun, U. P. Price Rs. 2.*

This is not a law book, though it deals with the law of usury. In this little book of 32 pages the author deals, in an interesting and informing manner peculiarly his own, with the working of the Usurious Loans Act, and its economic effect upon the peasants of the United Provinces. His treatment of the Damdupat Rule is at once free from technicalities and exhaustive. It should be in the hands of our publicists and M. L. C.'s in connection with Mr. Aziz-ul-Haque's Money Lenders Bill, which is coming up for discussion in the next session of the Bengal Council.

JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

INDIAN CASTE CUSTOMS: *By L. S. S. O'Malley, C. I. E., I. C. S. (retired), Cambridge University Press, 1932. 6s. net.*

So many books on caste have appeared recently, written both by Indian scholars without administrative experience and English administrators connected with census operators without intimate knowledge of Indian society that the need for another of the latter class was not quite apparent. But having gone through this small volume of 190 pages we have nothing but commendation for the writer, who, though he was a director of census operations in India, has not permitted himself to lose his way in the tangle of details which leave the reader dazed and bewildered. Instead he has presented us with a very readable and interesting account of things as they are and have been within recent times, with an occasional dip into past history where this was necessary. The scrupulously impartial tone of the entire essay cannot fail to strike the reader. Except in dealing, or rather his omission to deal with the errors of omission and commission of which his colleagues of the civil service have been guilty in fostering the growth of caste feeling by their bungling and mismanagement of census topics and figures, and the encouragement given to the non-Brahmin movement, he has paid due attention to the immense changes that have taken place in Hindu society due to progress and enlightenment and the spread of the desire for social reform, while at the same time he has not overlooked the tenacity and persistence with which caste retains its hold on the Hindus. He praises the *Panchayets* or caste councils of the lower classes as a power making for good and notes the absence of such councils and caste solidarity among the higher classes. So long as the lower orders of Hindu society are without any education and steeped in prejudices and ignorance, these councils will continue to represent the best elements of their social conscience but the impotence of these caste *Panchayets* among the educated classes is itself a good sign. Weighing the good and evil wrought by caste, and the effect of the present reforming movements on it, as a whole, in a spirit of absolute detachment, the author comes to the conclusion that "the abolition of the caste system seems, however, an ideal which is not likely to be realized except in the dire and distant future." A perusal of this small volume, full of interesting sidelights as it is, and written with strict regard to accuracy, can, we admit, lead to no other conclusion. But we have recently seen what wonders can be achieved by an outstanding personality like Mahatma Gandhi in breaking down age-long barriers and though much remains to be accomplished our hope is that the reform movement will gather momentum with every success achieved, and its final success will not have to wait till the mass-mind has been educated to take a definite plunge into the uncharted seas of castelessness, but the next transcendent personality, which is bound to emerge in course of time, aided by the cross currents of politics and the growth of social consciousness among the lower orders, will find the ground amply prepared for him to cover the track of centuries in a generation. But whatever that may be, the book under review is the best handbook for the lay reader on the subject of caste which we have come across and deserves to be widely read. In it the educated Hindu will find many instances of the supremely idiotic fissiparous tendency of Hinduism, as if the safety of the race depended, not on cohesion, but on fragmentation and isolation, one specimen of which must here suffice:

"The most poignant case in modern times of innocent suffering is that of many thousands of Hindus who were outcasted *en masse* because they had been possibly converted to Islam during the Moplah rebellion in Malabar in 1921. Compulsory circumcision, which is an effective means of conversion was only one of the accompaniments of brutal and unrestrained barbarism, such as massacres, outrages upon women, pillage and arson which were perpetrated by the Moplahs until troops were hurried up to restore order; but the fact that they were innocent victims could not save their caste. They remained out of communion until they had undergone the ceremony of *panchagavya (i. e.*, tasting the nauseous mixture of five products of the cow already mentioned) and had paid Brahmans the fees demanded for performing the ceremony" (pp. 84-85).

POLITICUS

YOGA AS THE SYSTEM OF PHYSICAL CULTURE AND HOW TO DEFY DISEASE, OLD AGE AND DEATH. *By Prakash Dev. Hindu Vidyarthi Sabha, 4 Lower Mall, Lahore. Price Rupee one.*

Yoga practices as described in Brahmanic works have of late attained a good deal of popularity among sections of the educated people of the modern age. This popularity is due not to their spiritual significance if any but to the curative and hygienic benefits they are believed to confer as also to the anthropological interest they possess. Books and journals (like *Fakire und Fakirtum Im Alten und Modernen Indien* by R. Schimdt, Berlin, 1908, *Quarterly Journal, Yogamimamsa*, Lonavala, Poona and *Yoga Personal Hygiene* with some other volumes of the projected *Scientific Yoga Series* of Shri Yogindra of Bombay) have been published and institutes (like the *Yoga Institute* of America and Bombay) have been started for the interpretation, propagation and scientific demonstration of the principles of Yoga. The book under review published from the Physical Culture Department of the Hindu Vidyarthi Sabha describes in a lucid and popular way three types of external physical exercises of the Yoga system, *e. g.*, *āsana*, *mudra* and *bandha*. The plates at the end of the book give pictorial representation of all the exercises in their various stages and are thus of very great use.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

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(1) CHRISTIAN EDUCATION IN THE VILLAGE OF INDIA: *By Alice B. Van Doren. Association Press. 5, Russell Street, Calcutta. 1931. Pp. 115. Price cloth Rs. 2, paper Re. 1-4.*

(2) THE SOCIAL SETTLEMENT AS AN EDUCATIONAL FACTOR IN INDIA: *By Clifford Manshardt, Ph. D., Nagpada Neighbourhood House, Bombay. Association Press, 5, Russell Street, Calcutta, 1931. Pp. 87. Price cloth Re. 1-8, paper Re. 1.*

Miss Van Doren is well known throughout the country for her work in the National Christian Council as educational adviser. All will agree with Miss Van Doren that religious education is not something to be imparted occasionally; it is not knowledge to be stored up but it is life itself, and it must be co-extensive with life. The part of religious education in the life of the villages cannot be exaggerated. Millions of Christians live in the villages and it is essential that Christians should study the methods for the proper upbringing of the children.

The account of the settlement in Bombay makes a fascinating reading. We do not hesitate in recommending it to all social workers.

WHAT IS MOKSA? *A study in the Johannine Doctrine of Life by A. J. Appasamy, M. A. (Harvard), D. Phil. (Oxon.). 1931. Christian Literature Society for India. Pp. 251. Price paper Re. 1-4, cloth Re. 1-12.*

Man has always felt the need of taking refuge and of sheltering himself against enemies and the storms of life. Perhaps seeking for refuge is just an expression of the sense of need or the consciousness of dependence. Taking shelter is besides such a common experience that no effort of imagination is needed to grasp its significance, and its application to the religious life is natural and spontaneous. In Buddhism we come across the three refuges;

I seek refuge in the Buddha,
I seek refuge in the Law,
I seek refuge in the Sangha.

In Christian experience there is only one refuge, Christ. "Abide in me and I in you." This is the central truth of Christianity or as Dr. Appasamy calls it, "the goal of Religion." We should be grateful for the emphasis Dr. Appasamy lays on this central truth. This experience was not the exclusive possession of the mystical writer of the fourth gospel. St. Paul expresses it with equal cogency. Indeed, in several respects St. Paul's presentation of the life of the believer in Christ is more striking as it is presented vis-a-vis of the abiding of the Jewish believer in the Mosaic Law. To be in Christ is contrasted with to be in the law; there is salvation in the first and condemnation in the latter. Not a few of St. Paul's expressions are difficult to grasp because he is using terminology antiquated and having reference to a state of mind and of life other than the new experience he had felt himself. St. John does not seem to encumber the ground with outworn expressions. He is more direct and consequently more convincing.

"Abide in me and I in you" expresses a unique experience and no analogy or exposition can exhaust it. Dr. Appasamy pointedly observes: "Whatever we say or do there must be a ceaseless and continuous under-current of thought that we live for God: and that all our actions derive their purposes from this fact. This continuous and steady awareness of God will give colour and bloom to our hearts. We shall rejoice as we continue day after day in the recollection that it is our duty, yea high privilege, to yield ourselves up thus into the hands of God" (page 2[illegible]). "This great fact of the immanence of God is the bed-rock of our oneness with God. It is on it that our highest spiritual experience is possible. The full life of fellowship with God, which is the end towards which religion moves, is the deepening and enriching of this oneness. The staring point of our practice and thought is this...that God is already in us but this indwelling has still immense possibilities. The eternal spirit is constantly kindling our hearts. It is with us to say how much we will to respond to this kindling and whether God should operate still more or not (page 183).

Entering in a shelter produces a sense of relief, comfort of peace. Quoting the Gita "O Arjuna, take refuge in Him in all ways. By His grace thou wilt obtain peace and the eternal realm," Dr. Appasamy proceeds to point out the true meaning of peace and its foundation. The fellowship with and the abiding in the Eternal one are the essential conditions of peace. In no other way will the soul find peace and freedom from anxiety.

The debt of the Indian Church to Christian Literature Society is indeed already very great by the publication of the series of "Indian Studies" enhances it. Here we are offered, at a ludicrously small price, the mature thought of one of India's leading thinkers who endeavours to bring India's religious experience to the service of Jesus Christ. We hope that this book will be read as it deserves, by every Christian in this land and that it will prove an inspiration to every one.

"Abide in me and I in you." Here we find in positive words not in negative terminology, the gospel of salvation of Jesus Christ.

P. G. BRIDGE

ANNUAL MARKET REVIEW, 1931. *Messrs. Premchand Roychand & Sons. 63 Apollo Street, Bombay. Pp. 128.*

Like the previous issues, the present report is full of valuable information ably presented. The statistical appendix gives important figures about exchange, currency, trade balance, gold, silver, Government securities, treasury bills, Bombay municipal and Port Trust loans, bank rates, cotton mill and jute mill shares. There are four sets of charts for (*a*) money and Government securities, (*b*) bullion and exchange, (*c*) cotton mill shares, and (*d*) miscellaneous shares, illustrative of the fluctuations recorded during 1931. Some new features have been introduced such as a diary of events of financial importance in foreign countries.

Unfortunately, however, the report itself shows signs of haste and of special pleading. For instance on p. 25, it is stated:

"The Prime Minister announced in the House of Commons in the first week of July that the British Government would render financial assistance to India if need be, to maintain her credit. The exchange rate nevertheless remained persistently at the lower point....." But on p. 36 a contradictory observation is made, *viz.* "In early July the Prime Minister made his announcement in the House of Commons assuring financial assistance to India if need be, and this had the desired effect of steadying the rupee sterling exchange." This latter statement arose out of the desire to support Government action even when such action is not in India's interest. A clear

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instance of an apologia on behalf of Government is to be found in the approval of gold export policy. Indian nationalists who protested against the measure were never against gold *sales*. All that they wanted was that Government should buy up the gold instead of allowing it to leave the country. Hence the following remark is quite uncalled for : "This gold had been put down as a commodity ; it would have been arbitrary in the extreme if this movement as a commodity had been prevented when a profit was offered to the purchase" (p. 28). Surely India's credit would not have been impaired if she held gold reserves in place of uncertain sterling assets. Her sterling liability of £15 million could have been paid off with equal ease. The statement made earlier on the same page to the effect that "the total exports to the end of the year were...7 per cent of the net imports since 1900" is misleading. It seems to suggest that fully 93 per cent of the gold imports since 1900, and 100 per cent of the imports prior to that date which remained intact may be drawn upon if occasion arises. Nothing can be farther from truth. It is conceded in the report itself that this is "distress gold" and has been put into the market because of "the tremendous fall in commodity prices (which has) hit the cultivator hard" (p. 28). It follows therefore that Government should take good care to accumulate gold reserves when a suitable opportunity has occurred instead of waiting passively for the future, when people may be weaned from the uneconomic habit of hoarding gold. Britain's gain in consequence of the gold export is undoubted, but has India also profited ? Nor is there any international justification for the present policy in the shape of the reduction of the overvaluation of gold in terms of commodities. In any case, a mere repetition of arguments previously urged by officials, however high placed they may be, cannot carry conviction.

On p. 31 there is the following statement which might be made by any Government propagandist : "...in the resumed sittings of the Round Table Conference in London...real progress was made." Hope is entertained that Franchise, Federal Finance and Indian States Committees "will come to some definite conclusions and that early steps will be taken by the British Government to introduce a bill in Parliament embodying constitutional reforms granting Dominion Status, with safe-guards, to India." The review of Indian economic conditions closes with similar platitudes. Here also, as elsewhere, there is simply a reiteration of Government pronouncements.

The analysis of the present world depression is weak and unsatisfying. On page 3, the familiar overproduction theory has been referred to in the following words : "Production has expanded everywhere, and it is the verdict of competent observers that production has gone beyond the immediate requirements and purchasing power of the world." The inherent fallacy in this line of argument was exposed by John Stuart Mill in the following manner : "Those who think so cannot have considered what it is which constitutes the means of payment for commodities. It is simply commodities ..could we suddenly double the productive powers of the country, we should double the supply of commodities in every market ; but we should, by the same stroke, double the purchasing power." The mounting up of stocks which is regarded as a sign of overproduction really begins *after* the setting in of depression.

It is much to be regretted that the chief reason for the present depression, *viz.*, the unbalance between savings and investment is not mentioned at all. Briefly the position is this. If people save, *i. e.*, refrain from spending for current consumption, there is less money available for purchases of the same volume of commodities as before, and there is "overproduction," with a consequent setback to economic activity. If, however, these savings are utilized for the purposes of investment, such as building of new factories, construction of new engineering works, etc., there is no check to economic activity,—only it is now directed from the production of consumption goods to the production of capital goods.

H. SINHA

TRISASTISALAKAPURUSACARITRA, *Vol. I, Adisvaracaritra, translated into English by Helen M. Johnson, Ph. D., Gaekwad's Oriental Series. Price Rs. 15.*

This is an English translation of a handbook of Jainism. The original work came from the hand of an author named Hemchandra who lived in Guzerat in the twelfth century, A. D.

The book contains a series of biographical sketches of certain characters which may perhaps be described without offence as holding a very high place in the hearts of the followers of Jainism. Incidentally we also come across religious and philosophical discussions inculcating the Jain doctrines. The book is also valuable from another point of view. It gives the Jain tradition about the origin of customs.

The translator seems to have done her work with great care and faithfulness. It is perhaps due to her effort to adhere as closely as possible to the original that we come across such awkward expressions as 'Lion-throne', 'King-goose" etc. On the whole, however, the translation has been a very good one, but we are disposed to think that the value of the book would have been increased very much, had it included the original also.

The translator has not been content with merely translating. She has given a large mass of notes and added several appendices. We are quite sure that there can be no two opinions about the value of these. Every reader will find them extremely helpful. They also testify to the great industry and learning of the translator.

We cannot help referring to one thing in connection with the books in Gaekwad's Oriental Series. It appears that H. H. the Gaekwad of Baroda has been spending a lot of money on the translation of oriental books. The cultured public are under a deep debt of gratitude to him for this patronage of learning.

RAJENDRANATH GHOSE

TEXT-BOOK OF MODERN INDIAN HISTORY, *Vol. I. By S. C. Sarkar and K. K. Dutt, Behar Publishing House, Patna. Price not mentioned.*

The authors are teachers of history at the Patna College. They believe along with the Allahabad School that modernism in India really begins with the first battle of Panipat. Text-book of modern Indian

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history therefore opens with Babar's invasion of this country. The volume under notice closes with the installation of Warren Hestings as the Governor of Bengal in 1772. When the Company "stood forth as the Duan," the Mussalman rule may be taken to have come to an end. The next volume, which we hope will be published shortly, will bring the narrative down to the present day. The authors appear to have discharged their responsibility quite ably. Without making the book very bulky and uninteresting, they have embodied all the results of the recent researches in this work. The style is simple and happy. The students are referred in every page to the authorities from which the facts and arguments are drawn. We have been familiar so long either with elementary text-books for school students or with highly technical monographs. This work is an attempt at cutting out a *via media* between the two extremes. The printing and the get-up of the book are quite satisfactory.

A HISTORY OF INDIA: *Part III. British India. By C. S. Srinivasachari and M. S. R. Aiyangar. Srinivasa Varadachari and Co., Madras. Price Rs. 3-8.*

This work is neither a text-book of the right sort nor a mere note. In some aspects the authors present us with detailed facts. In other places, however, the treatment is scrappy. The book again suffers from a lack of proportion. The authors at the head of their preface tell us "This part brings our History to the present day and covers the whole field of European enterprise from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the gestation of the coming Federal constitution." But of the 468 pages of the book, the period up to 1858 covers 382, and India since the mutiny is disposed of in less than 100 pages. The printing and get-up are not bad.

INDO-CEYLON CONNECTION: *By V. V. Rajaratnan, Sagothary Press, Hatton.*

This little pamphlet is an earnest plea for the immediate abolition of all restrictions which have been placed on the social and economic union of Ceylon with India. This abolition should be at once undertaken as a step towards the ultimate entry of Ceylon into the Indian Federation.

NARESH CHANDRA ROY

SANSKRIT

SAKTISANGAMA TANTRA: *Critically ed with a preface by Benoytosh Bhattacharya, M Ph. D., Rajaratna, Director, Oriental Institute, Ba In four volumes. Vol I—Kalikhanda, Gaek Oriental Series No. LXI. Pp. Royal octavo I—XI 1-179. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Students of Tantra literature will heartily welc the publication of this important Tantra work wh though obscure in places, contain a good deal highly useful information. The work appears to h at one time, enjoyed immense popularity as is tes to by the numerous quotations made from it in m a Tantra compilation, some of which have b mentioned by the editor in the preface. That work is comparatively late is undeniable. It re to the number of Tantras preceding it as lak *notyarbudda* (I. 3) *i.e.*, a legion. Thus it is clear the *Saktisangama* was composed at a time—not l past—when owing to the composition of vari works the number of Tantras had become indefi The editor, however, assigns it to as late a per as the middle of the 16th century on the stren of a passage (*VIII*, 38-39) which refers to some v late Vaisnava sects.

The edition is based on four MSS. In view the hopeless corruptions here and there the collati of some more MSS. might be expected to pro useful. As it stands there are in the text gr grammatical mistakes, some at least of which w undoubtedly due to the scribes of MSS. and sho have been corrected. The learned editor has ma an attempt to give, in the preface, 'a list of extant MSS.' of the work. It seems that the list w compiled mainly with the help of the *Catalog Catalogorum* and published lists of MSS. as it wo be noticed that there are MSS. of this work, m mentioned by him, existing in the MSS. Libraries i different parts of India, catalogues of which are n known to have so far been published. As regar the number of chapters in the work under revie it would be seen that the edition has 21 chapte while MSS. of the India Office Library, Bikaner Pal Library and Government collection deposited in th Asiatic Society of Bengal (described by R. L. Mitr contain 20 chapters. The discrepancy has n unfortunately been explained by the learned edit The absence of detailed lists of contents and indices specially of an index of subject-matters also of an index of the first lines to help th verification of the genuineness of the quotations m from it in different compilations is keenly felt in critical edition of this type.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

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SILK INDUSTRY OF MALDA

By RAKHAL CHANDRA RAY, B.SC.

I

MALDA in Bengal has, from a very ancient time, been famous for its silk industry. It is even now the first among the silk producing districts of Bengal.

There are references to the effect that silk was not unknown in these parts during the reign of the last Hindu dynasty at Gaur. In those days, silk cloths were exported to the distant cities of Dacca, Sonargaon etc. It is also a fact that in the year 1577, Shaikh Bhiku, who used to trade in Maldahi cloths, set sail for Russia with three ships laden with silk cloths and that two of his ships were wrecked somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Persian Gulf. At the beginning of the 17th century the Dutch had an establishment at old Malda and the East India Company had an agency by about the year 1682, in the district. From the records of the East India Company it is learnt that active steps were taken to improve woven fabrics and dyeing and reeling of silk.

Bernier, the celebrated traveller of the 17th century, speaks in most glowing terms of the silk industry in Bengal, during his time :

"There is in Bengal such a quantity of cotton and silks, that the kingdom may be called the common storehouse for those two kinds of merchandise, not of Hindustan, or the Empire of the Great Mogul only, but of all neighbouring kingdoms, and even of Europe...The same may be said of silks and the silk stuffs of all sorts. It is not possible to conceive the quantity drawn every year from Bengal.....The silks are not certainly so fine as those of Persia, Syria, Sayd and Barut, but they are of a much lower price; and I knew from indisputable authority, that if they were well selected and wrought with care, they might be manufactured into most beautiful stuffs."

As early as 1670 a Factor, "well-skilled in silk", was brought to Kasimbazar from England and from this time forward the improvements in sericulture were very steadily noticed, until, by 1776, "Bengal silk drove all competitors except Italian and China silk out of the English market." We also learnt from the Geoghegan that the industry attained to a greater prosperity than now in Malda. He says : "We have seen that the Company manufactured silk stuffs at three of its residences, from country-wound silk." The stuffs seem to have chiefly been undyed piece-goods known as *Coras* and *Bundanas*. Buchanan gives an elaborate account of silk manufacture at Malda and the neighbourhood. The cloths are all mixed, the warp being silk, and the woof cotton. There were about 11,000 looms in this region. Buchanan estimates the value of stuffs exported annually to the westward, Murshidabad, and Calcutta at not less than Rs. 10 lacs annually.

Mr. Lictard says following a report by Mr. R. Poreh, Collector of Malda :

"The native side of the industry is prospering in its agricultural aspects and as regards the easy profits made by the natives, the mulberry silk industry must be considered as brisk, prosperous and flourishing.

In 1757 Mr. Wilder was sent to Bengal to examine into the causes of the defective quality of Bengal raw silk. Shortly after, the filature system was introduced by the help of a Frenchman and the first silk filature of any importance in this district was built by Mr. Udney at Singatala. In 1770 Mr. Henchman built the residential house at Englishbazar as manufactory for *Sofeda* or *Lace* work on cloth. It was subsequently turned into a silk factory. Mr. Henchman is said to have first introduced the weaving of cloths from silk alone. The original Maldahi cloth was of cotton and silk but nowadays the old names of Bulbul Chasam (Nightingales' eye) Chandtara (Moon and Stars) Mazchar (Riplets of the rivers), Kabutarakshi (Pigeons' eyes) which are derived from different patterns woven, are commonly applied to the cloths made of silk. As a result of these efforts local history has it, that there was a boom in the silk trade between 1760 and 1790, when the Company was able by means of Bengal silk to compete with imports into England from Turkey, of raw and manufactured silk."

The incidence of pebrine in Europe,

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which was at its height between the years 1855 and 1865, practically ruined the European silk industry to the advantage of India, although unfortunately India did not utilize this opportunity to stabilize her own industry in the recess. Japan appeared in the field, and between the years 1865 and 1875 she enormously increased her production which practically led to the regeneration of the European silk production. It was from this period that the demand of Bengal silk began to fall and from the year 1872, the production of Bengal silk began to diminish and the acreage under cultivation of mulberry decrease. Between the years 1856 and 1886 the maximum and minimum price of raw filature silk was Rs. 24-14-7 and Rs. 12-8-4 respectively as compared with Rs. 18-8-7 and Rs. 12-9-8 between the years 1900 and 1915. During war time the price again increased and reached to the maximum of Rs. 42 per seer between the years 1921 and 1928. Since the year 1929 the price has again gone lower and the bulk of silk produced nowadays are Khamru silk as European filatures have all been closed down.

II

Even at the present time the production of raw cocoons and silk by Khamru reels has been occupying a very important place in the district and its economic problem is very closely related to the state of the silk business of Malda. The present fall in prices of all commodities has to a great extent helped the silk rearers and other allied people to stick to this business, as silk is still a paying concern and has the greatest advantage of numerous crops a year from the same land. The average rearer now considers his main difficulties to be the outbreak of diseases and the fall in the price of silk, and he is confident that if these two factors could be controlled, there was a very bright future for Malda silk.

As regards the first of these main problems, the Sericulture Department has been specially tackling the question of diseases by the supply of pure seeds, etc., and attempts are being vigorously made to stimulate the production of cocoons. By these departmental activities this district has been largely saved from diseased seeds, and the industry seems to be on a fair footing so far as the production of Khamru silk is concerned. But at the same time it must be admitted that the second factor, namely the *price* problem has so far received practically very little attention and nothing has been manifestly done to set matters right at least as far as was possible. The production of raw silk had therefore gradually been discouraged and people were getting pessimistic about the future of the industry.

The present area under mulberry is 15,000 acres in this district and the aggregate production of raw cocoons may be calculated as follows :

From 15000 acres of land at 225 mds. of mulberry = 15000 × 225 = 3375000 mds.
1½ seers of cocoons per md. of leaf = 5062500 seers = 126562½ mds.
At Rs. 20 per md. = Rs. 25,31,250.

To understand how the present state of affairs came into being, it is necessary to take into account the factors that have brought this about. They may be briefly described as follows :

(1) The gradual fall in price, by about the year 1872, *i. e.*, the time when Japan appeared in competition, and Japanese seed righted matters in Europe.

(2) High rent of mulberry land is said to be another depressing factor. When the price of silk was very high, the zamindars charged even up to Rs. 12, Rs. 14 and Rs. 16 per *bigha* in Malda, Rajshahi and Murshidabad respectively, while rice lands were rented at Re. 1-8 to Rs. 2 per *bigha*. The Permanent Settlement of Bengal enabled the zamindars to perpetuate these rents. The present conditions however are not so bad as in the latter part of the 19th century although the mulberry lands still bring higher rents as compared with other agricultural lands.

(3) The degeneration of the silk worm due to diseases and domestication.

It is a fact that the wave of depression in the price of silk is very closely linked with the outbreak of diseases. With the falling in price of yarns, and cocoons must be selling cheaper, and it is quite natural that the rearer would cut down the cost of production to the minimum so

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increase the outturn. The result is, rearing of more frequent crops, overcrowding in rearing, insufficient feeding and frequent plucking which makes the leaves immature. Proneness to diseases is greatly intensified, and when once the mischief is done it continues for years.

(4) Closing up of filatures and withdrawal of efficient management.

There was greater control over the reelers by the European firms and good deal of attention had to be paid to the improved quality of silk which was mainly for export. With the fall in price, the supply of cocoons to the filatures began to decrease as the price of cocoons could not possibly be so attractive to the rearers and the major portion passed on to the Khamru reels. "There is also the fact that the European firms bought cocoons for export while the native reelers buy to reel for Indian markets at Benares, Nagpur and other place ; so that every pound purchased for export was an extra demand over the fairly steady native demand which made for better prices." When export is possible and the price stays at a high point, there would be demand for cocoons and further rearing would be stimulated. But as at present the export business is practically closed and the rearers have only one class of purchasers, *viz.*, the country reelers, who are in their turn at the mercy of Marwari *mahajans*. Verbal contracts are made to supply so much silk at an uncertain quotation. When the silk is produced, the reeler finds that the price has gone down in the interval, and he is compelled either to reduce the price of cocoons produced by the rearers or be ruined himself in a single 'bund' ; specially when he works with borrowed capital. The weight of silk is again another complaint as the purchasers take two *tolas* in excess in each seer of 80 tolas, the local customs being 82 tolas for a seer for raw silk.

The country reels neglected the quality and no improvements up to the present moment have been made in this direction. The 'Khamru' has never tried to keep pace with the improvement of the loom and as a result it has been totally ousted from the mills that are now mostly using foreign yarns.

(5) Rise in the price of other agricultural products whereas that for silk remains stationary.

Cultivation of jute in Bogra is an instance to the point where most of the mulberry land have been converted to jute growing land.

(6) Indebtedness of the silk rearers and weavers to the *mahajans* and a gradual monopoly of the trade by the Marwaris is one of the causes of the decline of the industry.

(7) Inferiority of the indigenous Bengal silk-worms as compared with better yielders in Japan and Europe is another factor of the decline.

III

The silk industry is an exceedingly complex one of which it is not at all easy to have a thorough grasp, and owing to its being essentially a cottage industry, practised by a huge number of scattered people, it is not in a sense an organized industry. "It has suffered because it is a scattered one and because it has not been realized to what extent it is a *cottage industry*. There has been very little effort at improvement from within."

The main problems of sericulture may be summarized in two items, *viz.*, (1) Production of silk. (2) Utilization of silk. The difficulties that are faced in these directions are enumerated below :

(*a*) The activities of the Government Sericulture Department are primarily restricted to the production of disease-free seeds and their supply to the rearers. The Department has so far been able to meet only up to a small percentage of the total requirement of seed and it is thus evident that the remaining supply of seeds is still secured from village origin. This may be considered as one of the factors responsible for the numerous failures of crop in the rearer's house.

(*b*) Proneness of the silk-worms to diseases.

Although Bengal has undoubtedly an advantage in having multivoltine races of silk-worms, the attendant difficulties of infection from diseases through heredity and contamination are also present. Use of micros-

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copes may help to check infection through heredity but the conditions in rural Bengal do not make it possible to eliminate radically the last links of infection as the silk worm crops are successive and in some cases even overlapping. In this respect the Bengal rearer is at a disadvantage.

(*c*) Illiteracy of the mass and their poverty seriously stand in the way of effecting any appreciable improvement in the methods of rearing. Want of co-operation and power of organization amongst the average cultivator or the rearer has made their outlook very narrow and they are by nature suspicious.

(*d*) Bad reeling has been the greatest of all evils and has been mainly responsible for the present condition of the silk trade. The Khamru or the country reel is the primitive Charka when no other better country method of reeling was known. When communications were slowly progressing and there was very little of international trade, the Bengal silk supplied foreign demands and prospered ; but now other countries have progressed and Bengal stood still to be content with a supply of only a limited local demands. With the close of the filatures, the Khamru silk was at once driven out from a competitive market and has at present no more importance than as a small local commodity. The reeler has no ideas of improvement and blindly follows his brethren in trade. The greatest pity that he seldom suspects that by the meth of bad reeling he has been so steadily los ground. All that he does is to take a ve despondent view of the future and curse luck for it.

(*e*) Want of any organized trade assoc tion to look after the marketing, etc. properly organized it would create confide and remove "the limited outlook and want of knowledge of what is being d elsewhere and what is in demand."

(*f*) Want of capital of the workers another important factor. Unless they can organized on a co-operative basis a financed, they are surely to go over to t *mahajans*. The average worker is therefo indebted and the margin of profit is controll by the financier. Native merchants (chief Marwari money-lenders) try to derive goods out of an industry and ultimately lea it in a wretched condition. There is alwa money-lending *at high rates of inter* associated with enterprises and the ultima results have often been disastrous.

(*g*) Competition with foreign silk yarn and finished products which sell cheaper th Bengal silk is a big stumbling-block whic stands in the way of the Bengal silk. *protective tariff* would greatly increase th demand for Bengal silk.

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN INDIA

By R. MUKHERJEE

IN order to understand the recent developments of the labour movement in India its past history and ideological background is a most essential consideration. A century ago Trade Unionism was, for all practical purposes, non-existent. Outside of England there was no semblance of any specific organization of the working class and in England, where capitalism was becoming established, Trade Unions as protective organizations of industrial workers, were only beginning to take root.

In those early days the Trade Unions worked under great difficulties. Their existence was considered illegal. All their business had to be conducted with the utmost secrecy and any attempt on their part to regulate conditions of employment was looked upon by the employers and th government as a "conspiracy in restraint trade." Numerically the Unions could not bo of more than a few thousand members. In c look they were extremely conservative. E society tried to maintain the dignity of its o particular craft. The idea of the separate unio taking joint action, against their masters in th struggle for better conditions, was unthought of

Today Trade Unionism is one of the mo powerful factors in modern politics. The movem which began a century ago under adverse conditio has assumed international dimensions. Even the most backward countries Trade Unio exist in some form or other and in the high industrialized countries the membership ru

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into millions. Similar progress has been made with regard to the outlook of the Trade Unions. The old craft or trade prejudices that dominated for years are now almost entirely broken. With the development of large scale industry, the concentration of capital and the growth of unity amongst the capitalists the workers are likewise realizing the necessity for breaking down their old craft barriers and looking to the identity of interests as members of the working class. In this direction the Trade Unions have advanced even further. National barriers are being broken down and the Trade Union movement has gradually consolidated on an international scale. It is this aspect of the movement which has received the name of the "Workers of the World Unite," in its revolutionary significance. This phrase characterizes the unity of the working class—that it has a common interest and a role to play in the evolution of human society and that international spirit and unity of purpose is free from all chauvinism.

As yet, however, it must be admitted the international solidarity of the Trade Unions leaves much to be desired. No doubt the widely varying conditions, national customs, traditions, etc., all tend to retard the unification of the international forces of Trade Unionism. Still in recent times we have witnessed the development of the international spirit and it is perfectly obvious that the Trade Union movement is steering directly to the goal of International brotherhood.

From the foregoing it is logical to conclude that Trade Unionism is a permanent force in modern society. Its birth everywhere coincides with the birth of capitalism and changes in the construction of capitalist society have led to corresponding changes in the structure and outlook of the Trade Unions. In India the Trade Union movement is small and practically insignificant. Yet as capitalism and modern industrial methods grow the industrial army of India, the Trade Unions will develop side by side.

The Indian movement has however one decided advantage over the older movements in other countries. The pioneers of Trade Unionism had neither theory nor practical experience to guide them. Mistakes were common, weaknesses in structure and policy were frequently revealed and it was only the bitter experience of repeated set-backs and defeats that enabled the early Trade Union leaders to realize their mistakes and note the organizational weaknessess of the movement. At times the movement has been almost crushed by oppression. On the other occasions it was almost broken up by internal friction. From all these trials it has emerged and its present power and influence is due to the fact that the Trade Union Movement has learned from its defeats and strengthened itself accordingly.

The Indian Trade Union Movement as it stands today is on the threshold of its "proper" career. It must take into consideration the experiences of the brother movements in other countries, and, by avoiding similar mistakes and organizational weaknesses, it can rapidly grow into a powerful working-class factor in Indian and International politics. It seems, however, the experience of the brother movements in other countries has not borne any result upon the Trade Union leaders in India. They have deluded themselves to take up the position of Trade Union leaders under social forces of the capitalist countries and thus have completely ignored the social forces as determine and condition the movement in India. An understanding of those basic conditions is a necessary prelude to analyse the recent developments in the trade Union movement in India.

The Trade Union movement in India is of comparatively recent growth. Hardly the trumpets of war had ceased when there arose Soviet Russia with unprecedented hopes for the labouring masses all over the world. It awakened hopes of an unprecedented leap from the kingdom of misery into the kingdom of freedom and prosperity for the toilers of all lands. It was this awakening spirit which gave birth to the Trade Union Congress in India. Formerly there existed Unions in most of the industrial areas but they were sporadic organizations lacking coherence and uniformity. They were all philanthropic organizations serving a very limited purpose for the working class in India.

In 1920 Lala Lajpat Rai made an effort and succeeded in founding the All-India Trade Union Congress. This step led for the first time to a consolidated action in all the Trade Unions affiliated to this body. It was not until 1924 that the Government of India passed a specific legislation dealing with the Trade Unions in India. The Trade Union Registration Act of 1924 has however remained a dead letter in many respects. A cursory glance at this measure is sufficient to prove that those responsible for it were fully conversant with the history of Trade Unionism in other parts, and were bent on using that knowledge to the detriment of the budding Indian movement. The Unions are paying a heavy price for the doubtful privilege of being registered and it goes without saying that the non-registered Unions are tabooed by the employers and the authorities.

Before dealing with the legal aspect of the Trade Union movement in India it is necessary to give a short sketch of its zigzag course which it has followed until now. The All India Trade Union Congress has followed since its inception quite a chequered career of its own. There have taken place innumerable strikes but the remarkable change occurred when there was a general strike in the Textile industry of Bombay affecting some 150,000 workers. It was the first instance of the working-class

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coming out of the factory and registering its unequivocal protest against the wage-cut and similar measures of the employers. The working-class in the general strike showed its unmistakable solidarity against the capitalism.

But the most decisive factor in the history of the Trade Unions has been the arrest of thirty-five of Trade Union workers in 1929. From the working-class point of view, this "Conspiracy" case marks a special landmark in having initiated a definite break from the traditional line. The communists appeared at the vanguard of the Indian proletariat.

From now the history changes its aspect. The role of the Indian working-class changed automatically. The rupercussions of the nationalist movement coupled with the arrest of the "Meerut Comrades" brought its influence upon the working class. The proletariat became in some degree class conscious. There was again a general strike in the Jute industry of Bengal and this too had its influence upon the workers. Besides these two great general strikes there have been numerous other strikes of a prolonged character.

The next important landmark to initiate a distinct stage in the history of the Trade Union movement was the split in the ranks of the Trade Union Congress in 1930 at Nagpur. The two groups emerged out of the split—one definitely reactionary and reformist in its nature and the other communist. The following issues came up as factors in creating divergence of opinion. The "affiliation" business has been a thorn on both sides—the reformist as well as communist. The reformists have all along been pressing the Congress to affiliate itself to the International Federation of the Trade Unions. On the other hand, the communists pressed for affiliation to the Pan Pacific Trade Union Federation. Then the "Geneva" bogey has been a thorn on the sides of both.

The culminating point was reached at Nagpur. The reformists walked out and seceded from the Trade Union Congress. For a year the situation went on like this, and the Calcutta session in 1931 further accentuated the divergence already evident in the Trade Union movement. If it was a mistake at Nagpur for the reformists to secede from the Trade Union Congress in 1930, the ultra-Leftism of the communists in Calcutta created the most deplorable situation the Congress has ever been faced with since its inception. It can be s with certainty that the Calcutta split was most unwise and impolitic manoeuvre which Trade Union workers ever indulged in.

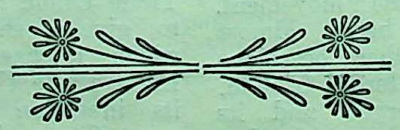
In the Calcutta session the Trade Union Cong emerged as a body more coherent and unif than it was before. Those who were out to is others were themselves isolated by their u Leftist tactics. The Trade Union Congress which Mr. Ruikar is the President is the functioning body, and the other section defunct.

But those who are genuine Trade Unio did not lose the opportunity to come for and raise the Trade Union movement from slough into which it had fallen. The G Kamgar Union of Bombay issued an ap to all the Trade Union organizations in country to unite on the basis of a platform unity which was issued by the said organiza The issue was taken up by various organiza and an Unity Conference was held under auspices of the All India Railway Federa to which Unions belonging to different gr gathered. The Girni-Kamgar Union platform unity formed the basis of discussion. "Unity Committee" was the outcome of conference to which was delegated the task formulating some such fundamental basis unity that will be acceptable to all.

The hopes thus cherished were howe doomed to disappointment. The majority the people constituting the committee were seceders of Nagpur and their recommendati were bound to be adverse for the commun and other sections unacceptable to them.

Another Unity Conference was held Madras in August last. The Conference dec to rally round the All-India Trade U Congress, the only central organization of Indian working class on the basis of "fundamentals" formulated in the "amen platform of unity issued by it.

Thus the Trade Union movement in I has reached a point from which there ca no going back. The increasing aggressivene the capitalists and the employers has resulte thousands retrenched, discharged and let o the roads to starve and die. The form compromise, arbitration, and conciliation b have, however, proved absolutely abortive ineffective in settling the grievances of workers.



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TEA IN INDIA

By AMALRAHA

OF a total of 4,742 gardens in India occupying approximately 8,05,800 acres of land, only 521 belong to Indians. And of the total 391 million pounds of tea, grown in India, about 55 million pounds are grown in tea estates owned by Indians. Volume of labour employed may well be imagined by the fact that Assam alone swallowed up nearly 7 lacs of ordinary labour in this industry from 1918-19 to 1930-31, a brief period of twelve years.

Total tea export from India in 1930-31 to foreign countries amounted to 357 million pounds, out of which Britain (London) alone imported 299½ million pounds. It is interesting to note that over 51 million pounds of this bulk is re-exported to America and the Continent by London.

It is also interesting to note that if India consumed tea produced by Indian owned gardens alone tea thus manufactured would fall short by at least 22 per cent of her present consumption. From 31 million pounds in 1921, India now consumes over 65 million pounds of tea in 1932. Within a brief period of 10 years (1921-31), Indian Tea Cess Committee has achieved this result in India by continuous propaganda.

In 1930-31, as many as 686 joint-stock companies were engaged in this industry and the total capital employed was, approximately 53,43,86 000 in rupees.

Average prices per pound of tea have varied from Rs. 0-10-1 in 1921-22, Rs. 0-15-11 in 1924-25 to Rs. 0-6-5 in 1931-32.

Dividends to shareholders have been paid from 21 per cent to 200 per cent and above by tea companies. In 1929 the average value of 100 shares in tea in the share market was Rs. 303, in 1930 Rs. 278 and in 1931 Rs. 248.

It is also of interest to know that a tea garden, properly managed, very quickly increases the volume of its assets. A tea garden that was started in 1921 with a paid up capital of Rs. 25,000, made a clear profit of Rs. 2,71,000 since 1921 and has built up an asset amounting to Rs. 3,00,000.

The position of Indians in this industry, as in all other industries, is not enviable. Tea trade is entirely in the grip of Europeans. Indians have preferred paying 375 per cent of dividends during better times than building up a sound reserve fund to fall back on in bad times. Finance, required to run an estate during the working season, is always got by Indians from European banks generally, through their respective European auction brokers, by hypothecation of their crop. This makes them totally unable to sell their own tea anywhere and to any person without the consent of the European brokers. An incident illustrating this happened within the writer's knowledge. He made arrangements for the sale of a certain brand of tea to a certain firm on behalf of an Indian tea planter and the delivery order was given when it had been found that the tea under reference had been sold in auction by the brokers. This was, of course, no fault of the brokers, since they were not informed of this private arrangement in due time by the planter though he was in Calcutta and had given the delivery order personally. It seemed that he expected better prices in the auction and vacillated whether or not to inform the brokers. He got no better price any way, but might have been landed in a legal difficulty though this was not done, thanks to the buyers.

Indian tea industry in all its phases is controlled by Europeans since they are the proprietors of most of the gardens. The Indian Tea Association, the Calcutta Tea Brokers' Association and the Indian Tea Cess Committee are the bodies that control and conduct tea in India. It is more than surprising that Indians have none of their own association though some time ago something like an attempt was made.

The Indian Tea Association guides the policy of the entire industry. The Tea

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Brokers' Association effects the sale. The Tea Districts Labour Association controls the labour. The Tea Cess Committee does the propaganda in India and abroad. If the Tea Cess Committee's propaganda succeed in America, it will be a good outlet for Indian tea. But it is very difficult to fight the coffee habit in America. In 1928 consumption of tea in America was 18 million pounds. Two years later in 1930, consumption increased only by a million pound. The world over tea consumption has decreased. In 1920 the total consumption of all teas was 113 million pounds. In 1929 it was 93 million pounds and in 1930, 84 million pounds. In India the Tea Cess Committee's propaganda has achieved splendid success. By ten years, the consumption of tea has gone up more than double, from 30 million pounds to 65 million pounds. In India, potential results are obviously much greater than in any coffee-drinking country. Possibilities in India are incalculable as the population is vast and there is no national beverage to stand in the way. People are not prejudiced against tea or for coffee. Recruitment to the staff of the Tea Cess Committee from educated and influential Indian families will be, if done, very wise, as in India the mass follows the intelligentzia almost blindly. There ought not to be much difference in pay and cadre between Indians and Europeans and if no discrimination is made certainly young men from the higher classes of the society will be tempted to join the Tea Cess service.

The Indian Tea Cess Committee would do well, too, to recruit a few women to their staff as a matter of experiment. If the recruitment is done properly and the selection is made from personal knowledge of the women selected, very good results may follow. More often, it is difficult to persuade a woman who never walks out of her home to sip a cup of tea than it is with men. The writer has experience of *purdah* ladies taking tea in stone cups, since they think clay cups, made of pottery, are not ritually pure. Such is the prejudice! Male employees will not be admitted in the *purdah*. Moreover, an intense propaganda ought to be carried on among the higher classes of people along with public demonstrations for the masses.

Indian tea planters would not have had to think of other countries in which to sell their teas, if they could only combine in a solid block and carry on a proper propaganda in their country which consumes 22 per cent more of tea than all of them produce. Time is only too ripe for them to make an earnest effort.

The tea trade, alike all other trades, is undergoing an extremely trying experience. Expert opinion holds that the tone of the market would improve from this year and signs of improvement will be visible during it. But it is sure, unless political questions are brought to a permanent settlement all the world over, that every trade will have to find difficulty in its way to progress and prosperity.

WORLD DISARMAMENT DEPENDS ON INDIA

All the world is thinking about disarmament; but how little does it understand what is primarily in the way. The absolutely indispensable condition of international disarmament is that Great Britain shall first give freedom to India. The reason why is clear as the sun. The other nations of the world will not disarm so long as Great Britain remains armed. Everybody admits that. But Great Britain must remain armed, simply cannot disarm, so long as she holds India in her possession. Every Englishman knows that without a strong army and navy England would lose her great Indian Empire. It follows that the first step towards world disarmament absolutely must be the freeing of India. Then (but not before) Britain can disarm and thus make it possible for other nations to do the same. Thus we see that so long as India's subjection continues, all talk at Geneva or anywhere else, about general international disarmament, is and must continue to be mere words without any real meaning, mere whistling to the wind.

J. T. SUNDERLAND

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Indian Women of To-day

Indian women of to-day are engaged in all kinds of activities which contribute to the well-being of the country. Miss P. Satthianadhan gives the following resumé of their activities at present in *The Young Builder*:

Culture and knowledge are spreading rapidly in the feminine world of Hindustan. This, however, does not mean that our more refined classes ever lacked civilization; though at the same time it cannot be denied that it was not very general, and the true benefit of modern education is that its merits are being realized by all classes of people. Our women's colleges and schools are all being crowded by happy girls; in fact applications are increasing so much each year that I have known many refused. What a difference is this to fifty years ago, when there was hardly an Indian woman who wished or dared to take up higher studies. How rapidly, therefore, is the old order giving place to the new!

Every year, therefore, the number of our lady graduates and doctors is increasing; and what is better still, scope is being given them for efficient service. The responsible posts of superintendents of large institutions and principals of colleges are being thrown open to Indian women, and the genuine solid work, which lady doctors in this country are carrying on, can only be realized by the greatness of the sacrifices involved and the results produced.

Many Indian women are completing their university careers by studies in England or America and it is interesting to note that it is not alone the enthusiasm for the mere education, in the sense of passing examinations, that actuates them; but there is also a great craving for travel and an intense desire for wide-spread knowledge and experience even among staid married ladies.

The demand for freedom and equal rights with men is being rapidly recognized. Among those who are fighting for the uplift of their sisters, there are some who are extremists, and some who are moderates. The former, in spite of the excellent work that they are doing, are apt to go too far, and and to imitate the ways and customs of western women to an unnecessary degree. They are inclined to stop at no conventions; and in their very zest to follow European women in their carefree life, they often over-step limits.

Yet they, with the more modest moderates, on the whole are doing excellent work, and through them evils such as child-marriage, the institutions of brothels and *Devadasis*, the supression of widows, and innumerable old-fashioned customs are being undermined. Then there are ladies, who are legislative councillors, municipal councillors, members of district and educational boards, honorary magistrates and university senate members, not to mention those who have represented us at the Round Table Conference. The amount of good these active enthusiastic women are doing to our land cannot be estimated.

It is needless to mention the interest that Indian women of today are showing in politics. How marvellous is their service in the present political upheaval! The *Swadeshi* and Buy Indian Leagues seem to be gaining such rapid ground, that Indian women, hitherto so shy and modest, actually volunteer to serve in public shops. The anti-untouchability movement has received a great impetus by the association of women.

Another fact which proves that our women are more energetic than they were before is that almost every small mof ssil station, these days, can boast of a ladies' club, where the women of the station meet a few evenings a week, and spend the time in pleasant recreation. Guiding and social work is also becoming popular.

From this brief resumé of the activities of Indian women, it will be seen that they are by no means the backward, bashful, incompetent and inefficient creatures that they have hitherto appeared to be.

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The Permanent Settlement

It's no good denying the fact that the Permanent Settlement of Bengal has not been an unmixed blessing. It has given rise to various problems. Mr. Khagendra Nath Sen discusses the financial aspect of the permanent settlement in *Landholders' Journal*. He concludes his paper as follows:

As a domestic problem of Bengal, it raises moral, legal, economic and financial issues. Morally, those who swear by Regulation I of 1793 enjoy almost an impregnable position. Legally, the position is not secure, for the Legislature can supersede the Regulation or at any rate modify the same. Even within the existing terms of the Regulation, the question whether it rules out taxation of agricultural incomes has not been free from controversy. From the economic point of view, a number of problems have already been referred to. The biggest problem is that of sub-infeudation. It will remain a problem as long as there is a paucity of industries in the province offering alternative means of employment and investment. The two safest channels of investment are, in public estimation, Government paper and land. A century ago, land was the only means of livelihood as well as investment. Sub-infeudation is the consequence, being of course encouraged by the settlement in perpetuity of the land revenue. As the gap between the rental value of the land and the revenue paid on it increases, the number of interests and tenures is liable to grow. On the other hand, in times of distress; it is the land-holding community which acts as the first buffer, and is the first to feel the pinch. For revenue laws are rigid and the landholders find it almost impossible to realize the rents.

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This is, perhaps, as it should be, for it helps the ryots compared to whom the landlords are in a better position to withstand the stress. But the position is not so satisfactory at a time of prosperity. The landlords are debarred from increasing the rents unless there is an extraordinarily long spell of prosperity. The State has thus taken its revenge on the landlords for the permanent settlement of land-revenue. This fact discounts a great deal the privileged position of the Bengal landholder as compared to his compeers in other parts of the country. Incidentally it has helped to create a peasantry that is better able to weather the first effects of an economic blizzard. If they cannot actually do it, the responsibility does not lie with the Permanent Settlement but other economic factors.

From the point of view of public finance, the problem is one of equalizing the burden of taxation. Here we come across a real defect of the existing system. The defect arises really from the regressive character of the land tax whereas all other taxes are either proportional or progressive. If the rate of any tax should not be regressive, it is the tax on land values. The high rate of the tax, as it is, does not matter, for different sources of income are charged at different rates. What matters is the character of how the rate increases or decreases. In the case of land, it is well-known that much of the increase in value is 'unearned' and calls for, if not confiscation, at least the application of a progressive tax schedule. The incidence of the land revenue when it was first imposed was 90 per cent of the rental value. Today it is about 30 per cent. Fifty years hence, it may be below 20 per cent—as low as 10 per cent in a prosperous Bengal. All this time, every other class sharing in the increased prosperity will be required to contribute at a proportional, if not progressive, rate to the State treasury. This is an iniquity which should receive attention from now. I suspect that a good deal of the agitation for the taxation of agricultural incomes arises from a dim, not always intelligent, appreciation of this cardinal fact. The Permanent Settlement has been the villain of the piece, but the uncritical assailants have lost track of the real chase by themselves drawing a number of red herrings across it.

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The Co-operative Bank

Many countries have prospered though co-operation. A bank started on co-operative basis can render help to the people to carry on agriculture and small indigenous industries. Sir P. C. Roy offers some suggestions as to how a central co-operative bank should be run in *The Bengal Co-operative Journal*. He says:

In this connection let me make certain general suggestions for conducting your work on sound banking principles. Dues from societies or individuals should be realized with utmost regularity. If they once begin to fall in arrears they become ultimately unrealizable. The terms of a loan should be determined according to the importance of its object and small-term deposits should never be employed in long-term investments. The central banks have been advised by the Indian Banking Enquiry Committee to confine themselves to short-term and intermediate credit, leaving long-term credit for land mortgage banks. Loans given to cultivators should be sufficient for their requirements and should never be allowed to be diverted from the object for which they are ostensibly taken.

Generally speaking, a central co-operative bank should not have under it more societies than it can finance. The Indian Banking Enquiry Committee recommends that central banks should operate over fairly large areas and have a goodly number of societies affiliated to them. The recommendation of the Bengal Banking Enquiry Committee is more specific. It prohibits the splitting up of central banks before the number of affiliated societies reaches 50. Even then, no new central bank should be formed until a sufficient number of men of intelligence, influence and possessing knowledge of co-operation can be found in the locality to form the directorate. Fluid resources of the banks should never be allowed to fall below a fixed level. Overdue unrealized interest should not be considered as assets in declaring dividends.

Certain important recommendations of the Central and the Bengal Provincial Banking Enquiry Committees about the working of the co-operative banks should be mentioned here. They have been advised to set up a bad debt fund and contribute to it regularly as is done in the case of reserve funds. The Bengal Committee has referred at some length to the important nature of their work and has recommended that they should be entrusted with more responsible work like land mortgage. But the financing of primary societies being their main object, the central banks have been advised not to undertake commercial banking. Inter-lending amongst different co-operative banks and between these and other credit institutions has also been disapproved.

The guarantee of Rs. 30 lakhs offered by the Government of Bengal on behalf of the Provincial Co-operative Bank is significant and is a sufficient assurance to the depositors that their interests are safe. The Provincial Bank as well as the Bengal Co-operative Organization Society are important agencies in the development and regulation of the co-operative movement. The necessity of such central organizations for the growth and expansion of the movement has been fully demonstrated in western countries. These institutions deserve your full co-operation and support.

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Is not the 'Harijan' a Hindu?

Is not the 'Harijan,' one belonging to the so-called depressed classes, a Hindu? The question has been answered, taking particularly the legal aspect in view, by Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastry in *The Indian Review*. He says:

A point is raised by an eminent writer on Hindu law as to whether the Harijans are Hindus. There is a great deal of ingenuity exercised by the controversialists on both sides and there is nothing but controversial cleverness in the contention that Harijans are not Hindus. Courts have always applied Hindu Law to them and at no time has it been suggested that they were not Hindus. Decisions can be cited that even as regards worship they are within the pale of Hinduism though there may be restriction as to the place from which they should worship. Even in the temple of Guruvayur they have a right of access into the temple though it is only for three days in the year.

It is stated that the fact that they are governed by Hindu law is no proof that they are Hindus because some Muslims are also governed by Hindu

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law. I should like to know any case in which Hindu law governs people who are not Hindus or were never before Hindus. It is in every case either because the persons are Hindus or because they were Hindus and are still retaining their old Hindu law that Hindu law is applied to them. If it has to be conceded that at one time they were treated as Hindus and therefore Hindu law came to beapplied to them, the question will arise when did they cease to be Hindus?

The other point that is urged is that some of the Harijans take part in the Muharram festivities and therefore they are not Hindus. There are Brahmins who fulfil vows to Nagore Durga and no one doubts that they are Hindus. There are Hindu families from which the eldest man passes to the place of a *sajjadanashin* of a Durga, there are intermarrying Hindus and Christians and there are Muslims and Christians retaining in part Hindu customs, without anybody questioning the membership of such persons in their respective communities. All this only furnishes proof that the leaders of the Hindu community have failed to discharge their duty of maintaining a hold on members of their community or imbue them with due respect for their own culture. And it may be added that one who neglects any limb of his community as undeserving of attention or careful protection will have the difficulties that we encounter at home and abroad. That they should cling to the Hindu community which cares so little for them is wholly to their credit and to our eternal discredit.

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Vernacular the Medium of Instruction

One need not argue at this time of day why vernacular should be the medium of instruction. In India the case is otherwise, save and except in the Osmania University which has taken up Urdu as the medium. So, *The National Christian Council Review* welcomes the idea of making Hindi the medium of instruction in the Benares Hindu University :

In his convocation address at the Benares Hindu University, which, contrary to the traditions of modern Indian universities, was given in Hindi, Pandit Malaviya pertinently raised the question of the medium of instruction in our schools and colleges. He stated that the pupils in the Central Hindu School of the University were receivng education through their mother tongue, and that from the next year in the Intermediate Classes also the medium of instruction would be the mother-tongue. This is a reform of far-reaching significance. While in the rest of the world universities use the vernacular as the medium of instruction, in India the only university among our sixteen universities which has adopted this obviously sound educational method is the Osmania University of the Hyderabad State. The method of imparting instruction in the vernacular does not do away with a proper study of the English language, as Pandit Malaviya pointed out in his address, and as demonstrated already in the Osmania University. It is to be hoped that the example of Hyderabad and Benares will be followed by other Indian universities. The difficulties in the way of adopting this reform are no doubt many. That they are not insuperable, however, has been shown by the replies to a circular on the subject issued by the Inter-University Board last year. Inertia and unwillingness to depart from the beaten track are more responsible for the reform not being given a fair trial than the difficulties that are inherent in it. It has been made possible for the Osmania University to make Urdu the medium of instruction in all subjects, because of the sustained labours of the translation bureau maintained by that University and of specialists engaged in producing suitable text-books. The revolutionary change now being worked out in the Osmania University and the innovation along the same lines contemplated by the Benares University deserve to be carefully studied by those engaged in Christian higher education in India.

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Adult Education in England

The same paper publishes an informative article on the adult education movement in England. To fight illiteracy some system of adult education must also be introduced into India. The following extracts will therefore prove useful.

1. *The Workers' Educational Association* has 2,367 affiliated societies and a membership of 900,000 men and women. The classes organized by it were attended by 38,730 students. It is the biggest agency for adult education in England.

2. *The Educational Settlements Association* has in affiliation 13 educational settlements and 6 residential colleges. The total membership is 5,170.

3. *The Young Men's Christian Association* comprises 620 local associations and Red Triangle Club, with a total membership of nearly 69,000 men and 27,000 boys. It organized 6 tutorial classes, 14 one-year classes, 25 terminal courses, popular lectures in 310 centres, numerous study circles, discussion groups, debating societies and wireless clubs.

4. *The Young Women's Christian Association* membership is 33,500. Nearly 20,000 persons a year are brought in touch with the association through the hostel visitors and camps. It conducted 271 classes of the academic type, 140 of practical type and 283 of the recreational type.

5. *The National Federation of Women's Institutes.* There are 4,250 institutes, mostly in villages and small towns. Regular classes are held in dressmaking, cookery, hygiene, literature, history, musical appreciation. There are choral and dramatic societies. The total membership is 250,000.

6. *The National Adult School Union* aims at promoting adult educational work. The movement, though religious, is non-sectarion and non-party, with democratic management and finance. It affiliates 1,404 adult schools (men's 591, women's 528, mixed 164, young people's 121). All schools meet weekly and undertake the study of subjects set forth in the annual issues of the *Adult School Lesson Handbook.* They also arrange lectures, week-end schools, non-residential courses, summer schools, study groups, recreational and religious activities, and a good deal of social service work. They also organize handicraft courses, international visits, an international correspondence bureau, music and dramatic festivals, arts and crafts exhibitions. There are five permanent guest houses.

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7. *Co-operative Union.* The Co-operative Movement has 1,309 societies with 5,000,000 members. Men's Co-operative Guilds have 61,000 members in England and 27,000 in Scotland. Meetings are held weekly, and such subjects as social services, poor law reform, war tendencies and how to combat them, the care of the mother, food values, business methods are studied. There is a vast amount of educational work among children and adolescents.

8. *The National Council of Labour College* is financed and controlled by 32 trade unions with a membership of 2,000,000. The council has 106 colleges. It organized 1,102 classes with 28,147 students. In addition it had 3,385 correspondence course students, gave 1,018 lectures to working-class organizations.

9. *The British Association of Residential Settlements* has 43 settlements, apart from educational settlements. In each case a number of men and women live together in an industrial neighbourhood, and thus create a centre of social and educational work of all kinds. At Toynbee Hall and the Mary Ward Settlement the work is largely educational, and is financially assisted by the London County Council.

10. *The British Drama League* has 1,500 amateur societies, mostly attached to schools. It has 75,000 members who are either practising, studying, or intelligently enjoying the art of the theatre.

11. *The British Broadcasting Corporation* always includes educational talks for adults in its daily programmes. In 1928 it constituted a Central Council for Broadcast Adult Education. In 1930 as many as 185 organized listening groups were in existence. Each of these groups meets regularly to listen to a course of lectures, every lecture being followed by a discussion under a qualified leader. The B. B. C. issues *Aids to Study* pamphlets, and articles in its weekly paper, *The Listener*, a journal intended to promote generally the educational and cultural sides of Broadcasting. The B.B.C. is truly called the 'People's University.'

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The Anti-Untouchability Movement and Indian Women

Women can do much to remove the curse of untouchability from India. They are doing much to render the country happier and better and have already set to think about the invidiousness of untouchability. *Stri-Dharma* writes :

Apart from this it cannot but strike any thinking person that so long as the vast Hindu community which constitutes the majority of the Indian people remains divided against itself there can be no substantial political advance in the country because the very idea of joint electorate, for which Mahatma Gandhi staked his life, is entirely dependent for its successful application in practice to the removal of all customs that lead the higher caste Hindus to deprive their oppressed brothers and sisters of any rights, whether civic or religious. It is therefore imperative that in a situation like this where ancient customs and usages with all the traditions to support them are on the one hand and the immediate needs and injuries done to a vast number of our fellowmen are on the other, the demands of the latter upon our conscience should take the first place. We feel that laws and customs that no longer command the sanction of love, reason, and humanity should be changed and if need be, even cast off in order to remove the disabilities that such usages and customs have laid upon innocent shoulders for generations for after all there is nothing greater or higher in creation than human personality. Whatever law or custom tends to injure or demoralize or insult a human being, cannot and should not have a place upon the statute books of any progressive nation. Laws are made for the benefit of men and not men for the laws. Therefore since untouchability and its accompanying evils lay upon the shoulders of many millions of our brothers and sisters an insupportable burden of insult and injury and deprivation, no Indian should, at this stage, be found unwilling to atone to these people by throwing open the temples, tanks, wells and all other places of common worship and common use. No matter how fossilized customs have to be broken in doing so.

—

Edison on Luck and Sleep

Prabuddha Bharata publishes the following :

Mr. M. A. Rasonoff, a co-worker of Mr. Edison, gives in the following the opinion of the latter regarding the secret of his success in work :

"One day the Old Man (Mr. Edison) sat down for a chat, and we exchanged confidences. 'Do you believe in luck ?' he asked me. I said, 'Yes and no. My reasoning mind revolts against the superstition of luck, my savage soul clings to it.'—'For my part,' said the old man, 'I do not believe in it at all. And if there is such a thing as luck then *I* must be the most unlucky fellow in the world. I've never once made a lucky strike in all my life. When I get after something that I need, I keep finding everything in the world that I *don't* need—one damn thing after another. I find ninety-nine things that I don't need, and comes number one hundred, and that—at the very last—turns out to be just what I had been looking for...Would you call that hard luck ? But I'm tellin' you I don't believe in luck—good or bad. Most folks try a few things and then quit. *I* never quit till I get what I'm after. That's the only difference between me, that's supposed to be lucky, and the fellows that think they are unlucky. Then again lot of people think that I have done things because some 'genius' that I've got. That too is not true. Any other bright-minded fellow can accomplish as much if he will stick like hell and remember that nothing that's any good works by itself, to please you ; you got to *make* the damn thing work. You may have heard people repeat what have said, 'Genius is one per cent inspiration, and nine per cent perspiration'. 'Yes, Sir, it's more *hard work.*' I said, 'You will admit, Mr. Edison, that at least your patience is out of the ordinary'—Oh ; Yes,' he replied, 'I got lots of patience.'

Mr. Edison's idea of sleep is no less interesting. It is due to this theory, perhaps, that he could work night after night without or with almost no sleep.

"A favourite topic with him was his theory of sleep. To this he came back again and again. "Sleep,' he asserted, 'is an acquired habit. Cells don't sleep. Fish swim about in the water all night. *they* don't sleep. Even a horse don't sleep, he stands still and rests. A man don't need-any more. You try it sometime. Work all day all night, early in the morning, take a nap for half-an-

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then jump up, wash your face with ice-water, and go back to work again. You'll be fresh as a lark and feel just fine."

—

Ramans' Scientific Discoveries

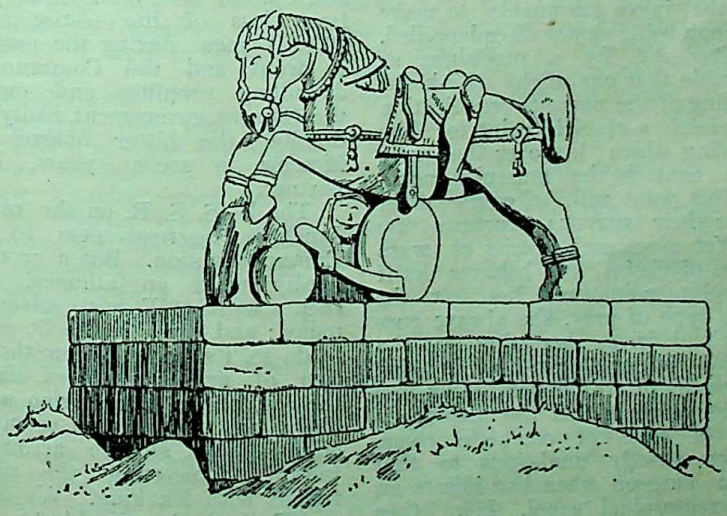
Dr. Meghnad Saha has the following in *India and the World* about Prof. C. V. Raman's scientific discoveries :

The crowning achievement of his life came in 1928 when he discovered 'Combination Scattering", now called fittingly after him "Raman Effect". This was not due to a mere stroke of good fortune but was the culmination of years of hard and continuous work. The blue colour of the sky and the sea has always impressed poets and authors, but a scientific explanation of it was first given by Lord Rayleigh, and was supported by the experiments of Tyndall. Lord Rayleigh showed that the phenomena was due to the breaking up of light waves by the molecules which compose our atmosphere. The sky appears blue because more blue light is thrown sideways than red light.

Raman's interest in the subject seems to have been roused by experiments which were carried out about 13 years ago by the Hon'ble T. Strutt, the present Lord Rayleigh (and son of the first Lord Rayleigh) for experimentally demonstrating the validity of his father's theories. He devised a very delicate apparatus for experimentally investigating the scattering by molecules of different types and in co-operation with his numerous students carried out hundreds of experiments on these lines. In course of these investigations he was troubled by experiences of a new kind. He found that light seems to be modified in its colour when scattered by matter. What happens is this : When light falls on matter, which is itself excited by heat or any other agency, the electromagnetic vibrations which constitute light become locked up with the vibrations of matter, and is profoundly modified when it comes out. But this modification cannot be detected if white light be used, because white light is a jumble of many lights and the modified lights get lost in the motley crowd. So light of one single colour has to be used, and the modified light has to be analysed by a spectroscope. This crucial experiment was carried out by Raman and Krishnan in 1928, and was immediately successful.

The effect of this discovery on the Scientific world was immense, for it not only brought to light new phenomena, but it opened a new way for investigating the properties of matter. The importance of the result was first recognized by P. Pringsheim, Professor at Berlin who in an article in the German *Naturwissenschaft* gave an account of the discovery, and called attention to its great importance in molecular physics. From this time onwards, the interest in the work has remained unabated, and investigations on Raman spectrum (spectrum of combination scattering due to molecules) have become common features in journals of physics and chemistry. A great amount of these contributions has come from Prof. Raman's own laboratory. His great services to science were recognized by the award of a Nobel Prize in 1930, and strange to say, even that prosaic body, the Government of India, seemed to signify its appreciation by conferring on him a knighthood in 1929, a distinction usually reserved for bureaucrats and politicians of a class whose activities are of an approved type.

As is usual in these days, controversies regarding precedence immediately arose after the announcement of the discovery, for two Russian workers, Landsberg and Mendelstamm had been working on similar lines and had been forestalled by Raman by only two months. An Austrian Professor, Dr. Smekal, had predicted the effect from thermodynamical reasoning, and Kramers and Heissenberg, two pupils of the famous Niels Bohr, had worked out a theory of refraction on these bases. Experiments to verify the theory were carried out at Bohr's laboratory, but without success. It was reserved for an Indian to achieve the first success in these lines.



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Instinct in Insects

We have been receiving lately a very competent new periodical entitled *Character and Personality*, published by Messrs. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., and devoted to Psychodiagnostics and allied studies. In the second issue of this magazine, Major R. W. G. Hingston contributes an extremely interesting article on "Instinct and Intelligence in Insects." The three aspects of instinct, Major Hingston says, are its perfection, inflexibility and wisdom. Of the wisdom of instinct he gives the following example :

The next point we notice is the wisdom of instinct. Perhaps the best illustration of this is the behaviour of the female solitary wasps. Many species feed their young on paralysed insects ; grasshoppers, crickets, locusts, spiders, and so on. Each species hunts its particular type of victim and keeps fairly strictly to that type alone. The wisdom in the matter is the skill at paralysing. For what the wasp requires is not a dead capture, but rather one that will be helpless and yet alive, so that her young can have living nourishment though in a helpless inert state. So what she does on seizing her capture is, not to sting it to death in an aimless manner, but rather to perform a deliberate operation which illustrates in a forcible manner the wisdom and forethought in the instinctive act. What she does is to scientifically paralyse her victim, putting it into a state of helplessness and coma in which it cannot kick or do any injury and yet can remain alive for weeks or months. In this way her larvae get fresh animal juices, while the creatures that supply the juices are unable to make any resistance even though being slowly disembowelled.

How does she effect it ? By a procedure so deliberate and remarkable that one might think she had a clear understanding of the nervous organization of her victim. She selects a special point for the application of her sting which lies over the main nervous ganglion that controls the muscular movements of the insect. This point will, of course, differ in different insects, for their nervous structures are differently arranged. Yet since each species of wasp keeps to its own type of victim and behaves as if she knew the particular point that lies over the ganglion of that special type of prey, she always goes unerringly to that spot and drives her sting into the ganglion. The ganglion is not a pin-head in size, and yet the wasp gets her jet of poison unfailingly into that minute point. The result is that the capture is struck instantly into a state of complete coma, produced in a manner strictly analagous to that adopted by the human surgeon when he injects an anaesthetic into the cerebrospinal canal. Here then we have wisdom almost staggering in its perfection; it seems of the type that we might expect from the surgical expert or the man of science.

—

Russia and China Comes to an Agreement

The New Republic has the following lea article on the new developments to be exp in the Far East as a result of the S Russian agreement :

The action of China and Russia in resuming diplomatic relations has altered the situation i Far East almost overnight, and to a serious e The Japanese tried hard to maintain their tradi "Oriental stoicism" in the face of the news, bu was easy to see that they were totally ignor of the new development until it was announced, greatly disconcerted by it. Their diplomacy recently been built around the assumption that had Moscow in their pocket ; they were talki the immediate recognition of Manchukuo by U. S. S. R, and were assuming that they no l needed to keep large numbers of men along Siberian border. But not only have China Russia stuck hands, but they made the announcement of it at Geneva, before the eyes of world and in the middle of Japan's desperate effo avoid an adverse judgment by the League on Manchurian adventure.

In retrospect, it is easy to see the motives w have impelled each of the powers involved in new alignment. The Nanking government of C had in recent months become only an empty Communists or semi-Communists control a large of Chinese territory, and have won over to cause, in greater or less degree, many millions people. The anti-Communist campaigns of Na and Canton have been equally ineffective, desp large loss of life (estimated by the Japanese 100,000 men during the past year). Faced by in front and the Communists in the rear, dwindling revenues and rapidly declining p the Chinese government badly needed a friend, despite the bitter quarrel between Nanking Moscow in recent years, Russia was the partner.

The U. S. S. R. on the other hand, was forc Japanese aggressiveness to take sides in th Eastern situation. But a workers' government hardly make an alliance, explicit or implicit such a band of Fascist adventurers as rules today ; and even if the U. S. S. R. had been to do so, its leaders knew that Japan is in a tion of grave weakness due to the depressi the cost of the Manchurian adventure, and is likely to undergo an economic collapse. Un circumstances, all the arrows of expediency p toward foregetting the painful past and friends with Nanking. We do not know what the U. S. S. R. was able to obtain in the w concessions by the Chinese, but it is certain to assume that it was a high one.

Japan's Machurian position seems likely to even more difficult than heretofore. Her ope

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here are being hampered at every turn by Chinese "bandits" who are of course secretly aided by their compatriots in China. These guerilla bands, which ink into the ground as if by magic whenever they are pursued in force, and appear again the moment pursuit is abandoned, will find the new position of great value. The more Manchuria costs, the greater will be the unrest and dissatisfaction in Japan over the adventure. On the other hand, hould the League of Nations continue to dodge its esponsibility in regard to the Far Eastern question s it has lately been doing, Japan and China may nd in Russia the third party who can bring hem together in some sort of compromise arrangeent which, for a few years at least, may enable hem to live together without bloodshed,

—

A Little Moscow Girl

A German visitor to Moscow describes an nterview with a nine-year-old girl Communist *Das Tage-Buch*, a Munich weekly. A transation of this account has been given by *The iving Age*. Its exceptional interest justifies us quoting a larger extract than is usual in this ection.

'This is the best view you can get of Moscow, is it ?' she said.

'What is your name ?' I inquired.

'Shura. It's a Russian name. I was born in scow but I speak German at home with my ents. You need to know a lot of languages, don't ? Next year I'll learn English. English is imrtant.'

'How old are you, Shura ?'

'Ten.' She paused a moment, looking a little hamed of herself. 'No, not quite, not untill ecember' Then, with great assurance, 'But I ready belong to the Pioneers.'

'Indeed. Then you will soon join the Young mmunist League.'

Shura did not like my joke, and earnestly inrmed me, 'That takes a long time. It is not so sy. To become a *Komsomoletz*, a member of the oung Communist League, you have to be sixteen ars old.'

'What do you want to be, Shura ?

'I want to work in a factory.' She spoke with ecision, so that nobody could doubt her determinaon. Have you seen our new ball-bearings factory ? ine, is n't it ? The new American machines are eady working in the big room. We are ahead the plan. After September we shall have our n machines, and then we shall not have to buy y more expensive American machines. See, over ere to the right of the radio station. That's e factory.'

'How do you happen to know all this so well ? d you learn it in school ?'

'In school ? Pooh. I went there and saw it th my own eyes.' And then she added, very oudly, 'I was also in Amo and Electrosavod and the clock factory. I've been everywhere.'

'Is this part of your school work ? Does your cher take you ?

'What do we need a teacher for ? We Pioneers alone in our free afternoons,'

'Do you have to arrange your visits orehand ?

'The shop council takes care of that. To-morrow we visit the Biochemical.

'What's that ?'

'An institute.'

'Do you know what biochemistry is ?'

'No, the professor will tell us that when get there.'

'And why are you going to this institute ?

'Well, becaues we went to see *Fear* last week. It is a good play. I have seen it twice. Stanislavski is giving it at the Art Theare. Go see it.'

'I've seen it. A very interesting play, really. But did you understand it all ?'

'What is there that's hard to understand ?' This very contemptuously.

'Why everything. The whole story about the professor and his position in the party. The problem .....'I became unsure of myself. How was I to explain it to this child ? 'The problem...'

'Professors have no proletarian class consciousness,' Shura stated emphatically, 'because they have never worked in a factory. One of them, the father of the little girl in the play, is an open counter-revolutionary. He never was a worker and got himself into the party under false pretences. I pity the little girl. It is unfair that he was not put in jail. He betrayed the working class yet he was allowed to go free.' Then after a few seconds of concentrated thought, she added, 'And in the theatre, too.' The last words were spoken with all the contempt that a grown-up might express for a frivolous play.

But the next minute Shura became a nine-year-old child again. She pointed to some pretty flowers and asked me to explain why green grass was growing in one field and not in another and what kind of bird that was sitting on the telegraph wire,—for it was a pretty bird, was n't it ?—and where its nest was, and how old the bird was, and why it did n't sing, or whether it could n't sing. I thoroughly enjoyed this stream of questions, and consoled myself that Shura was not beyond redemption as she kept running around back and forth looking for flowers and running races with a little dog. But my relief did not last long, for suddenly the child stopped and regarded the whole countryside and sky with a sweeping gaze. 'A beautiful day.' She spoke perfectly seriously, with objective conviction. 'Now I must go home.'

'Lessons, I suppose. Have you got much home work ?'

'Not much, but to-morrow I must make an address on Lenin.'

'An address ? What ever are you going to say ?'

Shura looked at me distrustfully out of the corner of her eye. Was I making fun of her ? Then she replied, rather reluctantly. 'Nothing that you would n't know.' Then, more confidently, 'I am going to speak about Trotskiism.' I did not dare to ask what little Shura understood by Trotskiism, so I changed the subject.

'Have you ever been to Germany ?

'No, but when there is communism in Germany I shall certainly go there. After the revolution. When are you going to have your revolution in Germany ?' The final question was asked in a contemptuous tone.

'I don't know. Perhaps there won't be one.'

'No revolution ?' She sounded almost like somebody in Berlin.

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'Certainly it will come, but perhaps it will be a long time in coming,' I replied defensively.

'I know. We Communists are having a hard time in Germany on account of Fascism and the police. I hate the police.'

I broke off our political conversation. 'What about school? How many hours a day do you spend there?

My interest flattered Shura and she began to speak with great volubility. 'Four hours a day. But almost every day we are taken to museums. I like to go to museums, don't you? In Moscow we have beautiful museums. Have you been in the Tregtyakov Gallery yet? I like the picture of the Cossacks best. They used to live where Dnieprostroi now is but of course that was many centuries ago'.

'And in the afternoon you visit factories and then write out your home work and prepare addresses?

'Not every day.'

'And the evenings?'

'In the evening I have Pioneer duty from seven to nine.'

'What does that mean?'

'Different things. This month we are inspecting the housing in our quarter. We are making sure that all servant girls go to night school and learn their lessons properly and we see how far they have got along in reading and writing. Last month we undertook a compaign against alcohol.'

'How did you do that?'

'Quite simple. We know which workers drink too much. We went to see them in the evening when they were at home and we talked to them and explained to them that they would soon die if they drank so much vodka and that drunkenness is unproletarian. We wrote letters to many of them.'

I felt that I was not making a very intelligent impression, so I tried to conceal my confusion behind a superior smile. 'And haven't you ever been thrown out of factories or houses? Have n't you ever been beaten up?'

Shura stared at me with wide eyes for several seconds and her gaze was so uncomprehending that I was perplexed. 'Thrown out? But in that case we'd simply write a letter about it to the *Pravda*.'

—

The Irish Situation.

Mr. H. N. Brailsford contributes to *The World Tomorrow* an impression of Ireland after revisiting the country after the civil war. In this article he lays bare some of the underlying motives of her economic war with Great Britain.

Ireland governs herself, but under her own tricolour flag her Parliament is still conducting the war of liberation, with bounties in place of bombs. In the streets, stencilled inscriptions on the walls incite the passer-by to "boycott British goods"; shop windows appeal to him to "buy Irish"; bands of young enthusiasts occasionally visit the stores to stimulate their owners' patriotism, while elaborate advertisements in the daily press assure women that Irish robes and underwear are now what fashion demands. In spite of this economic war Dublin seemed a calmer city than I had ever known before. Perhaps, as some business men suggested, it was too depressed to generate excitement. Tariff wars do at once what wars of blood and iron do only when the smoke and the glory have vanished: they make unempl[illegible] I met a dejected procession of men parading [illegible] hunger behind a hedge of policemen, and [illegible] moment I felt myself at home. With such sp[illegible] capitalism can cure the travellers' homesick[illegible] any city of this earth.

I found much that I expected to see: *the papers do not always lie*. But one discovery I [illegible] There is behind this economic warfare a motive [illegible] more constructive than animosity based on [illegible] wrongs. When I talked with Mr. De V[illegible] colleagues and followers, I found that this [illegible] with Great Britain is only an incident, though [illegible] disturbing one, in a long-range policy adop[illegible] other grounds. They have made up their min[illegible] the present economic system—if anarchy deserv[illegible] name—is rapidly crumbling, and cannot mend [illegible] They believe that international trade can ne[illegible] re-established on the former scale. If the [illegible] market for Irish cattle and butter is dwindli[illegible] Thomas's punitive tariff, they argue, has only ha[illegible] an inevitable process. They point to the [illegible] farmer who also is in despair over the prices of [illegible] stock, and to their neighbours in Ulster wh[illegible] calling for a moratorium for their payments of [illegible] annuities. Even from loyalists the unemploy[illegible] Lancashire do not buy fresh meat.

If then Ireland must adjust herself to a [illegible] slipping back into barbaric isolation, she mus[illegible] at self-sufficiency. Even at a heavy loss she [illegible] grow her own wheat. Her case, these enth[illegible] argue, is enviable in comparison with Eng[illegible] Poor though she may be, she can feed and c[illegible] herself at need. Tariffs are encouraging the esta[illegible] ment of some new industries, though as yet they [illegible] to be small-scale concerns—cement works, tanne[illegible] boot factory and little workshops for clothing [illegible] hosiery. Even the handicraft spinning [illegible] weaving of the primitive West has been stim[illegible] Ireland, so runs the argument, can adapt her[illegible] the break-down of international capitalism, pr[illegible] because she has not yet entered the industri[illegible] She may jump over an entire period in her de[illegible] ment, as Russia did, and leap forward into [illegible] social order. What manner, of civilization this w[illegible] I could not discover in any detail. Th[illegible] industries fostered by the tariffs seemed to be [illegible] scale capitalist concerns of the usual type, th[illegible] they will be required to pay fair wages. The gr[illegible] who are breaking up the pastures of Meath [illegible] wheat under a bounty instead of bullocks, s[illegible] no new relationship to the land, the commu[illegible] their hired labourers. None the less, there is [illegible] enthusiasm for planning, though no one cou[illegible] me the plans.

—

Soldiers as Realists

Speaking about realists and idealists [illegible] *Catholic World* has the following about soldi[illegible]

Another group of realists are the soldiers, [illegible] course, volunteers or drafted men who go off [illegible] as to a dirty job when their country needs th[illegible] the professional militarists, who spew up[illegible] particular breed of idealists that they call [illegible] In fact they ask to know if pacifists are [illegible] most despicable and "impossible" of all [illegible] Their plan of campaign seems to be to tolerate [illegible] advocates in time of peace but to shut them [illegible]

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"treat them rough" when war comes or when war threatens. Deal with them as with Communists on the street corner, or as the London Bobbies are said to deal with anarchists in Hyde Park. It is good that they should let off steam. But when an emergency arises, clap them all into jail and don't be too polite with them, the dirty scum. We can put up with them in normal times but we will stand none of their nonsense and none of their treason. Yes Sir, that's what it is. Treason, when our country is in trouble or in danger.

As for reduction of armaments and all that silly rot, don't the fools understand that their own lives wouldn't be worth a lead nickle if we didn't have a navy as big as the biggest? Who do they think is going to protect them when an enemy steams into the harbour with a hundred battleships? And when the dreamers tell the soldiers that they aim not at the reduction of armament, but at the abolition of war, the great bluff hearty realists scarcely know whether to laugh or to rave. The abolition of war! The—fools! Why will they talk such impossible nonsense!

So since the realists are in the saddle, or on the captain's bridge, the merry, merry game of manufacturing engines of war and accumulating ammunition goes on. Almost any day you may read in the newspapers some such statement as this: The French debt payment due to Uncle Sam on December 15th was $19,261,430. But France says she cannot pay it. Her armaments this year cost $466,960,000, twenty-four times as much as the debt she cannot pay. Belgium's debt payment due December 15th was $2,125,000. But Belgium's armament for this year costs $33,303,200, more than fifteen times the debt due to us. So Belgium too had to default. Italy paid interest on her debt to the amount of $1,245,437 on December 14th. But her expenditures for armament for the year is $248,946,500, almost 200 times what she paid us on account. England, after much debate and with reservations, paid her December 15th bill of $95,500,000. But this year she spent $465,255,000 on armament.

—

Emotional Effect of Depression on the Young

The evil effects of unemployment and economic destitution of parents on children are described in *Mental Hygiene Bulletin*:

Social workers find that when destitute parents say "the kids are too young to understand" they are minimizing the enormous mental and emotional strain of unemployment conditions on their offspring, according to a report to the Emergency Unemployment Relief Committee in New York City made recently by its investigators.

"With 12,000 children in the families under our care, the Charity Organization Society has reason to be concerned about the effect of the depression on their young minds. Miss Grace Marcus, Case Consultant, told Emergency Unemployment Relief Committee investigators, "The psychological danger is even more important than the physical hazards besetting the children.

"It is a serious thing emotionally for children to see their parents fall from their proper pedestals. They react to it in various unhappy ways. One child becomes frightened and withdrawn. Another flees a home in distress, spending his hours in reckless and delinquent behaviour. Others are seized by panic and hysteria.

"Many children, encouraged by anxious parents or driven by their own feeling of responsibility, engage illegally in street trades with a resultant increase in juvenile delinquency and truancy.

"Marital relationships that might withstand ordinary hazards may break under the continuous strain of the economic situation and, in many cases, children who were subconsciously unwanted are because of heightened strain in the home, openly rejected, with all that means to them in danger and unhappiness."

—

The New Atheism.

Mr. Hilaire Belloc describes in *America* the emergence of a new type of atheism in the West.

I have just finished reading for the second time Father Ronald Knox's book on the Broadcast Mind: the condition of mind under which suffer those who inform the British people over the radio on matters of which they themselves know nothing—what classical authors called "The Nature of the Gods."

Father Knox's conclusions jump with those of the reigning Pope in his last Encyclical. In that Encyclical, His Holiness emphasized that great characteristic our time which may be called "The New Atheism." Father Knox, though he does not deal with this only, does most drastically deal with the principal mark of our time—and that mark is unintelligence.

Modern unintelligence is espicially noticeable in those who attack religion positively or negatively. Whether they are directly denying the truths which the Catholic Church has taught the world or, whether they are only implying that those truths are not true, it is always the same thing. You find yourself dealing today with men who cannot think out the problems they approach. Some of them say openly that they do not trust reason and will not use it. Most of them are content with using it imperfectly or hardly using it at all without telling us why they neglect it or despise it.

But either way, this note of unintelligence is always there. They are eloquent about what they *feel*; they are positive in what they *assert*. But proof, the full use of the reason, a conclusion arrived at by *thinking*, they avoid.

—

America Faces the Future

Under the impact of the depression economic thought in America is undergoing a new orientation. Its character and extent can be judged from Professor Charles A. Beard's *America Faces the Future*, of which a review appears in *Political Science Quarterly*. The review runs:

This is one of the most interesting books that has appeared in recent years. It is, in fact, an amazing production—a book that would have been inconceivable a few years ago. Those who in the middle twenties questioned the all-pervading beneficence of our economic order were but voices crying in the wilderness. In the first part of this book Dr. Beard has collected statements from leaders in

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politics, education, business and religion asserting that all is not well with our economic order. In the second part are collected various suggestions and plans as to how this economic system can be improved. Beard calls this section of his book "Blue-prints for a Planned Economy" and in it he includes the Swope Plan, the proposals of the Committee on Continuity of Business and Employment of the United States Chamber of Commerce, the plan of the American Federation of Labour, the State Plan of Governor Philip F. La Follette and extracts from speeches by Governor Roosevelt on agricultural planning.

All of this is pretty conclusive evidence that many of our most responsible leaders have abandoned the once sacred theory that *laissez-faire* brought economic salvation. It is certainly a phenomenon of no small importance that many American leaders are in agreement to that extent. Marxians might well count it a victory that the failure of *laissez-faire* is thus realized. But one victory does not mean a successful war. Most of the plans incorporated in this book have already received more or less newspaper publicity and a perusal of them shows at once that they propose no substitution of socialism for capitalism. All would retain the profit motive as the primary impetus in our economic life, although all of them would evidently soften to some slight extent the bitterness of competition and the misery from the inequitable distribution of wealth and uncertainty of livelihood.

Briefly, all that they call for is some effort to modify by intelligent planning the evils of the present economic order, so that business may be better stabilized. Dr. Beard, to whom we owe a debt of gratitude for bringing these plans together in a single volume, describes the goal as "planned economy." Others have called it "modified capitalism." Either term is reasonably descriptive. Some of the plans are startlingly progressive, particularly that of Governor LaFollette, which, in the opinion of the reviewer, goes about as far in the direction of "modified capitalism" as one could go and still maintain the essentials of capitalist economy. What an advance these plans are over the dominant economics of the boom years of the middle twenties can be seen only by a rereading of President Hoover's Indiana speech of June 15, 1931, which has been inserted in the volume previous to the editorial conclusions, a speech in which he characterizes these plans as "an infection" from the "five-year plan" of Russia, pours scorn upon projects for integrated planning, and then summarizes the opposing philosophy.

After reading this book, two questions inevitably present themselves. First, can "a modified capitalism" which will work be put in operation, and second, is it adequate? To both questions Socialists would unhesitatingly answer, No! The moral bankruptcy of the profit system, they hold, is so demoralizing that no economic order based on that system, no matter how well controlled, could operate for universal prosperity and happiness. Could "modified capitalism" iron out the business cycle and more equitably distribute wealth? Furthermore, are American leaders sufficiently committed to such a scheme to put it in operation soon enough to ward off economic collapse and prevent the coming of another economic system? The answers to these questions only the fut[illegible] decide. This much seems evident: long [illegible] capitalism had shaken off the shackles of [illegible] it was being modified by social legislation, [illegible] laws and other restraints, and modification of [illegible] will inevitably continue. The speed and the [illegible] of this process will be determined not al[illegible] domestic exigencies, but also by the chara[illegible] capitalistic modification in the world at large.

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Racial Justice in America

The World Tomorrow has the following [illegible] on race relations in the United States:

Progress and retrogression in race relati[illegible] reported by the Commission on Inter-racial Co-op[illegible] in a recent summary. Substantial advances ha[illegible] made along many lines, while in other directions [illegible] reverses have been sustained. In spite of the [illegible] leled progress made by the Negro race since th[illegible] lition of slavery, and notwithstanding the new s[illegible] toward race problems now being manifested [illegible] rapidly growing number of white people, Negroe[illegible] tinue to be victimized to an appalling degree.

Too much praise cannot be heaped upon the [illegible] bers of the Association of Southern Women f[illegible] Prevention of Lynching for their valiant c[illegible] against this barbarity. But the next day afte[illegible] Association, in annual convention assembled, re[illegible] adopted as its goal "A lynchless South in 1[illegible] Negro man in Wisner, Louisiana, was lynched. [illegible] enough, the number of lynchings is rapidly decre[illegible] only seven being recorded thus far in 1932, as c[illegible] trasted with an annual average of 100 for 40 y[illegible] But these seven victims represent only a small fr[illegible] of the total number of Negroes who have died [illegible] deaths at the hands of white men during the [illegible] "There are sections," reports the Commission on [illegible] racial Co-operation, "in which white men may [illegible] down Negroes on slight provocation, with co[illegible] immunity from punishment and sometimes even [illegible] arrest. In the rural 'black belt' there are Ne[illegible] nants who do not dare ask their landlords even [illegible] accounting, knowing that such an inquiry wo[illegible] resented."

Evidence of the recklessness with which whi[illegible] shoot down Negroes is found in recently publish[illegible] ures of comparative murder rates for 1931 in [illegible] American cities, as assembled by Frederick Re[illegible] nicipal librarian of Chicago. As usual, the ho[illegible] rate is much higher in Southern cities than in [illegible] parts of the nation. Birmingham is in the no[illegible] first place with a rate of 37 murders per 100,000 [illegible] lation, Jacksonville second with 35, Nashvill[illegible] with 24, Fort Worth fourth with 23, Houston [illegible] with 21, San Antonio sixth with 19, Miami s[illegible] with 18, Norfolk eighth with 18, Knoxville ninth [illegible] 17. Racketeer-accused Chicago ranks 25th with [illegible] of just under 10, while Sodom-and-Gomorrah-like [illegible] York City is far down the list with a rate of [illegible] seven. Murders by Negroes account for part [illegible] high rate in Southern communities, but with ha[illegible] frequency the shooting is done by white men.

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INDIAN ECONOMIC DEPRESSION & THE FINANCE MEMBER

By H. SINHA, Ph. D.

In the course of his address before the Indian Economic Conference, the Hon'ble Sir George Schuster stated that "the Indian position was not at all one of unrelieved gloom." In support of this contention, he mentioned "several bright patches," the first being the appreciation of Indian Government securities. It is true that the value of Government paper has been gradually rising ever since January last year, and quite appreciably during the recent months. The rise during the last few days has been almost sensational. But the question is, does it necessarily follow that the depression is any the less severe? On the contrary, it is because of the acuteness of the depression that the bulk of the funds ordinarily employed in commerce and industry has now to be utilized in the purchase of Government securities, thus forcing up their prices. The rise in the value of Government paper thus points to the acuteness of the depression rather than its mitigation.

The comparison between Japanese and Indian Government securities is also unfair. For one thing, war clouds are lowering above Japan. For another, the Indian Government have not spent any appreciable amount for the relief of economic distress. On the contrary, they have imposed an intolerable burden on commerce and industry, so much so, that they are believed to have brought about a surplus budget even in a year like this. The Government of Japan, on their part, have taken in hand a plan for combating the crisis, which includes the following:

(a) providing funds for the public at low rates;
(b) moratorium for loans to farmers from the Postal Deposit Bureau, the amounts falling due during the three years 1933 to 1935 aggregating 65 million yens;
(c) extensive public works to provide employment;
(d) reconstruction of ships, munitions and minor industries;
(e) valorising the price of rice;
(f) a new licence system for the silk industry;
(g) increasing the subsidy for primary education from 85 to 97 million yens;
(h) palliative measures, such as emigration, medical relief for poor men and the feeding of underfed children.

Surely Japanese people need not break their hearts if their Government have to borrow on a 9 per cent basis, when the money is utilized in the ways outlined above. Nor need they envy the superior finances of the Government of India, which is able to borrow at 4 per cent.

The argument about the increased sale of postal cash certificates is equally specious, for that also indicates that idle business funds are being attracted. The experience of India both as regards Government securities and as regards cash certificates is not unique, as imagined by the Finance Member. In every country, during periods of economic depression and stagnation of commerce and industry, there is an appreciation of fixed-interest stocks of undoubted credit, specially of the gilt-edged type.

Sir George Schuster exultingly points out that during eight months to November during the current financial year, the retained imports are higher by Rs. 8 crores than for the previous year. If we analyse the several items of imports, we find that raw cotton is up by Rs. 1 crore and raw silk by Rs. 1/2 crore, which merely indicate that the cotton industry is faring better than others in the midst of the present depression. It should be remembered, however, that it is a protected industry, and its prosperity, if any, can only be at the expense of unsheltered industries, which have to bear a heavier burden than before. If its price is to be above the general level, the prices of others must be below it. That this is not a mere idle theory, but is in fact profoundly affecting the economic condition of India will appear from the following table of prices of different commodities in November, 1932, expressed as percentages of their respective prices in July 1914:

Raw Jute	40	Oil seeds	75
Hides and Skins	59	Jute Manufactures	76
Mustard Oil	61	Raw Cotton	94
Raw Wool and Silk	62	Pulses	95
Tea	63	Cotton manufacture	112
Cereals	67	Sugar	147

The price of jute is the lowest of all and yet jute has to bear an export duty for the benefit of the finances of the Government of India. In any case, the price of everything the agriculturist sells has gone down whereas the price of cotton manufactures which he buys has gone up. For instance, the Bengal ryot has to part with 2 maunds and 32 seers of jute for purchasing the same quantity of *dhotis* and *saris*, which he could buy in exchange for only one maund of jute in pre-war days. The seriousness of the burden of protection enjoyed by cotton industry thus needs no elaboration.

Sir George Schuster has referred to the relative prosperity not only of cotton industry but

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also of sugar industry. The latter now "enjoys a virtual protection of 200 p. c."* It is no wonder therefore that there should be a boom in that industry also.

The Hon'ble the Finance Member has advanced another specious argument in support of his contention. To quote his actual words :

> "...after allowing for exports of Indian goods, the total quantity of goods both foreign and Indian retained in India for consumption in 1926-27 was 4869 million yards† and in 1931-32 it was 4912 million yards.† These figures indicate that Indian demand must be keeping up amazingly well..."

It is indeed amazing that such a statement should have been made. The population in India has increased from 322 million in 1921-22 to 356 million in 1931-32. Assuming a constant rate of increase throughout, the population in 1926-27 was 339 million. Thus the *per capita* consumption during that year was 15·20 yards,†† whereas that during 1931-32 was 14·45 yards.†† It is true that the balance available for consumption may go into the stock, or may come out of it, but in any case the *per capita* consumption is certainly a better index of demand than the aggregate consumption. On that showing there has been no improvement in the Indian demand. If we consider a long period, as we should, in order to make some allowance for variations in stocks, we obtain the following averages for changes in *per capita* consumption :

from	1899-1900 to 1913-14,	0·34 yds	increase ;
"	1914-1915 to 1920-21,	1·08 "	*decrease* ;
"	1921-1922 to 1931-32,	0·27 "	increase ; and
	1899-1900 to 1931-32,	0·09 "	"

The above record of an average annual increase of 0·09 yards during the last 32 years for which statistics are available, may cause exultant elation in the minds of the present administrators, but can cause only deep anguish in the minds of thoughtful Indians.

What then are the criteria for determining the severity of the depression in India as compared with the world depression ? One of course is the extent of the fall in prices, for, as is well known, prices rise during a boom and fall during a depression.* But the trouble is that the index number of prices in different countries are differently constructed, and it is difficult to compute any composite index embracing all them for the whole of the world. In any case the economic and social conditions are so widely different that it is not possible to interpret such a composite index even if it can be constructed. We have therefore to compare the price level in India with that in some other country, where special causes are not at work. Thus we should choose a country, which has remained on gold throughout, which is neither wholly agricultural nor wholly manufacturing,† which is sufficiently large and which has such varied resources as to permit diversification in economic life, and where the economic depression has not been deepened by any imperious necessity to find money for war-debts and reparation payments. The U.S.A. satisfies to some extent these and other tests, but the difficulty is that she is a tariff-ridden country with the result that the prices there are somewhat higher than what is warranted by purely economic considerations. But may we ask in the name of Adam Smith, what country is there where we now have free trade in fact as in name ? Taking then the U. S. A. as our standard, and representing the level in January, 1929 as 100 throughout, we get the following course of prices :

	U.S.A. Bureau of Labour Index	Calcutta Whole-Sale Index	Bombay Index
October, 1929	99	97	
January, 1930	96	90	
April, 1930	94	85	
July, 1930	87	79	
October, 1930	86	74	
January, 1931	79	68	
April, 1931	75	68	
July, 1931	72	64	

Since the suspension of the gold standard in September, 1931, taking gold values†† instead of paper values, as we should, the fall both in Calcutta and Bombay indices are seen to be even heavier than before as compared with the U.S.A. index.

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* *The Sugar Industry and Its Problems* by R. C. Srivastava, Sugar Technologist, Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, India in *Capital Indian Industries, Trade and Transport Supplement*, December, 1932.

† These figures seem to be a little incorrect. If we follow the same method of calculation as followed in the Tariff Board Report, we arrive at the results below :

(In Million Yards)

Year	Retained imports	Mill production	Hand-loom production	Exports of Indian piece-goods	Total available for consumption
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6) = (2) + (3) + (4) − (5)
1926-27	1,759	2.259	1,332	197	5,153
1931-32	760	2,990	1,500	105	5,145

†† These are on the basis of corrected figures, quoted above.

* The slow fall in the price level during the American boom preceding the present depression is an exception. This paradox has been attributed by Cannan to the ingenuity of American business in reducing prices so as to stimulate demand resulting in lower costs and higher aggregate profits on the increased turnover.

† The reason for this is that the price of agricultural goods has fallen more than that of manufactures.

†† Gold values have been computed on the basis of the rupee-dollar exchange rate at the end of the month.

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	U. S. A. Bureau of Labour Index	Calcutta Wholesale Index	Bombay Wholesale Index
October, 1931	70	52	57
January, 1932	69	48	55
April, 1932	67	50	55
July, 1932	66	46	53
September, 1932	67	45	52

From the above analysis as also from a study of other criteria such as the disparity between individual prices, the gap between prices and costs, the indices of production and of business activity, it may be shown that the depression in India is probably intenser than in most other countries of the world. The only "bright patch" is that we have now probably reached the bottom. The economic disequilibrium, bad as it is, is not getting still worse. But it is difficult to say if we are on the way to recovery, or if we may have to continue to remain in the trough for some time more. The acuteness of economic factors has been aggravated by political issues such as war-debts, reparation payments and disarmament, which remain as inscrutable as ever. It is to a satisfactory solution of these problems, that India and the rest of the world may look for real recovery.

Must India then sit Micawber-like with folded hands in hopes of something turning up? Is the present *non-possumus* attitude of the Government of India then justified? It is true that some of the remedies suggested may prove worse than the disease itself. For instance, any restriction scheme may or may not raise prices above costs due to world causes beyond the control of any individual country, but it will certainly lead to further loss of employment. Similarly, any public works, now taken in hand, while providing employment, will have to be financed by a levy of fresh taxes, for it is idle to expect that they will immediately pay their way. In any case, these two and similar measures such as tariffs, exchange controls and quota systems must deepen the depression elsewhere and to that extent retard the recovery of the world, including the country in question. All this may be conceded. But is it not the clear duty of India as also of other countries, to regulate currency in order to restore economic equilibrium as far as possible seeing that whatever the ultimate causes of the present crisis, they have all operated through the medium of money? Our policy at present is to maintain the parity with sterling, which, however, is allowed to drift away from gold in spite of the Exchange Equalization Fund maintained by the British Government. From a study of the course of prices in the United Kingdom, it seems that she has been trying to adjust her price level to the cost of living, which represents roughly the cost of production. In other words, India is bending all her energies and frittering away her gold resources, in trying to maintain parity with the British cost of production. This may promote the sale of British goods in this country, but cannot obviously restore economic equilibrium in India. It may be urged that the sterling obligations of India are so heavy that her public finances must be in a state of considerable disorder if the link with sterling is severed. It should be remembered however that although the dollar obligations of the United Kingdom are onerous and her own sterling dues from abroad are even now considerable, she has not shrunk from depreciating sterling, realizing the supreme importance of an adjustment between prices and costs.

Why again does not the Government of India make available plentiful supply of short-term money at easy rates of interest,—a policy accepted by all the countries including India represented on the Committee on monetary and financial questions set up by the Imperial Economic Conference at Ottawa? The reduction in the deposit rates of joint stock banks in the head quarters touches only the fringe of the problem. What is wanted is a courageous policy of free lending by Government to agriculturists, directly in the form of Agriculturists' Loans and indirectly through co-operative societies. In Bengal, in particular, the loan offices should be helped out of the present *impasse* by liberal loans on easy terms. Measures like these alone can mitigate somewhat the serious consequences of the present "anarchy of purchasing power." It is thus only that India can reap the advantages from a world recovery, when it comes.

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ITINERARY OF THE PERSIAN TOUR

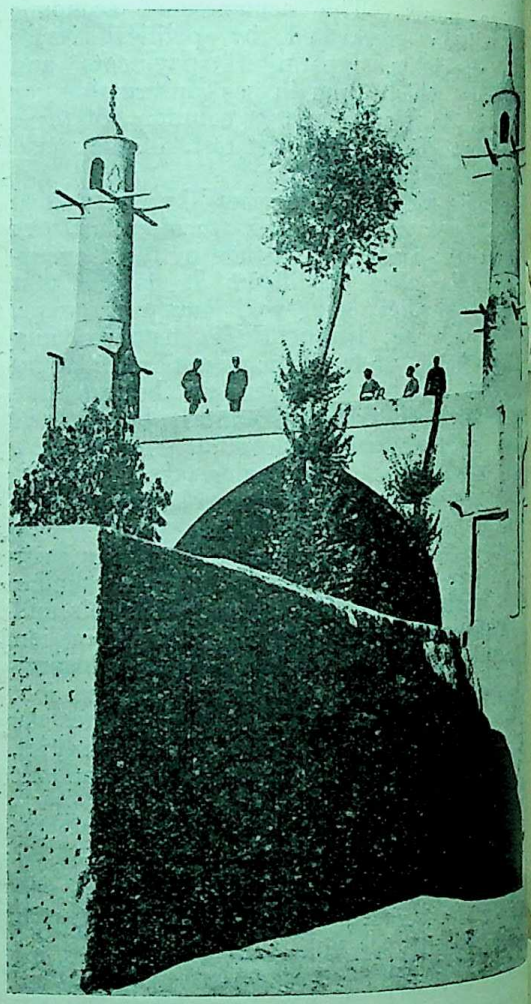
By K. N. CHATTERJI

DURING the short tour that hardly covered the space of two months and a half, we saw practically the full cycle of the seasons and almost all the physical variations of surface that Mother Earth presents to her children of Western Asia.

In Bushire we had landed during the lull between the chilly blasts of winter and the blistering heat of summer—the period following the short springtime of the Persian Gulf. Shiraz was in the full bloom of spring and

A Persian Lady

greeted us with a smile as it were, with the song of the Bulbul, with the scent of the Narghiz, the Banapsha, the Gul-i-Mohammedi and a myriad of other blossoms and with the soothing touch of the Persian Zephyr. Isfahan still had the cloak of winter on when we arrived, though spring was well on its way to it. Later on, we were to encounter the last piercing darts of winter on the heights of Hamadan and beyond, and lastly in the Land between the Rivers—Irak—we were



The Shaking Minars of Isfahan

to experience the summer of the deserts in the full fury of its annual campaign.

Similarly from the point of view of physical geography we had crossed the

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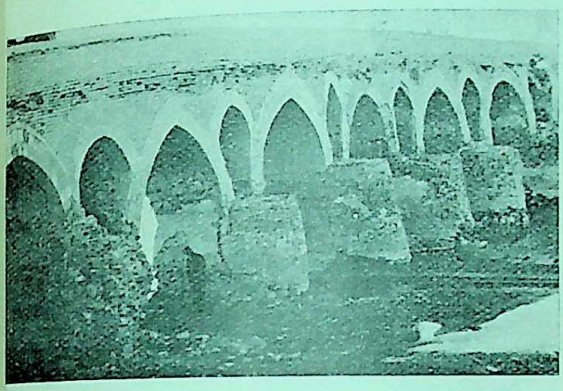
barren and sparsely inhabited submontane seaboard between the Gulf and the hills, then followed the bare broken hills that guard the coast-line, the upland meadows and fields of the Kazeroon valley, the high mountain ranges and the salt marshes on the road to the fertile vale of Shiraz. Beyond



Ancient Bridge near Isfahan

Shiraz came the bleak plateaux, with barren moors and rocky hill ranges, between Shiraz and Isfahan, and after Isfahan, on the road to Teheran, we crossed near Qum the only stretch of real sandy desert that lay on our route through the heart of Iran. Further on we skirted the border of the mighty Elburz range and then turning west and south-west we crossed the mountain passes—still snow-clad in places—beyond Hamadan on to Kermanshah. Then came the descent, *via* Kerent and Kasr-i-Shirin into the plains of Mesopotamia.

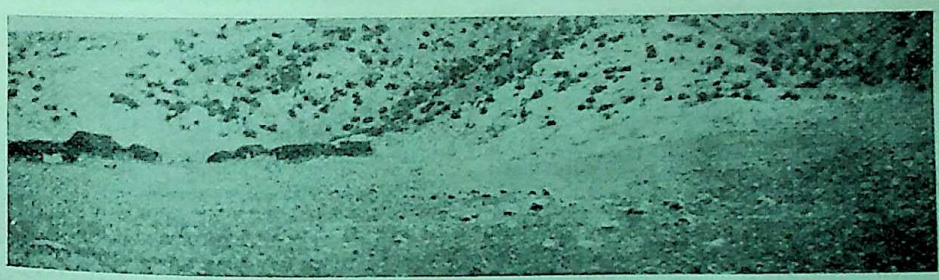
We left Isfahan in the dim and misty dawn of April 28th. An early start was made perforce since it was desired that the journey to Teheran be completed in the same day. Crossing the river we went out of Isfahan by way of the outskirts. Then came a long succession of orchards and cultivated fields with some queer tower-like structures, round and squat, scattered here and there. They were too short to be watch-towers and too full of openings to be granaries. Later on we came to learn that these were superlative pigeon-coops, meant to house immense flights of these beautiful—though not over-clean—birds.

Just on the outskirts of the old town we saw some weird creatures, formless and draped in black, clawing the air with their long talons and emitting shrill piercing cries. On a nearer view they were resolved into black veiled beggar-women.

The Poet's car led the way as usual, and was soon out of sight. We had to lag behind due to one of the other cars becoming rather troublesome through tyre bursts and wobbly wheels, the first being due to ancient and worn-out tyres and the second to faulty bearings and—stranger still—loose nuts on the bolts which hold the tyre-rims on to the wheels! There were ladies in the car and so it had to be driven slowly for safety's sake. The defective car being the only closed one the ladies could not be transferred to any other.

We passed the ruins of an ancient fire temple on the way to Delijan where we halted for lunch. Here, after lunch, we took leave of the last of our friends of Isfahan who had taken so much pains that the Poet's stay in that royal city should be really comfortable and peaceful.

After lunch we started again on our journey through the waste moorlands and hills. About 1-30 P. M. we sighted Qum, the holy city of Fatima, the sister of Imam



En Route to Qum. Nomad Camp on the Moors

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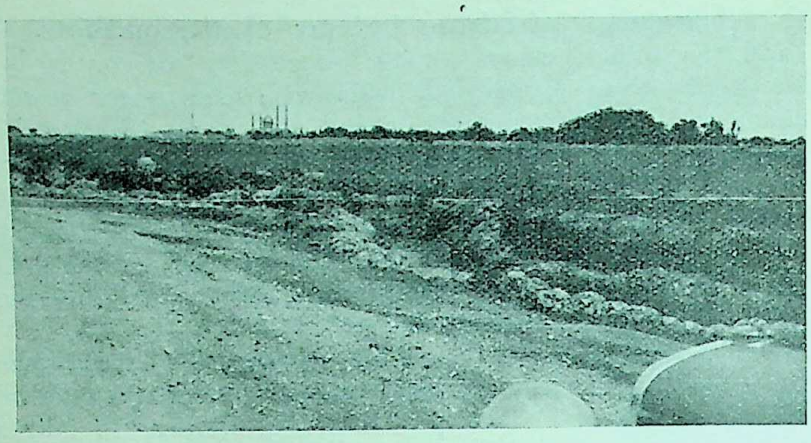
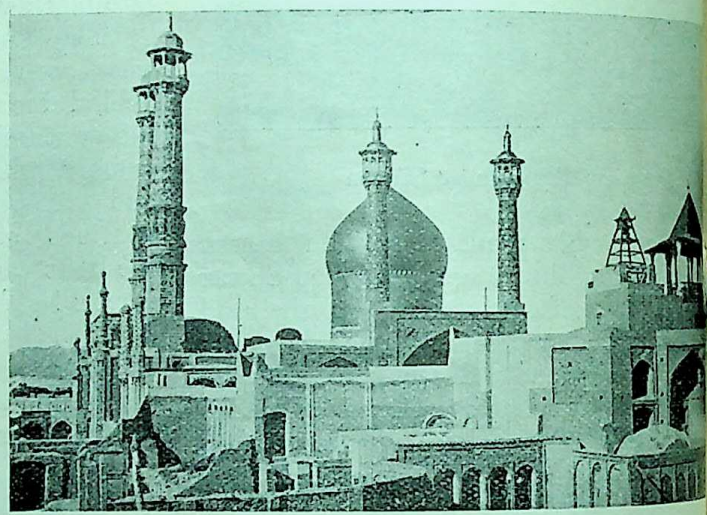


Qum from the Bridge



Qum. The Holy Shrine of Fatima

Riza. We had the first comprehensive view from a bridge across the sandy river that flows past the walls of the city. Crossing the bridge we gradually approached the city. Soon the golden domes of the shrine, flashing in the occasional rays of sunshine, were visible together with the peculiar minarets with their bold chequer pattern tile-mosaic and light-house like top.

The city from a distance gives a curious impression of familiarity to one who has seen the older cities of Northern India. The same sandy-brown colour and the same huddled up mass of terraced roofs showing above the walls, broken up by the green of stray clumps of trees. The illusion was further enhanced by the straggling mass of pilgrims, washing and making their ablutions in the sandy bed of the river. The m cant fakir, the poor pilgrim—bare-footed in green turban—asking for alms, all familiar sights.

The shrine of Fatima is as yet clos the profane eye of the unbeliever and s writer had to be content with a short over the bridge across the river into the and nearabout the precincts of the mo The city gave a peculiar impression of perity mixed with abject poverty, of life decay, existing side by side.

Qum is a fairly big town which onc a flourishing trade in arms, armour and works in steel. The writing of the Kor the austere decorative scripts used by s calligraphers engaged in that line, was famous craft of this town.

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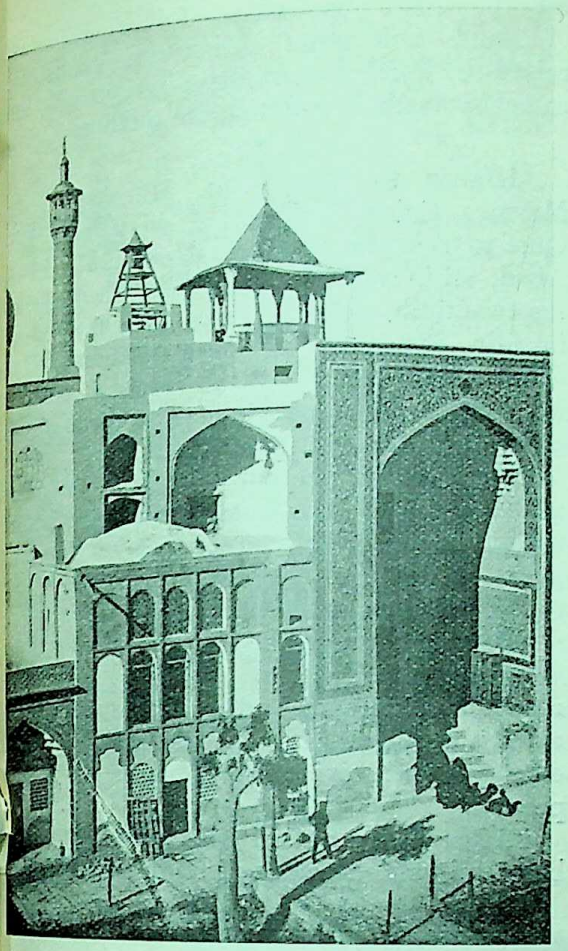
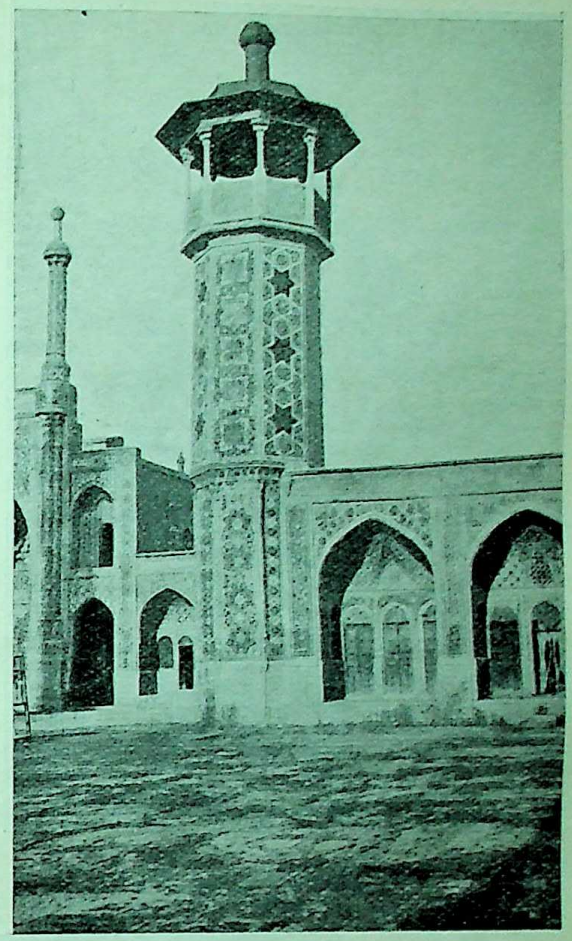
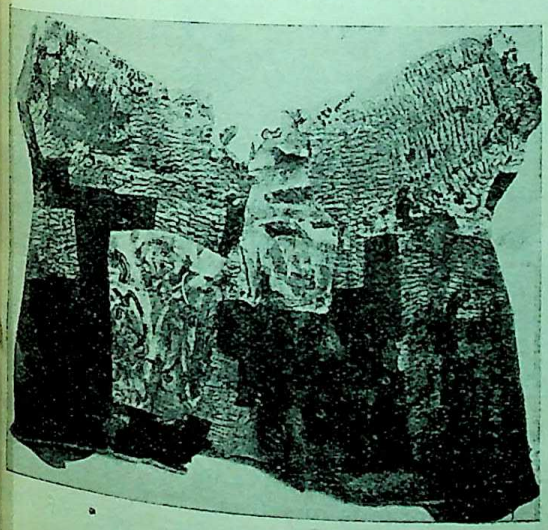


Qum. Precincts of the Golden Mosque



Qum. Courtyard of the the Mosque and a Minaret



A Coat of Mail from Qum

Decorative Calligraphy

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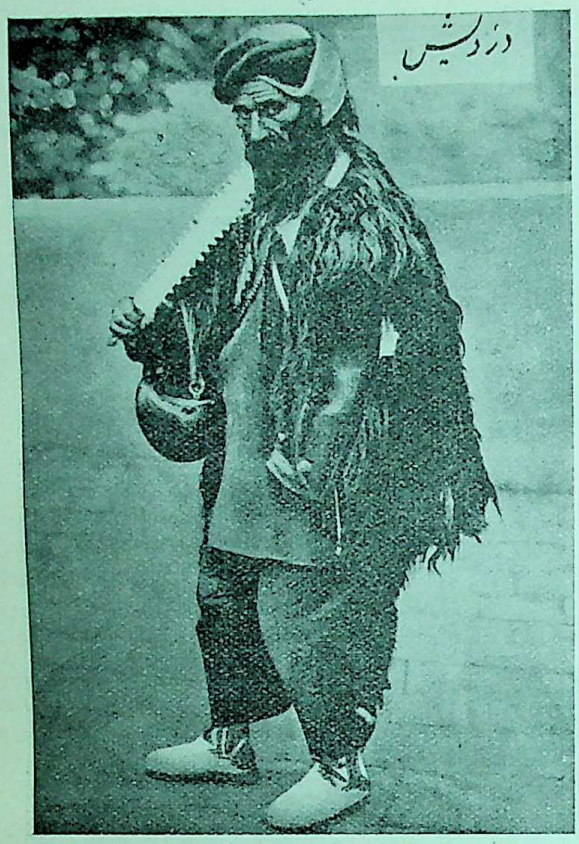

Mendicant Fakir

for the road we were following) of sand and salt. Miniature sandstorms raised by lorries carrying pilgrims and camel caravans completed the picture.

* * *

Isfahan to Qum *via* Murcheh Meymeh, Robat Turk and Delijan, and Qum to Teheran *via* Ali Abad and Hasan Abad, all in a day's run! We had reached the twentieth century from the seventeenth in fair comfort and speed—thanks to the efficient performance of the interval combustion engine, and the excellent roads built by order of H. M. Riza Shah Pahlavi.

The twentieth century in Iran was made manifest to us by a beet-sugar factory with fairly up-to-date equipment, on the skirts of Teheran. We had a hurried look round and then proceeded on our way.

Passing through the site of ancient Rayy we entered Teheran at dusk. The reception given was by the Zoroastrian community resident in the metropolis. Persian officials and civic functionaries were also present.

After the reception we went on to the beautiful garden-palace of Bagh Neyered

Ancient Pottery (Rayy ?) Decorations

Crossing back by the same bridge, we were once again on our way to Teheran. The road crossed the desert—which in this instance was the real trackless (excepting

in the Khiavan Dosun Tapeh where we were given sumptuous quarters.

We thus arrived at the goal of our journey.

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UNITY CONFERENCES

By NIRAD C. CHAUDHURI

"A nation is not made without some expenditure of blood and iron," said Bismarck. Without going so far as that one may perhaps assert that it is never made by trying to please everybody and reconcile irreconcilables. The unity conferences of which one sees so many in these days are well enough in their way, for they indicate at any rate a desire on the part of the different sections of the Indian population to understand one another's point of view and come, if possible, to a settlement. But it may be doubted whether they will ever achieve the real unity of India. This is certainly no undue stretching of scepticism nor taking an unreasonably critical view of well-meant efforts at bringing about unity. The fundamental weakness of these conferences should be plain to everybody. They begin by admitting the right of every one of the communities which take part in them to retain a separate group-personality and then go on to strive for a measure of agreement among them by means of bargaining. In other words, what our leaders and politicians are trying, unconsciously perhaps, to do in these conferences is to give the final touches to the process of parcelling out the Indian population into a number of highly self-conscious communities, each determined to be a separate and self-contained entity, politically, culturally and socially, and each determined to be the sole judge and guardian of its own interests, and then, as if as an after-thought, to establish a federation of these autonomous groups on an agreed basis of sharing the economic resources of India. One need not really be a political philosopher or politician to see that this will never lead to the unification of India.

The ideal of Indian unity is to create in India a social grouping as wide as the country, based on a loyalty no less wide, before which every other allegiance must yield, and the most serious mistake of our leaders seems to be about the means of bringing into existence such a society. They apparently believe that societies originate in a social contract by which wise men relinquish a part of their individual interest for the sake of the common interest of all. This may be a very popular view and one which requires no great exercise of intelligence to grasp. But it is not any the less untrue for that. Collective life is not merely the sum of individual lives nor collective will simply a pooling of individual wills. Historically speaking, societies are far older than the more pronounced manifestations of individualism, and it may be stated as a general law of social life that no society could exist if it had to depend for its cohesion upon the individual's estimate of what is owing to him or for that matter even upon the most virtuous of individual's most modest estimate of what is legitimately due to him. The real springs of social life are not so much a social contract as social overaweing. This way of putting the matter may have the drawback of over-simplification. Nevertheless, taken at its most general, the dictum may be accepted that without a certain measure of paralysis, rather atrophy, of the individual will, there is no collective life among men.

The reason for this is quite simple. The benefits which social life confers are relatively distant. They have no lures comparable in strength to those offered by the immediate satisfaction of individual aspirations, and so, once you open up to the individual the vista of unlimited personal development and aggrandizement, you set his collective instincts hopelessly at war with his egotistic impulses. We are perhaps witnessing the beginnings of such a struggle in the sphere of racial existence through the wider adoption of the practice of contraception. But in the domain of the collective life of man the struggle has been coeval almost with its own span of life. Society is always at war with the individual's predatoriness, and if society were not unflinching in the exercise of its sanctions, the

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rebels would be far more numerous and assertive. Generally speaking, however, a well-organized society makes it more or less an easy affair to keep the individual within his orbit. But it comes across the most difficult task of its life when it has to encounter and overcome the resistance of smaller groups within it, which seek to disrupt or impede its unity. Social groups, whether they are racial, linguistic, cultural or religious communities, are infinitely more tenacious of life than isolated individuals. Their egotism is less shame-faced and more aggressive because it has a semblance of being altruistic and is affiliated to the deep-seated instinct of racial self-preservation, and also because it has behind it the support of a compact mass of men. Some societies have the will power to overcome this resistance and become unities, others have not and are resolved into their constituent elements. The question of questions for everybody who has the unification of India at heart is to ascertain whether Indian society possesses or will ever develop the will to weld its constituent cells into a compact mass. No Indian should like to abandon all hope of its forthcoming until that hope has been irrevocably shattered. But it is only the simple truth to say that no such signs are visible in the actual facts of social and political life of India of today. All our political leaders,—I shall not speak of political thinkers because there are none,—are so thoroughly imbued with and committed to the doctrine of group autonomy that they can only move within its sterile groove. They feel the need of unity no doubt. But the best that they can do is to call conferences and appeal piteously for more and still more goodwill.

If societies had not, as a rule, refused to profit by the experience of other societies and bought wisdom only at its own expense, there would be something pathetically naive about this, for there is no lesson more deeply inculcated by history than that you should never expect a nation to be unified through the mere goodwill of its component parts. The unification of Germany and Italy are the two classical examples of national unification in modern times. There was in both these countries not only a recognition of the need for unity, but something more, which we have still to see in India—a passionate and all-pervading desire for it, yet it was not by the mere realization of the advantage of unity by the German and the Italian peoples that the unification of Germany and Italy became a fact. It was accomplished by the driving power of Prussia and Piedmont. Europe of our days offers another illustration of the same commonplace truth, though of an opposite kind. Three or four years ago a noted French thinker, M. Lucien Romier wrote a book entitled *America or Europe, Who Will Be Master* ?, in which he said that Europe had the native capacity and skill to match the American civilization at every point, but that her present political organization had still to be adapted to it. The Machine Age, he argues, finds Europe organized in rather small political entities, each with its distinctive culture and each arrayed in economic competition with all the others; these boundaries must be straddled if the hegemony of the world is not to be wrested from Europe by the United States. All thoughtful Europeans share these views and see in the national rivalries of the European peoples the heel of Achilles of European civilization and power. A conviction of this truth is at the root of Count Cudenhove-Kalergi's plan of European unification. Yet this plan, which was sponsored by a practical politician of the rank of Aristide Briand, has to this day to come out of the pigeon-holes of the League Secretariat. Europe is still as unable to find an agreed formula for European unity, as it is to devise an agreed plan for disarmament, and the reason for both the failures lies in the same place. The political evolution of Europe since the Middle Ages has made the component States of Europe the masters of their own destiny and the sole judges of what is good for themselves. There is no European will above the wills of the constituent units, which can impose the undoubtedly beneficial measures on the mob of bargaining and formula-hunting States. Poland once lost her independence by making the unanimity of the feudal lords who composed the national Diet an article of her constitution. The peace of Europe

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and the effectiveness of the League seem to be at the mercy of the same dangerous doctrine. One more futility will be added to those already strewing the pages of history if Indian leaders do not wake up in time to the peril of taking the same nerveless course to the same chaotic goal.

One result of the determination of our politicians to tread the path paved only with illusory hopes is already manifest. Every unity conference leaves the communities which participate in them more and more self-conscious and strident about their separatist aspirations. But supposing for the moment that a marvel has come to pass and the conferences have brought us an agreed document, would that give us the thing we wish for? One would emphatically say, No. The utmost that these pacts and agreements can give us s what I shall call a contractual or legal unity which will not function in the absence of an external and distinterested coercive authority. Just as the contractual and legal relations which work so smoothly in our daily lives require the presence of the law-courts, the *unity by pacts* will require the perpetual presence in India of an external power in whose disinterestedness the parties concerned must have faith, at least about whose power to enforce its will they must have no doubts. That is exactly what is happening in India. Every one of these pacts which are born after an incredibly painful travail, if they are not also always still-born, is sent up to the British authorities to be ratified and acted upon. If the British were not here to guarantee and enforce these agreements, it can hardly be hoped that the peace they would bring would last longer than the time taken in haggling it into existence.

I shall try to picture an India governed only by pacts with the help of the existing parallel of International Society. In this society we have a perfect illustration of how contractual obligations work in the absence of a coercive authority. Though the States which form the Comity of Nations are in principle unfettered in the exercise of their sovereignty, in practice their freedom is hedged-in and limited in a number of ways by the customs of international intercourse and solemn undertakings. Yet there is neither peace nor security in the society of nations. This is inherent in the very nature of this society, which makes its individual members the acknowledged and sole judges of their own interests and the only interpreters and enforcers of the obligations undertaken by them. As these obligations rest on interest and not on any higher loyalties, international grouping and regrouping and international stability is in a state of constant flux. Alliances formed to suit the requirements of one hour are lightly given up under the pressure of the needs of another (the fate of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance); undertakings solemnly given regarding limitation of armaments bring in their train eternal spying on friendly Powers and recriminations over the hundredth fraction of a centimetre of gun calibre (the aftermath of the Washington Agreement); offensive and defensive treaties signed when you had need for them are wriggled out of when it is inconvenient to adhere too faithfully to them (Italy and the Triple Alliance); seemingly benevolent gestures are prompted only by expediency (the invitation for the Hague Peace Conference by the Czar and that for the Washington Naval Conference by the United States); such examples might be multiplied *ad infinitum*. In these circumstances, it is not surprising that international society should live in a chronic condition of mutual suspicion or that the peace it enjoys should be an armed peace. What is really surprising is that this peace, balanced on a razor's edge between self-interest on the one hand and fear on the other, should not be more frequently disturbed or that there should after all be some sort of a jungle law among the nations. But in a society where pursuit of self-interest is the recognized principle of action and where every member is engaged in getting the better of another or getting round an inconvenient pledge, even this jungle law might easily degenerate into the law of every man for himself and devil take the hindmost.

True unity is a more inward, one might almost say a mystical, affair. Its basis is not a contract and it is never brought about without a complete surrender of the will-

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to-remain-distinct of the constituent units. Consider, for example, the instance of the lowest and the most natural social group—the family. The law of all civilized countries confers certain rights and duties to husbands and wives, parents and children. But if men and women were to take their stand on these laws to make their domestic life a success, most homes would be as sordid a place as a divorce court. The history of social and political evolution shows that all social groupings are an amplification and application on a wider scale of the same affinities. But while small social units like the family, the clan or the tribe, come into being by the natural operation of sex attraction, parental affection and blood kinship (real or assumed through a legal fiction), larger social units are created by one social group acting as a nucleus and drawing to itself other groups till they coalesce with it. Gravitation, by virtue of which larger heavenly bodies attract smaller ones and sometimes shatter them, is a well-known law in the purely physical world. An analogous law prevails in social life, though the factors which enable one social group to exert a gravitational pull on others are not so clear. The numerical strength, that is to say, the weight and mass, of a group is undoubtedly a most important element in the matter, but it is also sometimes to be seen that a minority is the welding force of a society and is enabled to impose its culture, language, industrial technique or religion upon a population vastly superior to itself. If this had happened only where the unifying nucleus was more civilized than the unified mass, the leadership could have been attributed to cultural superiority. This, however, is not invariably the case, for there are as many instances of social groups with inferior cultures imposing their will on more civilized majorities as of the opposite process. The most important factor in the unifying process would seem to be not so much superior culture and intelligence as superior will power and energy. Once the unifying group has shown evidence of this undoubted superiority in will power, which is essential for the paralysis of the will-to-remain-distinct of the rival groups half the battle is won. After this it is only a question of time when the relatively inert groups will graft the selves upon the more active one.

This is not, however, the whole of matter, for the social process is not wh unconscious, particularly in its ultim phases. After the unification of a soci has proceeded to a certain point, it is bo to hurtle against something tougher and m self-conscious than the passive resistance regional inertia and local peculiarity. T happens because the process of selection which the more malleable elements a assimilated first, leaves the most recalcitr ones for the fag end of the process. So assimilation is therefore inevitably m difficult towards the end than at the beginni and it is just at this juncture that t greatest demands are made on the will pow and energy of the unifier. To show signs exhaustion and vacillate then or to hu truck with the exaggerated sense of se hood and factitious will-to-remain-separa of the resisting groups is for a society commit suicide. Faced with such a situati no statesman has ever shrunk from the responsibility of crushing the will-to-remain-separate of the groups by the employment physical force. This has been done by unquestionably liberal statesman like Abraha Lincoln as by the leaders of the Sovi Union who are no less eager to respect th individual peculiarities of the peoples inhab ting its outlying areas, and the incapacity do so makes the Chinese people one of t most pitiable in the world. If India is ev to become a unity she must also learn adopt a more robust attitude towards h numberless pampered communities.

It is of the greatest moment emphasize this point of view, becau there is in this country a good d of dishonest pretence about T protection of so-called minorities. T methods of giving religious and linguis protection to minorities, which have be devised in recent years, are a testimony the humanitarian feelings of the age in wh we are living. But they are not meant to anything more than a last expedient desig to make life tolerable for peoples who ha the misfortune to be politically incorpora in a State in which they are aliens and w

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yet cannot be rejected from the body-politic owing to vital strategic and economic reasons. The protection of minorities is in fact the epilogue to the process of nation-building, not its prologue. To make use of this doctrine with the object of disrupting a nation is a dangerous experiment, for it is the surest means of tempting back the majority to the time-honoured method of turning out or exterminating unassimilables, as has been proved of recent years in Turkey.

The upshot of all this discussion is that we must grow strong and well-knit in a restricted sphere before we can dream of having an all-India unity. In the ultimate analysis, the problem of Indian unity is seen to be the problem of finding in India a nucleus strong enough to absorb the multitudinous elements of her population. But here we have to bear in mind a very important reservation. If any social group with only strength enough could legitimately impose its will upon all the rest, then there would be no difference between nation-building and Imperialism, tyranny and leadership. The group in India which would aspire to play the part of the nation-building core must not only appear to others as the fulfiller of the national destiny and of yearnings embedded in the consciousness of an overwhelming mass of the people, it must also stand up for the widest interest existing in India. The most important source of the strength of communalism is that it can still lay claim to a sort of moral inspiration. Only the emergence of a distinterested and powerful nucleus such as I have described can tear the mask off the face of sectional feeling. In the existing state of affairs, it may seem to many that this is like demanding from the people of India as impossible a virtue as was required of the knight who would find the holy grail. But there may be some elements in the Indian population more fitted by tradition and temperament than others to undertake the role of Sir Galahad.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

To

The Editor,
The Modern Review

Sir,

In the December issue of *The Modern Review* Rabindra Nath Tagore has criticized Mr. Strickland's, "Review of Rural Welfare Activities in India." I had the good fortune or misfortune to read the relevant portions. Mr. Strickland is hyper-critical and dissatisfied with the Poet's method of rural improvement. Some of his remarks and suggestions are absolutely unjustifiable. However, tastes differ.

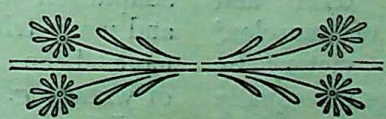
In the "Year Book of Agricultural Co-operation" 1930, edited by the Horace Plunkett Foundation, Tagore's is the only name mentioned in the section devoted to Bengal. It says :

"Wherever the true co-operative spirit prevails, the villagers have learned to be thrifty, reducing unnecessary expenditure on marriage and other ceremonies, and they do not resort to costly litigation as much as they used to do. Illiteracy has not been a bar to co-operative progress, and the spread of the real benefit of co-operation amongst the masses. Efforts are being made by societies themselves for the spread of literacy among their members. The efforts of officials and non-officials in this respect are being supplemented by organizations like the rural department of Visvabharati, the International University founded by the famous poet Rabindra Nath Tagore."

The above fully justifies the Poet's claim for the possession of the vital gift of sympathy, and of initiative for development and for the creative urge of ideals.

Panihati

Yours faithfully
Rabindra Mohon Dutta



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JUDO (JUJUTSU)

By MANOMOHAN DEB

IT is commonly believed that Jujutsu was practised in ancient India as an artful game. But the belief is without any authentic foundation. History testifies that it was in vogue in China, and a Japanese who came there to study medicine got himself acquainted with Jujutsu, and on his return to his native land, introduced the art about the seventh century B.C. Though highly developed, Jujutsu was confined to the Samurai aristocracy of Japan. It is needless to mention how deeply the Samurai suffered from a superiority complex; and they considered themselves specially privileged to learn and preserve the methods of this important art, and did not allow others to learn it, with the result that its spread among the people was almost impossible. But when the feudal system of government was abolished, the Samurai had to relinquish many of their exclusive rights as also the art of Jujutsu, which, so long a luxury with the few, began to be within the reach of all and was adopted as an effective method of physical culture and self-defence. Thus Japan became gradually the very seat of this art. The State enforced its practice by the army, navy and the police and made it a compulsory subject in the educational curriculum. It is noteworthy that Japan yet keeps to the national tradition, so much so that there is not a single Japanese to-day who does not know a little of this national art of his. But many of the Japanese experts are however a bit miserly in teaching all the methods of Jujutsu to men of other nationalities. As such many a secret technique of the art has yet remained a sealed book to others.

Jujutsu is a Sino-Japanese term and literally means 'the science of muscles.' Some call it tactics of 'gaining victory by yielding.' But both the meanings are equally significant. For, the Jujutsuans are required to obtain a thorough knowledge of the muscle system. Any hurt on particular tender parts of arm-pit, wrist, ankle-joint, lower abdo etc., brings in temporary paralysis. On other hand, it is found that in almost all tricks of Jujutsu the contestant, taking advantage of the power of his adver reduces him to submission. For examp weak man can never with success return blow of a strong adversary when the tries to push him down. But if the man will only move a little from his posi sideways the strong man will tumble to a and be routed by the weak man. This al failure of strength is due to the loss physical equilibrium on the part of the str man. In Jujutsu a keen understanding of equilibrium of the human body offers necessary clues for the application of various methods of defence and offence. It is common experience that a length of wooden plank floating on water will carry gre weight on its centre than on either end of Many instances may be cited to prove the loss of equilibrium affects the nor strength of man.

The modern term in Japan for "Jujut is "Judo" which literally means 'an art of gentlemen.' Mr. Jiguro Kano developed its present high form this eminent art of country and introduced it under the name of Judo. Judo is a more comprehen term than Jujutsu and includes several recent additions of tactics on a scientific b Jujutsu aims at breaking the bones, or joints, or at temporarily paralysing opponent with blows at particular parts of body, and all these by evading the str from him. But in Judo we find some tricks such as, throwing, locking, chok kicking, etc. Of these, kicking may be adaptation of the Chinese method of att and many tricks of throwing are believed have been derived from Indian meth of wrestling.

Like all other games, Judo has also special rules as enumerated below: Both the combatant and his opp

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must wear a coat called Kimono, and a belt. The game should be held on a mattress to avoid any physical injury which may be caused during throwing or other kindred tricks.

2. Whenever the opponent feels defeated, he should pat either his adversary's body or the floor. If the adversary continues, even after patting, a foul is declared.

3. The adversary will be deemed to have been defeated when by a throwing trick he will be thrown with his back flat on the ground.

(a) But the defeat will not be declared if the adversary could rise up in two seconds from the above position.

(b) If the combatant himself lies flat on the ground to apply a throwing trick, it will not be declared a defeat for him.

4. If for any reason the adversary falls unconscious at the time of the bout, it will be a defeat for him.

5. If as a result of the throwing trick a part of the back touches the ground, it will be called a semi-defeat.

6. If the adversary, when in ground-lock cannot free himself within thirty seconds, a defeat will be declared for him.

7. Any wilful injury to the person of the adversary during the game is forbidden.

8. A Judo expert is not responsible for any physical injury he might cause to the person of an adversary belonging to a different school of physical culture.

It may be said from experience that practice of the perfect form of Judo may contribute to an all-round development of the human body and that the mind of Judo culturist gains a courageous colouring through the subtleties of different forms of exercise which require for their exhibition not only the various movements of the body but also a keen mental exertion.

In India it is generally argued against the use of coats by the Judo culturist, which is in many cases an unavoidable necessity with him, that the use of dress for physical culture is a heavy tax on the purse of the Judo aspirants. While we agree that some methods of Judo are practiceable without the use of any body-dress, it cannot on that account be considered that the use of coat is unnecessary and be done without in Judo culture. It is a need which should never be questioned, since the use of dress is one of the most effective safe-guards against any physical injury during the contest. In India what we spend on games no less expensive is never grudged on grounds of pecuniary incapability. Besides we have long abandoned our old custom of keeping the body bare. The introduction of Judo in India is still to be made a definite factor in the scheme of our games. With the growth of our interest in this efficacious method of physical culture, it is hoped the question of pecuniary incompetence will not stand in the way.

Like all other modern scientific games Judo has a theoretical and a practical side which are respectively called, in Japan, 'Kata' and 'Randori.' There are about a hundred tricks in Kata which are practised in the form of physical exercise. Some of these forms can be practised singly, and some require the help of a partner. A thorough knowledge in Kata helps in learning Randori without any physical injury. Randori consists of throwing, catching, choking, locking, join-breaking, etc. Before practising Randori, it is necessary for the neophyte to go through a course of exercises which are technically called 'Break-all' in order to gain a fearless front to receive throwings during combat.

Generally the practice of Judo by young persons yields its utmost possibilities. But an adult may with some benefit practise it along with the regular physical exercise. The use of physical strength in Judo may not be so fully necessary as in other games; yet its utility in Judo is not insignificant.

In India, wrestling is a finished game; and some points of affinity which Indian wrestling has with Judo may lead us to think that the combination of these two games may result in a very synthetic form of scientific physical exercise.

The introduction of foreign games in India has a baneful side in the fact that some of them require an amount of strain on the body which it cannot bear. Such over-strain undermines the body in no small measure. But owing to tricks rather than physical

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exertion being the dominant principle of Judo, the Judo culturist does never become a victim to over-exercise.

Some methods of physical exercise such as, parallel bar, ring, grip-dumb-bell, etc,. help in the development of the particular parts of the body and thereby mars the exterior grace and symmetrical formation of the body. But the practice of Judo works out an all-round development of the body, increases its agility and quickens the freedom of its movements.

Besides agility of the body, the proper care of the muscles should also receive the attention of the Judo student who must always remember that an abnormal development of them is never his aim and that he should see that the muscles should not get stiff in any way and that all the parts of the body always maintain flexibility. To that effect, the Judo student may with benefit have his body regularly massaged with oil after practice. It is needless to point out the efficacy of massage in strengthening and giving relief to the nerves and in rendering the body immune against infectio epidemics such as small-pox, the plague et

The Judo student should also be ca about his dietetics. Fatty food should avoided as far as possible. Food sh always be plain and free from any into ting ingredient. Pure cold water make best drink for him.

It will be clear from the foreg remarks that Judo is an ideal form of phy culture, the practice of which in India great possibilities in the direction of trai body and mind which is so of much a n to-day. There has recently been a keen de among our young men to improve their he and certain forms of physical exercise h already been adopted. In this short arti an attempt has been made to explain the u fulness of Judo culture and it is hoped t the promoters of physical culture in In will give it the consideration it deserves, a include it in the programme of their resp tive institutions, so that as in other sphe of activity, we may not lag behind in resp of this very effective and useful process physical culture.

ERRATA

P. 169, Col. 1, line 4 for *plan* read *plea.*
" " " " 26 " *we stop* " *we must stop.*

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GLEANINGS

"Rubber" Glass which Bends Offers Greater Safety

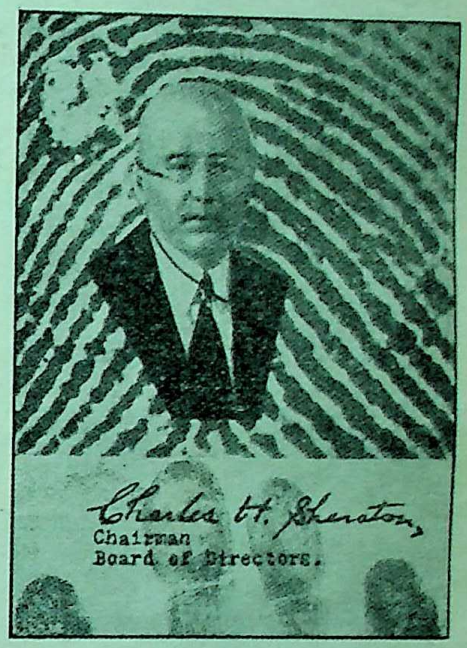
One German factory is producing flexible glass which bends like rubber under pressure. This "rubber" glass is intended for automobiles and other applications where there is danger of injury from shattering or splintering. In tests a piece of the glass, four feet long and one foot wide, supported three persons without breaking, although it sagged much as a sheet of flexible metal would.

Flexible Glass Bending under Weight of Three Persons without Breaking

—*Popular Mechanics*

Police use Radiophoto

Sending photographs by radio is the new quick way of identifying criminal suspects. A demonstration of the method was given recently in New York by the National Identification Association. A man's photograph, his signature, and samples of his fingerprints were transmitted by radio upon one card.



Photo, signature, and fingerprints are sent by radio in latest method of identifying suspects

—*Popular Science*

Harnessing the Sun

On a desolate mountain in northern Chile, two men and a woman today enact the modern roles of the ancient sun worshipers. Their cabin stands on Mount Montezuma, 9,000 feet above sea level and the three persons and a geranium are the only living things on the eminence which supports neither tree, shrub, grass, bird, beast, reptile nor insect.

The men are the field director of one of the solar observing stations maintained by the Smithsonian Institution and his assistant. The woman is the wife of the director. Each day of the year that the sun shines—and it shines some 300 days on Montezuma—their routine is unvaried. They rise with the sun and make their observations during the morning hours, spend the rest of the day computing the results, and at nightfall telegraph a report to Washington.

All supplies, including water, must be hauled up the mountain from a town ten miles distant, so once a week one of the trio makes an auto trip down Montezuma and comes chugging back

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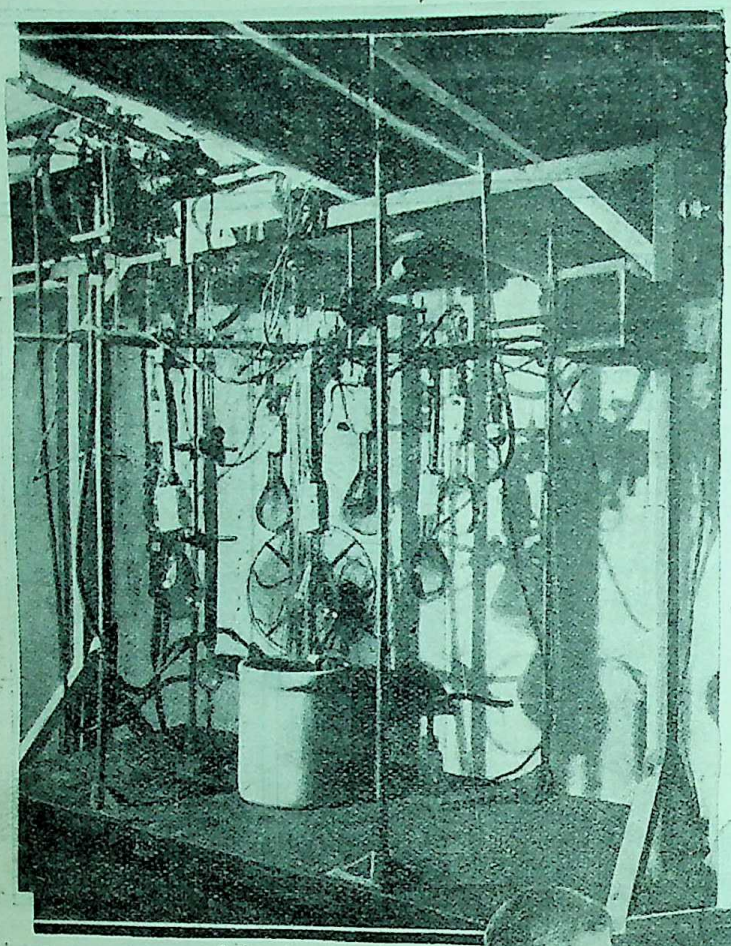

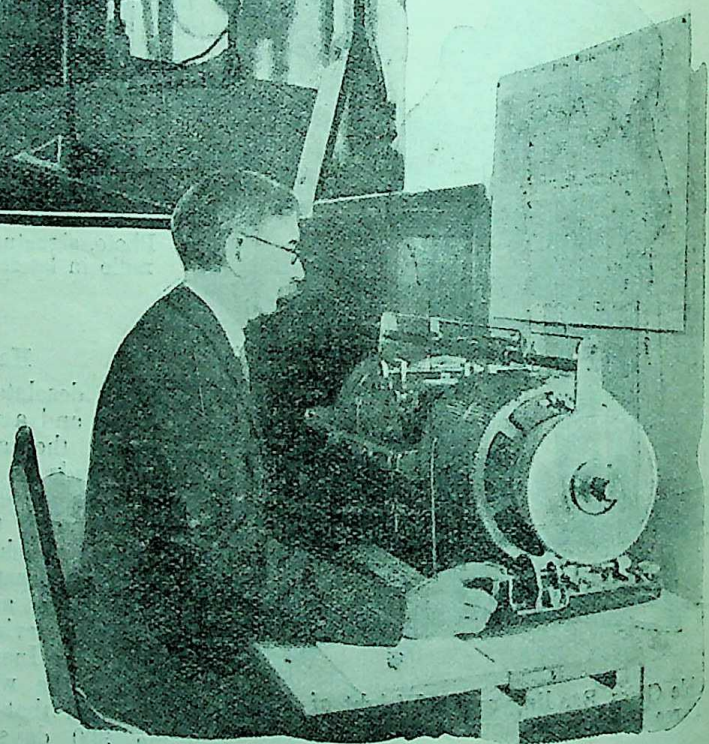

Top. Growing Wheat under Controlled Conditions of Light, Humidity and Temperature.

Right. Doctor Abbot Analysing Curves with the "Brass Brain"

at night with food and two precious casks of water. This water must serve for seven days for drinking, cooking, washing and developing photographic plates. With the waste water they nourish a geranium to remove a bit of the desolation. They have games and books, a radio and music for relaxation, but not much time to relax.

From lonely outposts such as this, so is prying into the secrets of the sun with a to using the knowledge and harnessing its to further serve mankind. Long ago it realized that nothing more fundamental the sun could be investigated because heat, power, weather and life itself depend

So for forty years the Astrophysical

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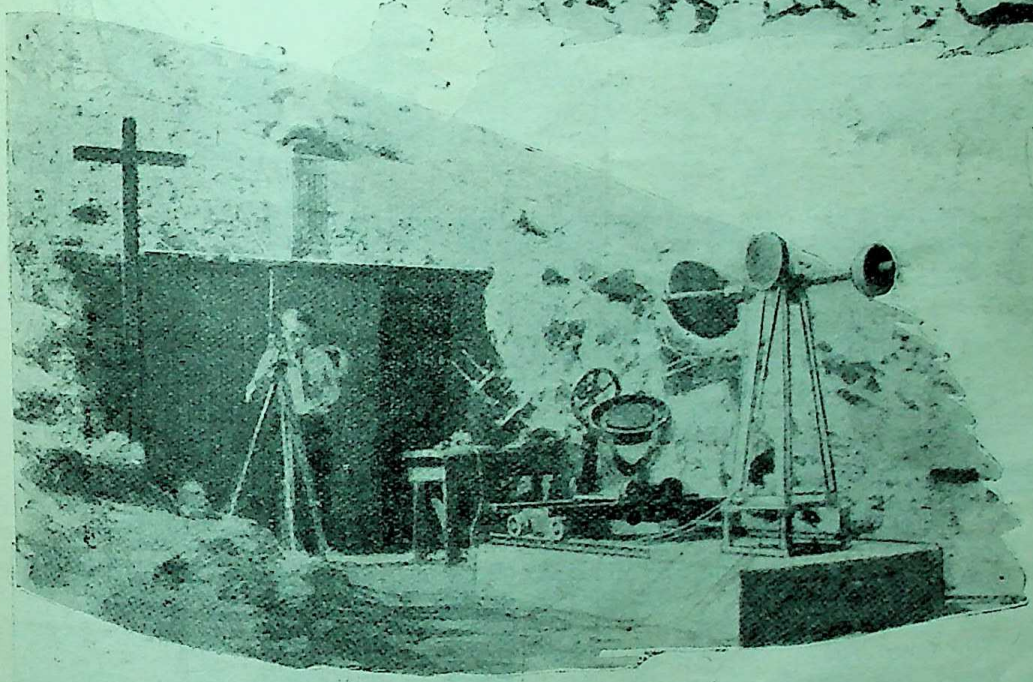
Right. Hottentot Water Carrier with Supplies for Observatory on Mountain in South-west Africa.

Below, Solar Observatory on Mount Montezuma in Chile



vatory has been trying to find out more about the sun. It has measured the intensity and variation of the sun's rays in Washington, on high mountains in California, Arizona and North Carolina, in Alegeria, the Cape Verde islands, south-west Africa, in Egypt near Mount Sinai where Moses received the law, and every day for many years in the nitrate desert of Chile. It has sent free balloons up more than fifteen miles and measured solar radiation there, where ninety-six per cent of the atmosphere is left behind.

By studying the amount of atmospheric absorption of solar rays and the amount and variation of solar radiation, a foundation has been laid for a new kind of weather forecasting for utilizing the sun's energy for power and for speeding up plant growth. Climate here on earth has been found to vary in cycles over considerable periods, somewhat as the seasons move in cycles through the year. As these cyclic changes are mainly due, as I now believe, to the effect of periodic changes in solar radiation, the making of long distance

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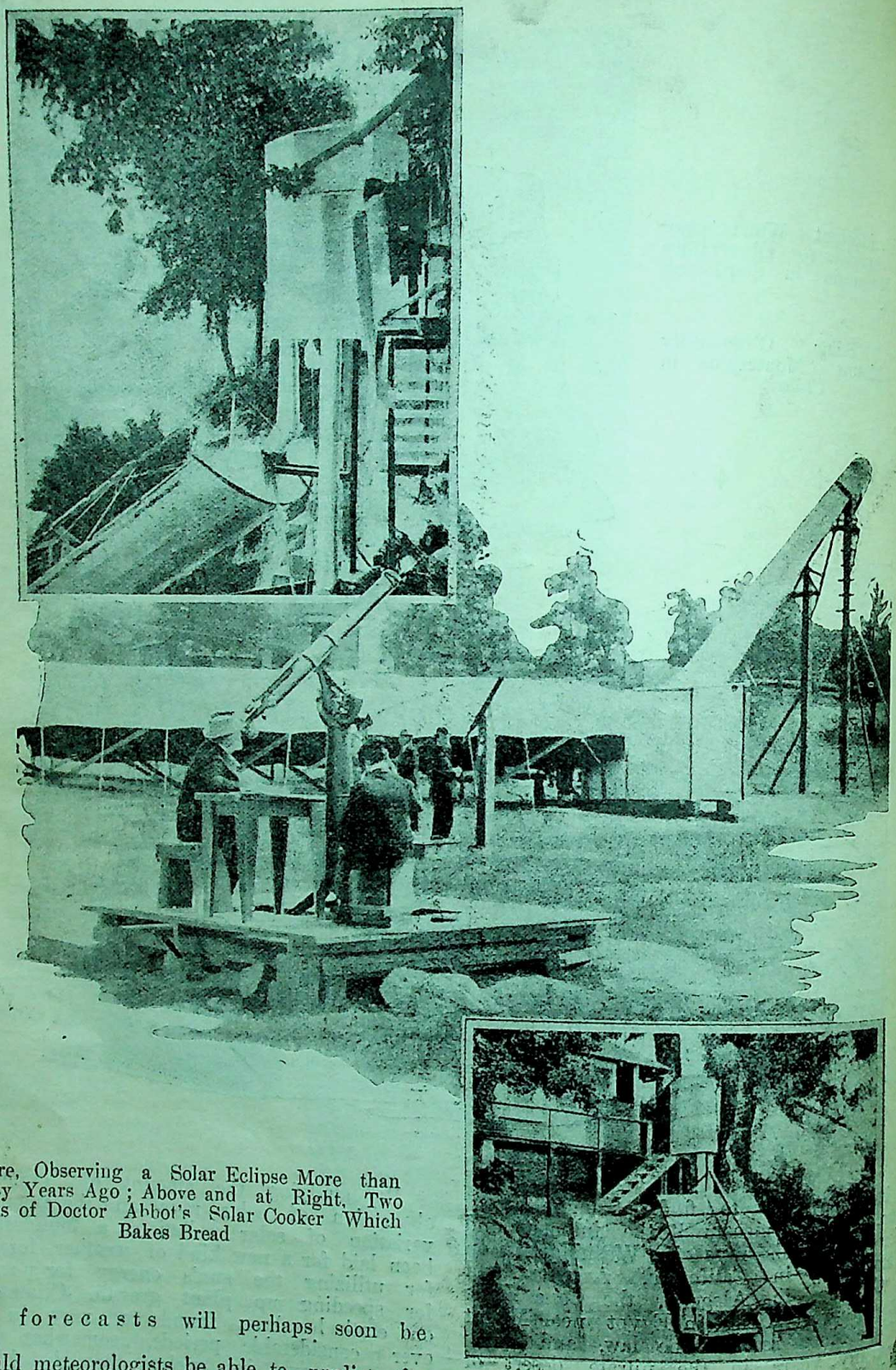

Centre, Observing a Solar Eclipse More than Thirty Years Ago; Above and at Right, Two Views of Doctor Abbot's Solar Cooker Which Bakes Bread

weather forecasts will perhaps soon be realized.

Should meteorologists be able to predict the fat years and the lean years in advance, just as Joseph is said to have done in Egypt, the economic importance of such forecasts can hardly be over-estimated. It would have meant millions of dollars to American farmers.

—*Popular Mechanics*

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LONDON LETTER

THE LIBERTY OF THE SUBJECT

From MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

Making Precedents

THE Conservative Party has constantly been referred to as "the stupid party" and the Conservative Government which we have at present, disguised under the title of a National Government, (with an ex-Labour Prime Minister in chains), is certainly a stupid Government. If we were to have a succession of Conservative Governments, the precedents they are setting up might be useful to them. But nothing is more certain than that the Conservative Government will sooner or later be followed by a Labour Government and then the precedents they are now setting up will be, from their point of view, exceedingly dangerous.

Unlawful Searches

When the hunger marchers came to London, two of their number, Mr. Hannington and Mr. Elias, were arrested. The headquarters of the hunger marchers were subsequently searched by the police and a great number of documents seized. The police in their evidence stated that the search was made "with a view to finding evidence material to the charge" against these two men. They were arrested for attempting to cause disaffection among the police and the charge against them depended on the words of the actual speech delivered. This could give the police no warrant for descending on the headquarters of the hunger marchers and seizing many hundredweights of documents.

The police went further. The hunger marchers had prepared a petition to Parliament with many signatures. This had been left at a railway station in the left luggage office and was also seized by the police. The legality of such a seizure of documents which, whatever their merits, were entitled to be presented at the bar of the House of Commons, is at least doubtful.

Imprisonment Without Cause

A further case has since then received even more publicity—the case of Tom Mann. Tom Mann was brought up along with Emhrys Llewellyn under two Acts, one passed in the year 1360 and the other in the year 1817. We need go no further than the words of the magistrate that:

"Neither defendant is charged before me with any offence, nor is it necessary to prove that they have been guilty of any offence."

Yet these two men, who were not charged with any offence, who have not been convicted of any offence, were sent to prison for two months for refusing to give sureties that they would not break the law. Surely it would be time enough to arrest, convict and imprison them when they had actualy broken the law in some way or other.

Indian Procedure Repeated Here

Yet this is exactly what has been happening for many months in India under the Ordinances which have suspended the ordinary law of that land—and the Government has been able to get away with it. A few of us in this country have been like voices crying in the wilderness. The ordinary public, with India so far away, knows little and cares less about what is happening there. And now the same procedure is being brought to their own doors.

Mr. Lansbury led a special deputation to the Prime Minister at Lossiemouth during Christmas week to plead with him for the release of Mann and Llewellyn. The Prime Minister conveniently found himself unable to interfere in the Home Secretary's Department, but promised to put the facts, as stated to him, before that Cabinet Minister. The Home Secretary has now given his decision that the two men must remain in prison for the remainder of their sentence.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's Past Protests

Mr. Lansbury has again visited Tom Mann in Brixton Prison, where Mann reminded him that when he was serving a sentence in prison in Melbourne for upholding the right of free speech Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and his wife visited him there and sympathized with him.

In 1912 Tom Mann was imprisoned for appealing to soldiers not to shoot during strikes. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was the spokesman who, on behalf of the Labour Party, pleaded with the Liberal Government for his release.

In 1916, when the Liberal Government had seized certain literature in Manchester, no one condemned them more than did the present Prime Minister. His words are worth quoting:

"That at the beginning of the twentieth century a British Government should imagine that it is going to suppress opinion and that it is going to keep together the semblance of a united nation by the force of the policeman and the judge is such an absurd thing that, if it were not so serious, one would meet it with a loud guffaw."

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In 1925, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, when Leader of the Opposition, moved a Vote of Censure on the Conservative Government stating that their prosecution of some Communists was "a violation of the traditional British rights of freedom of speech and publication of opinion."

When in the same year (1925) the Conservative Government wanted to extend the right of police search, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald referred to it as "a monstrous proposal."

Tory Defiance of Law and Order

One cannot help remembering that it was members of the Conservative Party, led by Lord Carson, the late Sir William Joynson-Hicks and the late Mr. Bonar Law, who shortly before the outbreak of the Great War raised, equipped with arms imported from Germany, and drilled an army of a hundred thousand men and openly defied the Liberal Government then in power. That was no hunger march, but open and armed rebellion.

And there is no doubt that if a Labour Party in office were to attempt quite constitutionally to deal with, say, the land question in this country, or other great social schemes that would involve heavier direct taxation on the wealthy, the die-hard Conservatives—if a financial panic could not again be arranged—would most certainly resort to direct action.

Well, they have given us precedents—and we shall not have to wait until they act but, following their own precedents, arrest them first and keep them in prison until we can be assured of their good behaviour.

Kenya: Britain's Broken Pledges.

But the liberty of the subject is not the only matter on which our present reactionary Government is making precedents. The National Government is now treating as scraps of paper the solemn obligations and promises pledged to the natives of Kenya by the Conservative Government in July 1923 and confirmed by the Labour Government in 1930.

The Actual Pledges.

There is no doubt whatever about the definite terms of the promises. In the White Paper of July 1923 (Cmd. 1922) it is stated that

"Primarily Kenya is an African territory and His Majesty's Government think it necessary definitely to record their considered opinion that *the interests of the African natives must be paramount, and that if, and when, these interests and the interests of the Immigrant races should* conflict, the former should prevail."

And the same White Paper goes on to say that :

"In the administration of Kenya His Majesty's Government regard themselves as exercising a trust on behalf of the African population and they are unable to delegate or share this trust, the object of which may be defined as the protection and advancement of the native races."

The Labour Government in 1930 stated:

"They fully accept the principle that the trust of His Majesty's Government to the African population in East Africa is one of trust which cannot be devolved, and from which cannot be relieved. They also express their whole-hearted agreement with the Duke of Devonshire's declaration in the White Paper of 1923 that the interests of the African natives must be paramount and that if, and when, these interests and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail.'"

With regard to the land reserved specially for the natives, His Majesty's Government went on to say :

"As regards land, it is the view of His Majesty's Government that the *first object is to remove finally from the native mind any feeling of insecurity in regard to tribal lands*; and to keep available for the tribes land of such an extent and character as will fully suffice for their actual and future needs."

They went on to say that

"The lands within the boundaries as now gazetted for native reserves are reserved for the use and benefit of the natives for ever."

And they emphasized this by adding that

"Any derogation from this solemn pledge would in the view of His Majesty's Government be not only a flagrant breach of trust, but also in view of its inevitable effect upon the natives a serious calamity from which the whole country could not fail to suffer."

A Tory View of Pledges

The comment of the *Morning Post*—"the Conservative newspaper," as it styles itself—is illuminating. In a leading article on 7th January 1933, we are told that

"In 1923 his Majesty's Government—or rather transcendental prig in their name—wrote a note on the subject of Kenya, in which they recorded their considered opinion that 'the interests of the African natives must be paramount, and that if, and when, those interests and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail.' We pointed out at the time the folly of such generalizations....."

And they conclude their leading article in these words

"It is impossible, and would be folly to attempt to stop the march of mankind in the supposed interest of the aboriginal native."

Breaking The Pledges

The British settlers in Kenya Colony, taking what they considered to be the best of Kenya for agricultural purposes, have discovered that there is gold in the native reserves. They therefore purpose to take in the native reserves from the natives and supplying them with other land in its place

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for merely a payment in money, which the natives do not want.

Licences to British prospectors have been issued *with the approval of the British Government* and, even if other lands were given to the natives in exchange, the chief Native Commissioner, according to a cable in the *Times*, has said that we shall have in some cases to violate their most cherished and sacred traditions by taking natives from a piece of land on which they had a right to live and setting them up on another piece the holders of which would have the right to eject them.

This is one of the most scandalous things done by the National Government and more scandalous, because we are breaking faith with African natives to whom the British Government has given the most solemn pledges. We have not sought the concurrence or approval of the local Native Councils, because we know that these Councils are interested in and attached to the land and not to the gold.

Why Taxes Are So High

The National Government is making Great Britain's pledge a by-word in the councils of the world. These things happen because ordinary British electors take little or no interest in what goes on in outlying parts of the Empire. The ordinary elector assumes that such happenings do not affect him and is never brought to realize how it does affect him until he finds his country plunged in war—not to uphold some pledge or sacred principle, but to aid the financiers in their cornering of diamonds in South Africa or gold in Kenya or elsewhere. The ordinary elector merely knows that he is taxed on practically everything he eats and drinks and smokes. If he took more interest in the breaking of pledges by his Government and their anxiety for the interests of the gold grubbers, he would find that his own country was a much better place to live in and his taxes very mnch less.

10th January, 1933.

AN INDIAN IN ITALY

[This note has been sent to us by a highly connected Indian lady who has married an Italian gentleman and resides in Italy.—Ed. *M. R.*]

Of recent years the relations between India and Italy have become very amicable, and the advancement in trade and commerce, etc., is quite noticeable as compared to former times.

There has been every effort made in Italy to place comfortable and fast-going steamers to India, and in the Universities facility is given to Indian students wishing to make their studies here. In every line there seems to be an improvement and especially in commerce there is great advancement.

Every year in Milan there is an important "Fiera Campionaria" ("Samples" Fair) where there is a special Indian pavilion in which samples of all Indian Arts and Industries are exhibited amongst other things.

In due time I have no doubt that there will be quite a number of Indians making Italy the centre of their interest as they did in other parts of Europe in former years, the climatic and other conditions being more favourable than in other places.

But what I feel there ought to be here is a special office or bureau devoted to the convenience and varied interests of Indians. An office situated in a central city like Milan within easy distance of the two most important ports, Genoa and Venice. This would make the Indian traveller, seeking information and requiring a certain amount of guidance, feel more at home, as it would be completely devoted to his interests—commercial or otherwise. The office which I speak of would be of particular use for Indians who are interested in export and import and other trade affairs. It will be seen, therefore, that a bureau like this being unique would be of unusual service to Indians and it ought to be given a serious thought.

E. M. P.

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NOTES

Russia's Five-Year Plan

Theodor Seibert, the German author of *Red Russia*, has written a preface to the English translation of his work. It is dated March, 1932. In it he says :

> "On January 22, 1932, the Soviet government published an outline of the second Five-Year Plan, which relates to the period extending from January 1, 1933, to December 31, 1937. A few days later, on February 1, 1932, the poesy of the new Plan was followed up by a no less typically bolshevik specimen of harsh realism. Retail prices of the necessaries of life and industrial products were advanced by amounts ranging from 20 to 200 per cent. To give some of the details: the cost of white bread went up 20 per cent; that of rye bread (the staple food in Russia), 33 per cent; that of potatoes, 43 per cent; that of beef, 50 per cent; that of sugar, 65 per cent; that of sausages and pork, 100 per cent; and that of textiles, 200 per cent. House rents have likewise been recently increased. On the other hand the economic plan for the year 1932 envisages an increase in the wages of industrial workers amounting to no more than 11 per cent, the increase during 1931 having been 6.7 per cent.
>
> "The reader will please note that the foregoing figures are official. So are all the figures published in this book, unless otherwise stated. Yet I feel sure that during 1932 the Soviet government will continue to assure the German, British and American workers that there is a steady improvement in the Russian workers' standard of life."

The statistics quoted above produce the impression that the Russian proletariat, the workers, are not having an easy time. An article in the December number of *Round Table* gives one the same impression. One reads there that the standard of living of the Russian masses is lower than it has been for a decade as regards food, and that the period of the working out of the Plan has been "a time of incalculable privation and sacrifice."

Nevertheless, it is true, as claimed Stalin in a recent speech to the Ce Communist Committee, that Russia's industrial output has increased by 33 cent at the end of 1932 as compared pre-war levels. By the Five-Year Russia has been industrialized to a gre extent than was expected. According to *Round Table* article referred to above,

> The tractor plants in Kharkov and Stalin the Amo automobile factory in Moscow, the plant at Nizhni-Novgorod, the Dnieper hydro-electric project, the mammoth steel plan Magnitogorsk and Kuznetski in Siberia, the work of machine shops and chemical plants in Urals—which bid fair to become Russia's Pit these and other industrial achievements all the country show that, whatever the shortco and difficulties, Russian industry, like a watered plant, keeps on gaining colour, sin strength. . . . . Viewed as the symbol of a age, first and foremost, the plan has made a predominantly industrial nation. Agricu of course, plays the leading part in the na economy, but the first place, in terms of va output, already goes to industry. Henceforth spite of mistakes and shortcomings, the world have to reckon with Rusia as an industrial not, primarily, as an agricultural country.

But it is agriculture which gives food the nation, not machine-made goods. as, in spite of the collectivization of three-f of the peasantry, there has been retrogres in agriculture in Russia, the food pro there has become serious aud acute. This already clear from the increase of prices articles of food noted by Theodor Seibert in preface to the English translation of his *Russia.* It is made clearer by the writer the *Round Table* article when he says "Rations of meat and other fats have been so meagre for a whole decade, and prospects are anything but bright." people in Russia have all along been de

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dent on agriculture. These persons, the agriculturists, have been, like others of the Russian proletariat, compelled to work according to communist plans. A great part of what they produce they are compelled to part with. What is left for their consumption, is hardly sufficient. So this sort of compulsion has produced a reaction. The peasant no longer works willingly and with enthusiasm. Nay, "again and again there have been cases of sabotage, of peasants intentionally ploughing badly, disking badly, sowing thinly, just to prevent a good crop."

But it is never too late to mend. So let us hope that the Russian leaders will so use their vast powers as to be able to prevent a great catastrophe, involving large masses of humanity.

Panjab University Inquiry Committee and Communal Claims

The Tribune of Lahore wrote in its issue of the 13th January last :

> In a statement presented by them to the Panjab University Inquiry Committee a number of Muslim leaders gravely assert that "for the uplift of the educationally backward sections of the population of the Province it is quite indispensable that the Muslims who form a large majority in the territorial area of the Panjab University should have a majority on the Senate and the Syndicate of the University." "This," they add, "we demand as a matter of right, for we hold that it is the birthright of the majority community of the Province to guide its education. It is its right to remove the educational backwardness of the majority community."

The Lahore paper's comment is given below.

> The two statements together constitute one of the most gigantic fallacies that any body of responsible persons have ever yet perpetrated. That it is the privilege of the educationally backward in a population to guide its University education is, indeed, as extravagant a proposition as it is startlingly novel. Do the signatories realize that, if their view were to pass muster and to be carried to its logical consequences, they themselves would be as ruthlessly excluded from the governing bodies of the University as they are seeking to exclude the Hindus and the Christians ? If it is necessary for the removal of educational backwardness that the educationally backward should wield the sceptre of the University, the only logical and right thing would be to fill the Senate and the Syndicate with the typical representatives of the still ignorant and illiterate millions in the territorial area of the University. It is these people and not the small educated section of the Muslim community whom the signatories represent, and who are in exactly the same position in this matter as the educated sections of the other communities, that should have a majority on the Senate and the Syndicate.
>
> It is a monstrous absurdity to say that because a person is a Hindu or a Muslim by faith he is better able, by virtue of his being a Senator or Syndic. to remove the educational backwardness of his community. University education, except in a strictly limited field, has nothing to do with the fact of a man's being a Hindu or a Muslim. Whatever provisions the University makes for the diffusion or promotion of higher education, it is expected to and does broadly speaking make on a non-communal basis. Such departure as has been made in recent years from this wholesome rule has, for the most part, if not exclusively, been made in favour of the Muslims.

It then proceeds to examine some of the so-called arguments of the Muslim communalists.

> "It has to be remembered," say the signatories, "that if the University continues to be governed by sections at present highly educated, those already educated sections will continue to subsidize the education of those whom they represent, while the comparatively poorly educated sections will have less facilities and thus remain backward in education." The truth is just the other way about. Had the signatories been right, it would have been impossible for the Muslims to make the rapid strides they have made during the last twelve years and in certain respects actually to overtake those who started earlier in the race. If the strides have not been larger and more rapid it is not because of any defect in the constitution of the University but simply because the Muslims themselves are thinking more in terms of artificial props in all spheres of life than of the natural advantages that education and public spirit confer on a community. As long as this mentality persists, no amount of increase in the number of Muslim Senators or Syndics will help the community ; and the only effect of an artificial increase in the number of Muslim Senators and Syndics will be both to create a natural heart-burning in the other communities, whose superior claims are overlooked and to interfere with the quality of University education itself.

Again :—

> By way of supporting the demand for an increase in the percentage of Muslim Senators and Syndics the signatories to the statement make two typical assertions, neither of which can bear a moment's scrutiny. One is that "the percentage of Muslims, large at lower stages, falls at higher stages." But is not this precisely what might have been expected from the admitted fact that the Muslims started later to take advantage of educational facilities than the other communities ? Do not the signatories themselves virtually admit this when they say that the Muslims were backward at the time when the University was founded and that they have partially made up their leeway ? When there are stages, is it not only natural that those who begin late should, in the first instance, be better represented at the lower stages than at the higher, however vigorous may

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be the efforts they make to overtake those who began earlier? If things go on at the present rate, then without any artificial stimulus the Muslims will soon come up to the level of the others in the higher stages as in the lower, and since the government of the University will, as it ought to, naturally reflect the educational advancement of the communities concerned, it is inevitable that before long the Muslims will have a far greater share in that government than they have now.

In Bengal also, "the percentage of Muslims, large at lower stages, falls at higher stages," the reasons being the same as in the Panjab. Moreover, as Muslim candidates whose qualifications are lower than those of Hindu candidates for the same posts often get jobs, there is less incentive for Muslim youth to go in for the higher and highest grades of education.

Now for the other assertion :

The other assertion is that "the party in power have resisted at every stage, under all sorts of plausible excuses, the demand for examinerships from others." So far as this means that the Muslims have a just complaint in this matter, a simple reference to the latest figures will conclusively refute it. In 1932 there were 206 Muslim examiners in written Matriculation tests and 55 in practical tests as against 228 and 135 Hindu examiners respectively. In the same year the number of Hindu-managed schools was 102 as against 42 Muslim-managed schools; the number of Hindu-managed Colleges was 10 as against 2 Muslim-managed Colleges, and the number of Hindu professors in affiliated Colleges was 480 as against 201 Muslim professors in affiliated Colleges. Since examiners can, for the most part, be chosen only from professors and teachers, can any fair-minded person contend for one moment that the Muslims had less than their share of the examinerships? In other examinations, too, the share of the Muslims was by no means inadequate, considering the number and proportion of the qualified Muslims to whom choice has necessarily to be restricted. We can quite believe that, if the University were communalized, the number of Muslim examiners might be increased at the cost of better qualified persons belonging to other communities, but would that be good either for the Province as a whole or the Muslims in particular? The simple fact is that, as in the matter of representation on the Legislature and local bodies, so in this matter, the advocates of communal representation, while professing their solicitude for the interests of their community, are in reality thinking only of an extremely small section of it, the only section to whom the loaves and fishes can come. In the one case as in the other they forget that any attempt to distribute these loaves and fishes on any other basis except that of merit is in the long run bound to react unfavourably on the general well-being of the population, and of no section more than their own which, just because it is comparatively backward, is in need of the best and most efficient service from all civic and public bodies.

Forecast of Panjab University Enquiry Committee's Report

A forecast of the report of the Panjab University Committee has been published in the Lahore Anglo-Indian daily. The *Tribune* has examined some parts of the forecast with its usual dispassionateness, stating facts in support of its observations.

The author of the forecast tells us that "it is understood to have been admitted on all hands that Muslims do not wield that amount of influence in the affairs of the University which they might be expected to do in view of their numerical strength in the Province." The statement is, on the face of it, absurd. In the first place if there is one institution rather than another in which there is not the smallest room for communal representation, which, as a matter of fact, ought to be kept scrupulously free from the inroads of communalism, that institution is the University. Secondly, even assuming that there is room for communal representation, the representation must clearly be not on a population basis, but on the basis of the proportion of each community in what may be described as the University population, that is to say, in that part of the population which is either directly or indirectly connected with University education, whether as educationists and managers of schools and colleges or as students or products of the University or as professors and teachers and other persons actively interested in the work of the University. Judged by this test, which is the only acceptable test, the Muslims, so far from not wielding the influence to which they are entitled, wield a measure of influence far in excess of what they are entitled to.

Facts and figures follow.

In the year 1932 the number of Hindu members of the Senate was 24, of whom 4 were ex-officio and only 8 were nominated by the Chancellor, as against 24 Mahomedan Senators of whom 3 were ex-officio and as many as 9 were nominated by the Chancellor. Now let us see what the respective strength of the University population of the two communities was in the year. The total number of Hindu graduates from 1884, when the University was founded, to 1932 was 11,540 as against 4,312 Muslim graduates. The number of Hindu candidates who appeared in the year 1932 in all the examinations of the University was 17,641 as against 10,980 Mahomedan candidates. Even in the Matriculation Examination the number of Hindu candidates was 3,463 more than the number of Muslim candidates. The financial test is the crucial test and the amount which was paid as admission fees for the various University examination by Hindu candidates in 1931, the last year for which figures are available, was Rs. 3,71,312 as against Rs. 2,07,167. Nor do we get a different result if we take a comparative view of the number of schools and colleges, or of professors in affiliated colleges belonging to the two communities. There were 102 schools managed by Hindus as against 42 managed by Muslims; 10 Hindu-managed Colleges as against 2 Muslim-managed Colleges

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in the University area and 480 Hindu Professors in affiliated colleges as against 201 Muslim Professors. Lastly—and it is some proof of the interest taken in University affairs by the two communities,—the number of registered graduates belonging to the Hindu community in the year 1932 was 941 as against only 91 Muslim registered graduates. Judged by the only proper test, therefore, the Hindus are entitled to twice the representation which the Muslims can justly claim on the governing bodies of the University; and yet in actual fact, the Muslims enjoy equal representation on the Senate and two-thirds of the representation enjoyed by the Hindus in the Syndicate, being 4 against 6.

It is clear from these figures that the Muslims already have more than their just share of influence and power in the Panjab University, and if there is any community which has a ground for complaint it is the Hindus. This conclusion is further borne in upon one if one considers how steadily the number of Hindus has been going down. In 1927 the number of Hindu senators was 30 while the number of Muslim senators was 21 and of Christian senators 28. In 1932 the number of Hindu senators came down to 24, while the number of Muslim senators increased to 24 and of Christian senators to 30. And yet the author of the inspired communication foreshadows a further weightage for the Muslims for a temporary period. Any further weightage given to the Muslim community would, in our opinion, not only be gravely unjust to the Hindus but, having regard to the share of, and the interest taken by, the Muslim community in University education, would gravely imperil the efficiency of that education in the Province. Regarding the general issue of communal representation, the position today is exactly the same as in 1924 when the Senate adopted unanimously, with only one dissentient, a resolution moved by Dr. Lucas, to the effect that "in the opinion of the Senate the principle of communal representation is not desirable in any of the University bodies." We have reasons to believe that this view has been urged before the Anderson Committee in a joint memorandum submitted by 26 of the ablest, the most distinguished, and the most universally respected educationists in this Province.

Panjab Educationists who are Against Communalism in Universities

The following joint memorandum has been submitted to the Panjab University Enquiry Committee by as many as twenty-six of the most distinguished educationists in that province:

(*a*) We conceive that the main object of University reform is to secure academic efficiency interpreted in terms of research, pursuit of knowledge, the practical application of both knowledge and research in the service of the Province and standards of examination. Whatever other objects may receive consideration, this paramount aim must not be lost sight of. We have no doubt that the Committee will fully investigate in detail the methods of how best to advance this primary object lying at the very basis of a University's function. But in view of reported advocacy of certain opinions on the constitution of the various executive and academic bodies that taken together mean the University, we wish to express our emphatic opinion that any constitution that does not fully respect this fundamental object or is influenced in any substantial measure by considerations foreign to this object, can only prove fatal to the University.

(*b*) In a properly constituted University, as we conceive it, there ought to be adequate representation for (*i*) university professors, (*ii*) teachers in affiliated colleges with particular weight for Degree Colleges, (*iii*) registered graduates, (*iv*) headmasters in recognized high schools, (*v*) managing bodies of affiliated institutions and (*vi*) the public at large through representative public men and pioneers in different walks of life, elected by the Senate. The representation in our opinion must be on a fully democratic basis regardless of communal considerations and must not be so arranged as to produce any desired communal bias. We recognize that the Senate must have a certain number of *ex-officio* Fellows in the main as at present; but we feel that examination by the Chancellor should be limited to the narrowest limits.

(*c*) In our opinion any deviation from the general principle of representation to which we have referred, is certain to affect injuriously the system of secondary and higher education in the Province that has been built up with much effort and at great sacrifice. We wish in this connection to draw attention to the resolution moved by Dr. Lucas in the Senate, adopted unanimously, with only one dissentient voice out of 37, at its meeting on the 6th October, 1924:

"That in the opinion of the Senate, the principle of communal representation is not desirable in any of the University bodies."

(*d*) We have not adverted to other matters engaging the attention of the Committee of Enquiry because they form more appropriately the subject of discussion with individual witnesses.

(*Signed*) Narendra Nath, Fellow, M. L. C.; Manohar Lal, Fellow, M. L. C.; Durga Das, Fellow, P. Univ.; Jagan Nath Aggarwal, F. P. U.; Mukand Lal Puri, F. P. U.; Ruchi Ram Sahni, F. P. U.; Mehr Chand, F. P. U.; Gulshan Rai, F. P. U.; Devi Dyal, F. P. U.; Ram Rattan, F. P. U.; K. L. Bhatia, Principal, Hindu College; Bishen Singh, F. P. U.; Sundar Singh Majithia, F. P. U.; Charan Singh, M. Sc., Khalsa College, Amritsar, F. P. U.; K. L. Rallia Ram, Vice-President, Lahore Municipality; Bawa Udham Singh, F. P. U.; S. N. Das-Gupta, F. P. U.; Brij Narain, S. D. College; P. C. Speers, F. P. U.; S. S. Bhatnagar, Fellow, Punjab Univ.; Balak Ram Panday, Fellow Punjab University; C. L. Anand, Fellow, Punjab University; Sain Das, Fellow, Punjab University; Mehr Chand Mahajan, Fellow, Punjab Univ.; Hem Raj, Principal, Dyal Singh College; Jodh Singh, Fellow, Punjab University.

It is significant that among the signatories are members of the Hindu, Sikh and Christian communities but none from the Muslim community. This fact has to be

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considered with some other facts, to decide whether Panjab Muslims *really and sincerely* want that there should be no communalism in the Panjab University. In the course of the debate on the resolution asking for a Panjab University Enquiry Committee, Mian Ahmad Yar Khan, the mover, K. B. Din Ahmad, a supporter, and the Hon'ble Malik Firoz Khan Noon, the Education Minister, all expressly stated that they wanted to keep the University free from and above communalism.

Another European Expedition to Everest

Reuter cables :

London, Jan. 19.

Darjeeling will be the scene of great activity while the Everest expedition is preparing to begin journey to the base camp, said Mr. Ruttledge, who is leaving by the steamship 'Commorin' tomorrow.

Besides several hundred yaks, mules and donkeys to carry supplies and equipment, there would be 70 or 80 porters required. Fourteen members of the Expedition wuold travel by various routes to Darjeeling from where on March 15 the expedition would begin its trek across Tibet to the base camp on Everest, 16,000 feet high.

There ought to be an Indian expedition to Everest. It is obvious that Indians can work in extreme cold. For the porters in all Himalayan expeditions have been Indians, and have been able to endure the extreme cold, even though their food and dress have not been as good as those of the European mountaineers conducting the expeditions. There have been notable Himalayan explorers like Sarat Chandra Das, Nain Singh, etc., among educated Indians, too. Indians have done well in hockey, cricket, wrestling, etc. Why then not in mountaineering ? They should take lessons in mountain climbing, in Switzerland, for example, and then attempt climbing the high Himalayan peaks. Some educated young Indians should apply for permission to accompany the Ruttledge expedition.

Who Computed the Altitude of Everest ?

From the name "Everest," many people are under the impression that some person of the name of Everest must have discovered this peak of the Himalayas and calculated its height. But that is not the fact. At the time when this particular peak was found by calculation to be the highest, Babu Radhanath Sickdar was the chief computer of the Trigonometrical Survey of India. He found out by calculation that the peak, which was afterwards named "Everest," was the highest in the world. Referring to this discovery, Major Kenneth Mason said in the course of his lecture on "Himalayan Romances," published in *The Englishman* of Calcutta, November 12, 1928, page 17 :

> "It was during the computations of the north-eastern observations that a babu rushed on one morning in 1852 into the room of Sir Andrew Waugh, the successor of Sir George Everest, and exclaimed, 'Sir, I have discovered the highest mountain on the earth.' He had been working out the observations taken to the distant hills. It was Sir Andrew Waugh who proposed the name Mount Everest, and no local name has ever been found for it either on the Tibetan or the Nepalese side."

Unemployment in Bengal

At the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce H. E. the Governor of Bengal stated that the problem of unemployment was particularly pressing among the middle classes of Bengal. In other countries, efforts are made to find work for the unemployed by launching great State projects and the like, supplemented by doles for those who cannot be given any jobs. In Bengal, for hundreds of our middle-class youth food and raiment and shelter of sorts are found in jails and detention camps. Those among them who have to serve various terms of rigorous imprisonment find work to do also, though they are not paid for it—unless free board and lodging in prisons be considered equivalent to wages.

Of course, all this is better than sheer idleness, is it not ? And for all this the youth of Bengal should be grateful to the British Government.

Ban on Dr. Alam

Dr. Alam was to have presided over the East Africa Indian Congress at Nairobi. But the Chief Commissioner of Police of that place has prevented him from entering

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Kenya under the immigration laws. This is quite unjust, and not warranted by the immigration laws. For, though Dr. Alam was a prisoner, it was for a technical political offence that he was sent to jail, and section 2 of the immigration regulation plainly lays down that "this provision shall not apply to offences of a political character not involving any moral turpitude." Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, who also has been a political prisoner, presided over the East Africa Indian Congress, not only without any harm to anybody resulting therefrom, but with excellent results. Just now, there are some unfortunate differences among the members of the Indian community in East Africa. Dr. Alam's presence in their midst and his advice and exhortations would have contributed greatly to the restoration of amicable feelings and unity. There may, of course, be people who do not want any such thing.

Restoration of Cuts ?

Should there be an Indian surplus budget, the obvious thing to do would be to relieve the taxpayers to some extent. But it is rumoured that the ten per cent cut in salaries of all the all-India services would in that case be restored. This has led even the *Civil and Military Gazette* to observe that "no other country has yet thought of restoring its cuts."

> "The emoluments and allowances of Government servants—even with the ten per cent cut—are generally higher than those enjoyed by business and professional men, but this is seldom appreciated by the Government servant whom the tax-payer has to support."

Moreover, the high higher and highest Government posts could be filled by equally efficient persons even if salaries were reduced by much more than ten per cent.

Is the Census of 1931 Correct ?

The Bengal Census Tables, 1931, though printed in 1932, have been released for publication in the second week of January, 1933. A study of the figures in Table VIII showing the age, sex and marital condition of certain selected castes, tribes, or races is very instructive.

Brahmans, Kayasthas and Baidyas are regarded as the highest castes in Bengal. The respective number of married males and females of these castes as well as of the Brahmos are given below from this volume :

	Brahmans	Kayasthas	Baidyas	Brahmos
Males	363,069	362,785	23,571	589
Females	307,521	335,863	22,115	381
Excess of husbands	55,548	26,922	1,456	208

Excess of wifeless husbands can be accounted for in three ways—(1) immigration of married males from other provinces, leaving their wives at home, (2) inaccuracy in the figures themselves ; and (3) polyandry. Now polyandry being out of the question, we are faced with the first two alternatives. While it may be urged that the excess of husbands in the cases of Brahmans and Kayasthas is accounted for by immigration from the other provinces, the same explanation does not hold good in the case of Baidyas and Brahmos, who are, at least for the most part, purely and entirely of Bengal. The Brahmos are monogamists and highly educated. The married Brahmo males—all adults—are expected to emigrate from and not to immigrate into Bengal.

So our conclusion is that the figures are inaccurate. The Mahisyas, Namasudras, Jugis and Jaliya Kaibartas are purely Bengal castes of local origin. It cannot be said of any of them that they have immigrated from the neighbouring provinces. The respective numbers of married Mahisyas, Namasudras, Jugis and Jaliya Kaibartas male and female are given below.

	Mahisya	Namasudra	Jugi Jaliya	Kaibarta
Male	570,090	506,060	94,454	88,334
Female	563,279	498,683	92,537	83,070
Excess of husbands	6,811	7,377	1,903	5,264

The figures speak for themselves. If the census is accurate, then we must suppose that many married females of the several castes have EMIGRATED out of Bengal !

J. M. DATTA

"Untouchables," and Mahatma Ganahi and Sanatanists

Mahatma Gandhi has made an offer to Sanatanists, *i. e.*, orthodox Hindus, in the course of an interview to the Associated

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Press on the reported speech of Mr. Sreenivasa Iyengar at a Sanatanist meeting in Madras.

Mr. Iyengar in the course of his speech had stated that the present temple entry movement was nothing but a political stunt of Mr. Gandhi and his followers to placate the 'harijans' and win over that new party to the Congress so as to present the Government a united front.

Mr. Gandhi said that he was surprised and pained to find Mr. Iyengar, an ex-Judge, to have spoken so 'irresponsibly as he had done.' 'If he had taken the trouble of studying the movement,' said Mr. Gandhi, 'he would at once have seen that with him the removal of untouchability had been an article of faith before he knew anything of politics. If he had been guided by political instead of religious instinct, he would have excluded 'temple entry' from his programme and confined his attention to economic and educational uplift. But he had stated that his popularity, such as it was, was because he believed that without temple entry untouchabillty could not be said to have been abolished for Hinduism.'

Mr. Gandhi added: "I make an offer to Mr. Iyengar and other Sanatanists, who say that they do not wish to ill-treat the 'harijans' and would like to promote their economic and other temporal welfare. Let them join the Servants of Untouchables Society, and finance to work out its programme of temporal uplift, and leave merely 'temple entry' to me and those who think with me. Mr. Iyengar should know that the Society contains a few Congressmen. The organization contains many prominent Liberals. Indeed the Sanatanists can, if they mean what they say, by bringing money and workers for the Society, take charge of it and shape its policy. If this does not suit them, let them run a rival organization, spread its branches all over the country and win the hearts and gratitude of the 'harijans.' I would take my chance of gaining religious merit by prosecuting the temple entry movement, and showing that it will at a stroke uplift 'harijans' and caste Hindus, purify both and automatically promote the temporal welfare of the former. Mr. Iyengar should realize that in a matter concerning the masses no stunt can be of much use. They are open to be appealed to by everybody, and only honest and hard work can win in the end."

The Persian Oil Dispute

The Persian Oil Dispute has not yet been settled. The Anglo-Persian *Company* is not a member of the League of Nations—it is only *States* which are and can be members of the League. Hence, the dispute between the Persian Government and that Company could not properly come all at once before the League, if it could at all be taken to that international body. Persia is an independent conntry with laws and law-courts of its own. Hence, the Company should have sued the Persian Government in the Persian law-courts —at least in the first instance. That the Brit Government hold shares in the Company d not alter the situation at all. If it did, would be possible for the British Governm to acquire shares in British Companies carry on business in all independent countries a taking advantage of trade disputes, coerce weaker ones among such countries in vari ways directly or through the League (in wh Great Britain is most powerful). It anomalous for the British or any other Gover ment to hold shares in trading compan Hence, the position taken up by the Per Minister of Justice at the meeting of League Council at Geneva on the 2 January last was quite justifiable.

Geneva, Jan.

Mirza Ali Akbar Khan Dawar, Persian Mi of Justice, following Sir John Simon, reserved right to reply fully to the British case Referring to British disquietude regarding alleged refusal of the Persian Government accept responsibility for the protection of prop and the personnel of the Company, he said although Persia repudiated the concession, never attempted to evade the obligations International Law to protect the lives property of foreigners living in Persia. He that, since Persia had cancelled the whole of concession, she could not have had recourse arbitration under Article 17 of the conces without appearing to contradict herself. urged that the dispute was not between British and Persian Governments but the Per Government and the Concessionary Company since the company had not exhausted the means at its disposal, namely the Perian Courts, the British Government were not just in intervening—*Reuter*.

Philippines Independence Law

New York, Jan. 11

The Senate overrode Mr. Hoover's veto of Philippines Bill by 66 votes to 27 and as a re the Bill becomes law and complete indepen for the Philippines will be achieved in te thirteen years, provided the Philippine legisla accepts the Bill within a year. Otherwise whole problem will be thrown again into melting pot.

The passage of the Bill is a victory for American agriculturists, especially sugar inter who are very jealous of Philipinne compet —*Reuter*.

The House of Representatives, or low House of the United States Congress, already over-ridden Mr. Hoover's veto a majority of votes.

Large numbers of Americans being a Imperialists and lovers of freedom for

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mankind, naturally favour Filipino independence. But there are other Americans whose representatives have voted for the bill for self-regarding reasons. Agricultural produce from the Philippines at present compete with American produce in the U. S. A. market. The Philippine Islands being at present part of the American Republic, their produce cannot be subjected to duties at American ports and thus made dearer in America. If the Islands become separate, their goods can be subjected to customs duties and their competition in the American market made very difficult.

From whatever motive the Americans may have voted for Filipino independence, it will be good for the Filipinos if they can maintain their freedom.

Lord Willingdon on Temple Entry Bill

Lord Willingdon has refused sanction to the introduction of Mr. Subbarayan's Temple Entry Bill in the Madras Legislative Council. The grounds for refusal are thus stated in an official *communique* :

> "The questions raised in the Bill affect the religious beliefs and practices of the Hindu community generally. They are thus essentially of an all-India character and cannot properly be dealt with merely on a provincial basis. This conclusion is reinforced by the fact that many of the temples of the Madras Presidency, which would be regulated by the Bill, are of much more than local importance and are places of worship and pilgrimage visited by Hindus from all parts of the country."

These arguments are not at all convincing. Temples in the Madras Presidency may be visited by a few pilgrims from other provinces, but they are visited mostly by the people of that province, particularly by those who live in their vicinity. Therefore, entry to those temples is primarily and mainly a question for that province to decide. Hence, there is no reason why it should not be decided by local option. Any question which is a provincial question in this sense should be allowed to be decided provincially, provided the decision does not prejudicially affect the rights or interests of the people of any other province or provinces generally. Real provincial autonomy requires that it should be so. It should also be remembered that untouchability prevails in Madras in its acutest, gravest and most accursed form. If our Madras friends could put an end to it or minimize it, that would be an encouragement and example to the rest of India. There is no reason why they should be prevented from being pioneers in an urgent socio-religious movement.

Mahatma Gandhi on the Viceroy's Decision

Mahatma Gandhi has issued a long statement on the Viceroy's decision from which we quote a few passages below. The two bills referred to therein are Dr. Subbarayan's Madras bill and Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer's all-India bill.

> 'Having read the Government decision on the two bills about untouchability now before the country I cannot help expressing my regret on general grounds that the Government could not see their way to allow both bills to be discussed by respective legislatures and the country. Dr. Subbarayan's bill restricts itself to one particular issue, temple entry, and that too in the Madras presidency and the opening of each temple depends on the will of a majority of those entitled to temple entry. It, therefore, reduces the possibility of a clash between party and party to the minimum and to zero if the reformers play the game, that is, allow for religious scruples even of a microscopic minority as my compromise proposal does. But this was not to be. From the strict Sanatanist point the Madras bill was perhaps the lesser of the two evils as they would put it. It was easier for the reformer to cope with, and for me personally, too, as a fasting hostage, the Viceregal sanction would have in all probability succesfully prevented the fast over Guruvayur.
>
> 'But the Government of India had willed otherwise. I must try to trace the hand of God in it. He wants to try me through and through. If He does He will have to give me adequate strength as He has always vouchsafed those who would surrender themselves wholly to Him. The all-India bill is short and sweet being of a negative character. In one way it gives no direct aid to the reformer. It merely refuses aid to any and every individual Sanatanist who would come to seek the assistance of the secular courts to impose his will on the whole Hindu society and to enforce a custom which the latter may consider to be repugnant to the Hindu Shastras and the innate moral sense of man. It abolishes legal untouchability leaving the social and religious to its fate. The sanction given to this bill is an unintentional challenge to Hinduism and the reformer. Hinduism will take care of itself if the reformer will be true to himself. Thus considered the Government of India's decision must be regarded a Godsend. It clears the issue. It makes it easy for India and the world to understand the tremendous importance of the moral struggle now going on in India. It takes it at one sweep to its natural platform to which it was timidly advancing. As

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a lifelong reformer and fighter I must take up the challenge in all humility and so must every Hindu who was directly or indirectly party to the resolution adopted under the chairmanship of revered Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

Mahatma Gandhi also says :

The Government pronouncement would lead one to think that the bill will be one long drawn out agony and may never become the law of the land. They are right from their standpoint in being over-cautious. But if the Hindu conscience is really roused against untouchability as the latter is practised today the Bill can become law in no time. The Government cannot resist unequivocal expression of Hindu opinion in favour of it.

Laws Embody and Replace Ordinances

The British *News Chronicle* wrote on December 23 last :

"Sir Samuel Hoare's suggestion that the ordinances may disappear in the New Year is a happier augury for India's future even than the real progress which has been made at the Round Table."

As the ordinances have been embodied in and replaced by provincial and all-India laws with longer leases of life and in some cases of a more drastic, elastic and inclusive character, Sir Samuel Hoare's suggestion was a grim, though, may be, an unintended joke. What the British paper calls "real progress at the Round Table" was exactly its opposite.

Alwar Affairs

It cannot be said that the Indian States in general are well governed. The subjects of many or most of them have many grievances. But it cannot certainly be said that it is only the Musalman subjects of Hindu States who have grievances. It is well known that the Hindu subjects of Musalman States like Bhopal, Hyderabad, etc., suffer from grave injustice to say the least. But for that reason no Hindu has instigated, advised or encouraged them to have recourse to violence against their rulers or Musalman neighbours.

Assuming without admitting that the Musalman subjects of Kashmir and Alwar had grievances against their rulers, they ought to have endeavoured to obtain redress by non-violent means.

Whatever grievances they might have against their rulers, their Hindu fell[illegible] subjects had neither the power to opp[illegible] them nor did they do so. But all the s[illegible] many of their Hindu fellow-subjects [illegible] their property plundered and houses bu[illegible] and suffered personal violence and, in s[illegible] cases, were killed.

We have neither the desire nor the sp[illegible] to reproduce all the harrowing news relati[illegible] Alwar. The concluding portion of [illegible] following item has a sinister significance.

Alwar, Jan.

Aggressiveness of the Meos has definitely [illegible] sided and many of them are repentent. [illegible] reported that some Meo captives, when prod[illegible] before the Maharaja and Colonel Oglivie, narr[illegible] some of their grievances, but during cross-ex[illegible] nation implicated a certain M. L. C. as ha[illegible] incited them to open rebellion—Free Press.

Who is this M. L. C.? Has he be[illegible] arrested ?

The honorary secretary, Hindu Mahasab[illegible] has issued a statement from New Delhi abo[illegible] the Alwar situation in which he says :

Alwar calm, troops about to return, Meos tru[illegible] British troops, situation well in hand, His Hi[illegible] ness leaves for shooting, Ruler agrees to inq[illegible] —such are the Press reports emanating about [illegible] Alwar situation ; but no one knows about [illegible] sufferings of Hindus. Their sufferings in Gov[illegible] Garh, Krishen Garh, Tijara and other places [illegible] too touching and distressing. The Hindu refu[illegible] who were compelled to flee to save their lives [illegible] honour and take refuge wherever they could [illegible] it, are being sheltered by their brethren in the [illegible] joining districts of British India, Bharat[illegible] State and the unaffected area of the Alwar S[illegible] About 2,000 of the refugees who came to Re[illegible] in Gurgaon District of British India are anx[illegible] for their rehabilitation. These Hindus, about [illegible] 6 thousands, were driven out by their fellow-[illegible] jects, who rose in arms against the State. S[illegible] of them, who had dealings worth thousand[illegible] rupees, are reduced to the extreme verge of pove[illegible] their houses burnt, and their things taken a[illegible] It is high time that our ultra-Nationalist Hi[illegible] realize the incalculable loss suffered by their [illegible] thren in the State.

Though the situation is now said to [illegible] under control, the following paragraphs fr[illegible] *The Leader* of the 14th January last will [illegible] found illuminating even now :

The official statement issued regarding the [illegible] of lawlessness prevailing in some parts of [illegible] Alwar State, the action taken to restore re[illegible] for law and authority and the happenings [illegible] Govindgarh, throws further light on the ge[illegible] of the trouble and the benevolent and forbea[illegible] attitude of his Highness the Maharaja to[illegible] his misguided and rebellious subjects. As in [illegible] case of Kashmir, so in Alwar also, mischief-mon[illegible]

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from British India instigated the Meo rising. The official statement alleges that outside agitation has been responsible for the last two months for raising agitation among the Meos. The column which was sent to Govindgarh and which has to meet determined attacks from the insurgents, heard the latter crying 'Yasin-ki-Jai.' We learn from a telegram published in the *Times of India* that Chaudhri Mohammad Yasin Khan, secretary to the All-India Meo Punchayat Nuh, has sent the following cable to the Secretary of State for India:

"The Maharaja of Alwar after returning from the Allahabad Unity Conference, has adopted a new policy of sending the Imperial and State troops to crush loyal Meos and Muslims under the pretence of protecting the Hindus. Muslim-Hindu relations in the Meo territory are cordial. The Meos rendered meritorious services in the Great War. The situation is critical. Please intervene and save the Meos."

This message to the Secretary of State, which need not be characterized, requires no comment. The Government of India have joined hands with the Maharaja in crushing the 'loyal' Meos, for we learn that British troops have at last been despatched for operations against the insurgent Meos.

His Highness the Maharaja gave such a long rope to the rebels, took the precaution that all movements of troops took place under the advice of Major Stead, the military adviser in Rajputana, and with the approval of the Agent to the Governor-General, and strictly enjoined on the military forces only defensive action to avoid loss of life, that it would not be easy to start a lying propaganda against his Highness, who carried his forbearance to limits which some people would regard as unjustifiable. After order is restored His Highness the Maharaja should find out and remove the legitimate economic and other grievances of his subjects, so that his strength may lie in their contentment. He has our full sympathy in his difficulties, which we hope he will soon surmount with the help of the suzerain power and his own tact and commanding ability.

The People of Lahore also has published an illuminating article on Alwar affairs.

So far as worldly advantage is concerned, some British service men have been undoubted gainers by the troubles in Kashmir and Alwar. They have got fat jobs there. Also British prestige has risen by the demonstration in those two States of the inability of the Maharajas to cope with the situations without British aid. Did the Musalman insurgents anticipate and work for these advantages to others than themselves ?

Insult to or Uplift of the "Untouchables"?

If, as the result of any compromise anywhere, the "Harijans," the quondam "untouchables," were allowed to enter temples on certain days or hours on the understanding that after they had left these places of worship, these were to be purified because of having been polluted by their presence, would not that be a perpetuation or aggravation of an insult to their humanity ? Mere entrance into temples would not be worth purchasing at the cost of such degradation. God can be worshiped everywhere, without paying such a price.

The Sanatan Dharma Mahasabha is reported to have resolved at Benares that the so-called untouchables may have *darshan* or sight of the images of the deity in temples. This is good so far as it goes. But this *darshan* must be had from outside the innermost sanctuary. As God, whom the images are believed to symbolize or represent, is present in the sanctuary of everyone's heart and can be directly worshipped there by everybody, how long will the "untouchables" be content with the patronizing concession made by the S. D. M. at Benares ? God is rightly called by his bhaktas *Patita-pavana* or the Purifier of the Fallen. He or his images cannot therefore be defiled by the touch or proximity of any human being.

The temples and images of God are not held to be desecrated by the presence or touch of flies, mosquitoes, ants, mice, rats, etc. Are any men worse than these creatures ?

The Third R. T. C.

The so-called Indian delegates to the third session of the so-called Round Table Conference have returned to India in varying moods as outwardly expressed. What their real feeling is God and perhaps they know. Sir Prabhashankar Pattani honestly refused to say anything to press interviewers, because he felt he could not speak out and if he spoke out he would not be fully and correctly reported. We do not want to say anything before the publication of the promised White Paper. Not that we hope to find the fulfilment of any Indian hopes in it !

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is reported to have recently said in effect that India was going to have a constitution which would, either by working or wrecking it, lead to Dominion Status, and therefore, in his opinion, it was

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worth accepting. We do not think the bait is sufficiently tempting. There is not the least doubt that in course of time India will be free and independent. But for that reason every and any kind of so-called constitution cannot be acceptable in the meantime. It is thinkable or imaginable that the coming of India's emancipation would be hastened by the abolition of all laws and the establishment of the supremacy of the will of the bureaucracy with the Governor-General at its head. But such an assumption would not make such autocracy desirable.

"New India"

The disappearance of Dr. Annie Besant's *New India* from the field of Indian journalism is a great loss to the country. It was edited carefully and conducted with great ability. Besides presenting to the public its own views on political, social, economic and educational questions in an unmistakable manner, it supplied a conspectus of international and world affairs and of the progress of thought and idealism in different countries which the people of India badly stand in need of.

Bombay Retrenchment Committee's Report

The Sind Observer says that the report of the Thomas Retrenchment Committee, appointed by the Government of Bombay, goes to the very root of things and advocates far-reaching financial reforms.

> It is the report of three officers of great administrative experience who spent all their life in Government service and cannot be characterized as that of impatient idealists, visionaries and men wanting in good will. They find a top-heavy and extremely costly administration maintained, which, after heavy grinding of its machinery, produces results not commensurate with expenditure. We are not certain that the present Government will carry out the recommendations made, and it will take an year or two for various departments to note and report, for public opinion to express itself, and debates being raised in the Legislative Council.
>
> There is a lot of money to be saved in the light of the report and there is scope for taxing those who do not legitimately contribute their mite to the exchequer, and all this money can be used for nation-building purposes by wise Ministers.

"Independence Day" Demonstrations and Arrests

The "Independence Day" demonstrations all over the country on the 26th January last, leading to the arrest of hundreds of per[illegible] in some provinces, show that the Cong[illegible] has not been crushed.

Forcing Separation on Burma

The All-Burma Anti-Separation Leag[illegible] cable to the British Premier on the separa[illegible] issue shows that the bulk of the Burm[illegible] people do not want separation on the Brit[illegible] Government's terms. They would m[illegible] rather prefer to enter the Indian federat[illegible] with the terms mentioned in the motion [illegible] the League on the separation issue in [illegible] Burma Legislative Council carried with[illegible] division.

Meerut Conspiracy Case Judgment

We have not read and will not or sh[illegible] not read the inordinately long judgment in [illegible] Meerut conspiracy case. As only one (?) [illegible] the accused had anything to do with Meer[illegible] the trial of the case in an out of the w[illegible] non-jury district was quite unwarranted [illegible] prevented most of the accused from mak[illegible] such arrangements for their defence as [illegible] would have been possible and easy in [illegible] say, Allahabad, Bombay or Calcutta. O[illegible] of the accused died in course of the tri[illegible] perhaps the longest in India, three have be[illegible] acquitted, and the rest have got thunderi[illegible] sentences, one of them, Mr. Muzaffar Ahm[illegible] being transported for life. As none of the[illegible] had done or attempted to do any overt act [illegible] dethrone H. M. King-Emperor George V, [illegible] prosecution was, we presume, practic[illegible] undertaken to suppress certain opini[illegible] and to repress or discourage some moveme[illegible] connected with or promoted by workers [illegible] various countries. We do not think the obj[illegible] of the prosecution will be gained. In [illegible] opinion of Mr. Lansbury,

> If the authorities wished to give an unexam[illegible] advertisement to Communism in India, this [illegible] ous pursuit of young hotheads was the best [illegible] to set about it. If the working classes [illegible] going to tolerate these sentences for In[illegible] they will have to tolerate them for their [illegible] countrymen. No peace could be produced in [illegible] till they have the control of their own [illegible]
> —*Reuter*

India and George Bernard Shaw

According to *Visva-Bharati* [illegible] Rabindranath Tagore welcomed [illegible]

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Bernard Shaw and Mrs. Shaw to India, sent them his warmest regards and cordially invited them to Santiniketan. The great author's reply was :

"Unfortunately I am not really visiting India; but the ship, in which I am going round the world to get a little rest and to do a little work, has to put in at Bombay and Colombo to replenish her tanks; and at such occasions, I step ashore for a few hours to wander about in the streets and such temples as are open to European Untouchables. The organizers of the tour urge me to see India by spending five days and nights in a crowded railway carriage and being let out for a few minutes occasionally to lunch at a hotel and to see the *Taj Mahal*. But I am too old a traveller to be taken by such baits and too old a man (76½) to endure such hardships without expiring. My only regret is that I shall not be able to visit you. My consolation is that the present situation in India would not bear being talked about. I understand it only too well."

As the great humorist and idealist understands the Indian situation too well, perhaps it may and will bear being talked and written about on his return to Great Britain.

The first interviews with him of press representatives at Bombay are full of flashes of humour. There is space for only a few.

Mr. Shaw observed, 'The proportion of enlightened people in England is 3 per cent and they don't count at all.'

'What will be the future relations between India and England?' was the next question.

Mr. Shaw replied readily, 'Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. I am not going into the future. It is possible there may not be any relations at all. You can't foresee the future. Take the British empire in a lump. England is a very insignificant part of it. So far as numbers go, the population of India is 350 millions. Someone on board told us it was 350 thousands. We accepted it and thought it was formidable enough. Taking the thing as a whole, India is the centre of the British empire. It is the British empire. It is not a Christian empire. It is a Hindu and to some extent a Mahomedan empire. It is quite possible that in future, when the Indian situation develops and if the population is educated, instead of India wanting to separate from England, England may make a desperate struggle to separate from you.'

One interviewer pointed out that there was a great fund of brain power undeveloped in India for lack of opportunity. Mr. Shaw remarked with a twinkle in the eye, 'After all, you know, brain power may be a mistake. England has got on without any brain power at all.'

He then advised the interviewers with mock solemnity, 'When you have a Government of your own, your first duty is to make public speaking a criminal offence—a capital offence. Indians have a tremendous power of speaking. It is perfectly awful. The English are bad enough once they get on their legs, but I heard in my youth, you have only to touch a Hindu and he will give seventeen volumes of Herbert Spencer. When you have organized your own Government, there should be no time to talk. No sensible man ever talks. I know that myself, because I am a talker myself.'

Mr. Shaw replied, 'I do not know all the inhabitants of India but I think he [Mr. Gandhi] is the most clear-headed man. But everyone I see in Bombay is not a Gandhi. He occurs once in several centuries. It is very hard for you to understand him. You see, he gets so tired of you, that he is always threatening to go on a fast unto death. If I met him, I would say, "Give them up, it is not your job." It takes him a very long time to understand that the world is not like him. It is encouraging to know that such a man as Gandhi is living.'

Mr. Shaw remarked, "Disarmament was nonsense. If you disarmed nations, they will fight with fists. If another war came, it would be an advantage. I daresay, you could spare a few hundred millions. After all, people like killing one another. People admire one who kills others. If Gandhi killed six million people, he would instantly be listened to."

How Vivekananda was Related in Spirit to Ram Mohun Roy

As president of the public meeting held in Calcutta on the 25th January last to celebrate the 71st anniversary of the great Swami Vivekananda, Babu Ramananda Chatterjee dwelt among other things on the long line of teachers whom India has had from the Buddha downwards, who had kinship of soul.

In order to indicate the soul-relationship between Ram Mohun Roy and Vivekananda, the speaker read out the following passage from *Notes of Some Wanderings with the Swami Vivekananda*, by Sister Nivedita, edited by the Swami Saradananda (Authorized Edition, 1913), page 19 :

> "It was here, too, that we heard a long talk on Ram Mohun Roy, in which he pointed out three things as the dominant notes of this teacher's message, his acceptance of the Vedanta, his preaching of patriotism and the love that embraced the Mussulman equally with the Hindu. In all these things he claimed himself to have taken up the task that the breadth and foresight of Ram Mohun Roy had mapped out."

Ram Mohun Roy accepted the Vedanta according to his independent interpretation, as the Swami also did according to his own understanding of it.

The speaker could have pointed out two other dominant notes in Ram Mohun Roy's teaching. These are to be found mentioned in the *Speeches and Writings of Sir Gooroo Dass Banerjee*, an eminent orthodox Hindu.

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In the course of his presidential address as chairman at the Ram Mohun Roy Anniversary, 27th December, 1889, Sir Gooroo Dass said :

"In matters of religion, no doubt, every allowance must be made for diversity of opinion. But one thing, I believe, we all will be agreed upon—all sects, whether orthodox Hindoos or progressive Brahmos, whether Mahomedans or Christians—that to Ram Mohun Roy is due the credit of forcibly pointing out to learned Hindoos that religion does not require one to be a *jogi*, a *suttee*, or to go to the forest, but that home and society are the best surroundings of appropriate worship." —Page 361.

The other dominant note was referred to at the same meeting by another eminent Hindu, the late Dr. Mohendra Lall Sirkar, who said :

"In connection with the versatility of the late Raja Ram Mohun Roy, I hope I shall be permitted to take this opportunity of saying that it is a matter of great rejoicing that he should be claimed by all sections of the community as a man who ought to be admired. Gentlemen, while it is a matter for rejoicing, I must at the same time raise my warning voice that we should not lose sight of the great central truth to the propagation of which the late Raja Ram Mohun Roy devoted his whole life, and that was, the unity of the Godhead. The great aspiration of the late Raja Ram Mohun Roy was to enable the human mind to acquire the highest truth which it was capable of acquiring, and that was to have a just, correct, and true idea of the unity of the Godhead..." "I am an outspoken man, and may be blamed for making these remarks, but still, when I recollect what the late Raja Ram Mohun Roy did for the abolition of idolatry, and what we have since been doing towards the same object, I must say that we cannot congratulate ourselves upon our energy." Pages 363-4.

Vivekananda on Caste

At the Vivekananda anniversary meeting, mentioned above, Babu Ramananda Chatterjee also read out the following extracts from the Swami's *Complete Works* relating to caste :

"Just as man must have liberty to think and speak, so he must have liberty in food, dress and marriage and in every other thing, so long as he does not injure others."—*Complete Works of the Swami Vivekananda*, part iv, p. 313.

"...the conviction is daily gaining on my mind that the idea of caste is the greatest dividing factor and the root of *Maya*,...

"It is in the books written by priests that madness like that of caste is to be found, and not in the books revealed from God."—*Ibid*, part vi, p. 355.

"Buddha was the only great Indian Philosopher who would not recognize caste,...

"All the other philosophers pandered more or less to social prejudices...."—*Ibid*, pt. vii, p. 37.

The speaker was aware of the existe of some other utterances of the Swami app ently in conflict with the above opinions of t teacher. But he did not want to strike a controversial note. He pointed out s resemblances between the Buddha a Swamiji.

Some Services of Vivekananda

Babu Ramananda Chatterjee referred his speech to the services rendered Vivekananda. The Swami endeavoured to de troy our inferiority complex and our defeati and succeeded to an appreciable extent. H held that Indians had once been great a done great things and could again be gr and do great things. He taught *seva dhar* the religion of service, and inspired h followers with the spirit of helping sufferi humanity, so congenial to the temperame of his countrymen.

He was, to some extent, rightly a revivali no doubt. But he did not claim all excellen to be a monopoly of his country. He did n hold that we had nothing to learn from the West. On the contrary, he exclaimed :

"Can you not make a European society w India's religion ? I believe it is possible a it must be."—*Complete Works*, part iv, p. 313.

Perhaps he wanted in India the compar tively greater social equality of Wester peoples, their energy and enterprise, th courage and persistence in fighting evi their pursuit of science and their progressiv ness.

Curzon Redivivus ?

Some months ago a series of artic appeared in the influential and wid circulated vernacular Calcutta daily, *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, making various alleg tions against Sir C. V. Raman in connecti with the Calcutta University Science Colle and with the Indian Association for t Cultivation of Science, which was found by the late Dr. Mohendra Lall Sirkar a for which he spent money, time and intelle tual energy. We are not aware any replies having been given these articles. Later, and more recent editorials and letters have appeared in t *Amrita Bazar Patrika* regarding Sir C. V

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Raman. There have been replies to these, notably in an interview with Prof. Raman in *The Hindu* of Madras and in a letter to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* by himself. And in the same paper, there have been editorial and epistolary rejoinders. It is not our intention to transfer the controversy to our pages or to enumerate the allegations made against Dr. Raman. But our impression may be mentioned—namely, that the allegations have not been squarely faced and remain substantially unrefuted.

It may be permissible to notice just one or two passages in Sir C. V. Raman's own reply.

In the course of his Convocation address at the Calcutta University in 1905 Lord Curzon told his audience in effect that the West honoured and practised truthfulness and the East, its opposite. He received a fitting reply from Dr. Rash Behary Ghose to this ethical indictment of all the various nations of Asia.

Edmund Burke said on a memorable occasion that he did not know how to frame an indictment against a whole people. But Lord Curzon framed that ethical one against all the various peoples of Asia. In a similar vein Sir C. V. Raman has framed an intellectual indictment, in the form of an insinuation against the Bengalis in the following passage of his reply :

> "It is possible of course that some of my friends in Bengal might have been more pleased if I had shut the door of my laboratory in the face of any one from outside Bengal and been satisfied with creating only a Bengali school of physics and not an all-India school. But, in that case, I am quite certain that the Nobel prize in physics would not have come east of Suez."—*Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Jan. 8, 1933.

If the Bengalis had been as narrow-minded and exclusive as he insinuates in the first sentence quoted above, he, a comparatively obscure scientific worker at the time of his appointment, could not have got the Palit Professorship of Physics in Calcutta. Bengal has never shut her doors, nor wanted to, against seekers of truth from outside.

But we are mainly concerned with the last-quoted sentence, in which he has had a fling at the actual and possible scientific capacity of the Bengalis. It is not necessary to refute such a puerile eruption of splenetic irritability, even though the only scientific Nobel Prize winner "east of Suez" is responsible for it ; for, it is not the outcome of the canons of either inductive or deductive logic. As India still expects great things from Sir C. V. Raman, greater than what he has yet achieved, it would be a matter for rejoicing if some medical friend of his examined him and found that there were no symptoms in him of incipient intellectual hydrocephalus.

Duty of a Palit Professor

In the course of his reply, published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of the 8th January last, Sir C. V. Raman says :

> "Fifteen years ago, I was invited to fill the Palit Chair of Physics on a very modest salary [Rs 800 to Rs. 1000 per mensem.—Ed., *M. R.*] and on the express condition that it was to be a research professorship without teaching duties. Nevertheless, in order to benefit the students of the Calcutta University, I have spent all these years a great deal of my personal time and energy in lecturing to the Post-Graduate classes and endeavouring to infuse into them a love of the subject and an interest in research."

We are unable to discover when the Palit Professorship of Physics was or became a research professorship pure and simple. The Palit Chairs of Physics and Chemistry were created by the First Trust Deed executed by Sir Taraknath Palit. In that Trust Deed the duty of the Palit Professors is laid down thus :

> "That it shall be the duty of the Professors (1) to carry on original research with a view to extend the bounds of knowledge, (2) to stimulate and guide research by advanced students and as an essential preparation for this purpose, (3) to arrange for the adequate instruction of students for the Degrees of Bachelor of Science with Honours, Master of Science and Doctor of Science and also of other students who may be exceptionally qualified though they may not be even undergraduates of any University, provided that they be recommended by the said Governing Body."

This Trust Deed was executed in 1912 and Sir C. V. Raman was appointed in 1917. According to the Trust Deed the Palit Professorships are not pure research chairs. So, if an exception was made in the case of Prof. Raman, the terms of the Trust Deed must have been altered. We are not aware of any such alteration. If Prof. Raman refers the public to some printed document recording such alteration, all doubts will be removed. It is true,

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"On the recommendation of the Syndicate the following proposals made by the Governing Body of Sir Taraknath Palit Endowment, regarding the duties and tenure of appointment of Palit Professors, were adopted by the Senate on the 30th January, 1914 :—

I. That the duties of each of the Professors be specified as follows :—

(1) To devote himself to original research, in the subject in which he has been appointed, with a view to extend the bounds of knowledge.

(2) To stimulate and guide research by advanced students in his special subject in the University College of Science and generally to assist such students in Post-graduate study and research.

(3) To superintend the formation and maintenance of the Laboratory of the College of Science in his own subject."

But here, too, the duties of a Palit Professor certainly include and involve some kind of teaching and guidance of students.

Equal Educational Facilities for Untouchables

We are glad to read the following in *The Servant of India* :

> The Bombay Government have recently issued two resolutions which are indicative of their firm resolve to see that their policy to ensure equal educational facilities to the depressed classes no longer remains a mere pious wish.....In the first place, with a special officer in charge of the interests of the depressed classes, it may safely be assumed that cases of unequal treatment of depressed class pupils will not remain undetected, as heretofore. When such cases are brought to the notice of the Director of Public Instruction, as they are sure to be by the Backward Class Officer, he has been enjoined carefully to look into them. In cases in which "differentiation is proved on the ground of custom, religion or orthodoxy of the Hindus," he will give the management of the school concerned reasonable time to remedy the grievance, Should the matter not be set right before the expiry of the allotted time, the Government will seriously consider whether the grant paid to such a school should not be reduced...."
>
> While on this subject, attention may also be drawn to the bill which has been passed by the C. P. Legislative Council on the motion of Mr. Gavai, a depressed class leader. It lays down that "no public place should be closed to any person by reason of his caste or creed," and "public place" is defined as including roads, schools, markets, gardens, serais, rest-houses, watering-places, burial and burning grounds, etc., constructed or maintained by the local Government." The penalty for obstruction to the use of such places by the so-called untouchables will be a fine of Rs. 50.

There ought to be such legislation in all provinces where it is required.

De Valera Gets Absolute Majority

Dublin, Jan. 28.

In the Irish general elections the final state of parties is as follows :—

de Valerites	7[illegible]
Cosgravites	4[illegible]
Independents	8
Labour	8
Centre Party	11
Independent Labour	1

—Re[illegible]

President De Valera, a man who at one time was condemned to death by a decree of the British Government, has thus got an absolute majority in the Dail Eireann, the parliament of Ireland. He has thus been able to capture the machinery of the Irish Government. He will now be able to work unhampered for the absolute sovereignty of Ireland and for making it a republic in name as well as in reality.

Christian Indians and the Reforms

The Indian Social Reformer writes with reference to Dr. S. K. Datta's presidential address at the All-India Conference of Christian Indians held at Nagpur in the last week of December last :

> Dr. Datta's speech gives a clear lead to his community and at the same time he has taken a definite stand with regard both to other communities and the Government. The events of last December mark a distinct progress in the attitude of Christians towards National India largely as a result of the action of leaders in Western India after the Yeravda Pact. The Report of the Laymen's Inquiry also bears out Dr. Datta's appeal that the Indian Christian community should break away from its position of dependence. The resolutions of the Conference indicate that most of the representatives gathered at Nagpur favoured joint electorates. Dr. Datta pointed out some of the difficulties that would have to be faced in Bengal and the Panjab where the community would be likely to lose its identity as the general electorate is really the Hindu voters, under the Award.

Bengal Government's List of Depressed Classes

Only in December last, the Hon'ble Alhadj Sir Abdel Kerim Ghuznavi, speaking on behalf of the Bengal Government, could not tell the meaning of the words "depressed classes," nor could he lay on the Council table a statement showing the different Hindu castes in Bengal who fall under that category. On January 19 last, however, the Bengal Government has published such a list in the official *Calcutta Gazette*, though it is *provisional*. It is funny that, long before the publication

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of even this *provisional* list the Prime Minister assigned "at least 10" seats to these classes, not knowing their number or who they were. It was funnier still that the framers of the Poona Pact trebled that number, giving the Bengali depressed castes 30 seats, though these gentlemen had no authoritative list before them, the Lothian Committee having failed to obtain or prepare such a list. It was only natural that the Prime Minister accepted the Poona Pact, as it would serve his purpose better than his own decision with regard to the depressed classes.

In *The Modern Review* for October, 1932, pages 482 and 483, we pointed out what features of the Poona Pact we appreciated and what we considered retrograde and objectionable. We shall not here repeat either our appreciation or our criticism. But we must repeat that we *do* want our brethren of the backward classes to be represented.

We shall here comment briefly on the Bengal Government's provisional list of the "Depressed Classes." The list contains the names of 87 Hindu castes and Aboriginal tribes. Some of the Aborigines included in it are Garo, Ho, Munda, Oraon, etc. The Franchise Committee has said in their report that the Aboriginal tribes should not be included among the "Depressed Classes" of the Hindus. Yet the official list includes many of them. Why? When the total strength of the Hindus has to be shown, these primitive tribes or at least many of them, are separately classed as Animists and are *excluded* from the enumeration of the Hindu community, because then it is felt necessary to minimize the Hindus' numerical strength. But when it becomes necessary to show how large a proportion of the Hindus are "depressed," these tribes are *included* in the same Hindu fold.

This has been done in spite of the fact that Mr. Hutton, Census Commissioner for the 1931 census, had said in his memorandum presented to the Lothian Committee "that, generally speaking, hill and forest tribes who had not become Hindu but whose religion was returned as tribal should also be excluded" from the term depressed class. We are aware that some sections of some of these tribes profess Hinduism, but that does not justify the inclusion of the whole of "some groups of aboriginal derivation now resident in Bengal which profess tribal or mixed religions."

Rajbangshis are included in the list. The Lothian Committee asked that they should not be classed among the depressed, as they had themselves requested their exclusion. They call themselves Rajbangshi Kshatriya or Kshatriya Rajbangshi. The Franchise Committee had plainly said that no caste should be termed depressed against their wishes. But evidently the official list-maker could not let go such a big catch as the Rajbangshis, for they number 1,806,390. Kalus and Telis have been excluded from the list, because they objected to be called untouchable or depressed. For the very same reasons, the Naths and certain other castes ought to have been excluded, as they also have objected.

It was laid down by the Lothian Committee that those whose touch or near approach defiles Brahmans and other "high" castes and who cannot enter public Hindu temples should be considered "untouchable" or "depressed." The notification of the Bengal Government relating to the depressed classes, however says:

> ...when the Communal Decision was announced, it was found that in the section dealing with the representation of the depressed classes provision had been made for a modification where necessary of the definition of the "depressed classes." "The precise definition in each province of those who (if electorally qualified) will be entitled to vote in the special Depressed class constituencies has not yet been finally determined. It will be based as a rule on the general principles advocated in the Franchise Committee Report. Modification may, however, be found necessary in some provinces in Northern India where the application of the general criteria of untouchability might result in a definition unsuitable in some respects to the special conditions of the province" (Paragraph 9 of the Communal Decision.)
>
> The Government of Bengal are satisfied that Bengal is one of the provinces in which the application of the general criteria of untouchability would result in a definition unsuitable to the special conditions of the province."

In pursuance of this view of the Bengal Government,

> The list has been prepared on the basis of the social and political backwardness of these castes and the necessity of securing for them special representation in order to protect their interests

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Why did the Prime Minister think that the application of the criteria of untouchability would be unsuitable to some provinces, Bengal for instance? If in the Madras Presidency, for example, only real untouchables require protection, why in "some provinces of Northern India" (Bengal for example) should others besides the real untouchables require protection? Supposing these others do require protection in "some provinces of Northern India," are there not similar castes other than the real untouchables who require "protection" in the provinces where the real untouchables alone have been given reserved seats? If, as we think there are, why should not they have "protection"? What we mean is, if socially and politically backward castes and classes in Bengal, both "untouchable" and "touchable," require "protection," socially and politically backward castes and classes elsewhere also, both "touchable" and "untouchable," require protection. But neither the Premier nor the Bengal Government has followed this consistent principle.

For some reason or other, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald would appear to have been determined to drive a wedge into and divide the Hindu community for political purposes in all provinces. The criteria of untouchability served his purpose in some provinces. Where these could not adequately serve his purpose, he suggested a modification of those criteria, and the Government of Bengal have made that modification, on the alleged "basis of social and political backwardness."

How is social backwardness to be determined? The Bengal Government have themselves accepted the principle of self-determination in this matter, for their list, they say, "excludes some castes like the Telis and Kalus, from which definite objections have been received against inclusion in any list of 'depressed classes'." So those castes alone should be considered backward who consider themselves inferior to Sudras or at least Sudras, but not Brahmins, Kshatriyas, or Vaishyas. We will mention some of the castes included in the official list who consider themselves higher than Sudras, *i.e.*, "twice-born," according to the Bengal Census Report of 1931, part II, Tables, giving the names by wh they style themselves according to the Report:

Bagdi, Byagra Kshatriya; Bhuin Vaishya-mali; Jhalo, Jhalla-Kshatriya; M Malla-Kshatriya; Kapali, Vaishya-Kap Koch, Kshatriya-Koch, Koch-Kshatriya; N sudra, Nama-Brahman, Nama-Brahmo; P Lupta Mahisya; Pod, Paundra-Kshatri Pundari, Pundra-Kshatriya; Rajbang Rajbangshi Kshatriya or Kshat Rajbangshi; Sunri, Saundika Kshatri Sondia Kshatriya.

Besides these, Hadis or Haris also themselves Haihaya-Kshatriyas.

Hence, if self-determination is to be rule, as it ought to be, all the above ca ought to be excluded from the list of depre classes. In 1917 Sir Henry Sharp offici expressed the opinion that,

> "Sometimes the whole community declares to be depressed with a view to reaping sp concessions of education or appointment."

A new temptation, to confess themselves socially degraded, has now been added to those inducements, *viz.*, that of becomin M. L. C's.

As regards political backwardness, so lo as India does not win freedom all Indians backward, except perhaps those individu who in some way or other run great ri and make great sacrifices of various ki in order to make their country's poli status equal to that of self-ruling count abroad. But let us take a lower stand Those castes of whom not a single mem is able to enter the legislatures by contest may be considered backward. at present there are in the Bengal Co several elected members belonging to castes in the list. Three belong to the N sudra caste, two to the Rajbangshi c one to the Mehtor caste, and so on. Mem of the Koch, Pod, Chamar and Do castes have also sometime or other bee members of the legislature by elec through joint electorates. All these c therefore are not politically backward.

Let us look at the matter from an point of view. There are 87 castes in list, but there are only 30 seats. So, assu that none of these castes would capture

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than one seat, which would not be the case, 30 castes would get 30 representatives, and 57 would get none. Who would protect the interests of these 57 castes? As in social matters the depressed castes are mutually as exclusive as, or rather more so than, the "higher" castes, it cannot be said that a "depressed" M. L. C. of one caste would protect the interests of "depressed" castes other than his own more than a Brahman M. L. C. As a matter of fact, the "higher" caste Hindus have done more for the "lower" castes than any "depressed" caste has done for other similar castes. It is not at all true, moreover, that any castes have *independent* political and economic interests of their own. On the contrary, all castes and classes are really interdependent and rise or fall together.

The net result of the reservation of seats for the "depressed" would be that the majority of them would be branded as degraded without getting any special representation and their interests would not be better looked after than now. Joint electorates and joint elections would have been better for them as well as for the nation at large, ensuring a stronger opposition to the bureaucracy and the foreign exploiters and more powerful promotion of national interests.

Economic Problems of Bengal

The memorandum on the economic problems of Bengal, submitted to the Government of Bengal by the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, is a carefully written document worthy of serious attention. In putting in a plea for planned action, the Chamber observe :

> In order to give the Province a start on the path of industrial developement we must first break the exclusive agricultural tradition of the people. That cannot be achieved by scattered, unrelated, desultory efforts. The possibilities of unaided private initiative are extremely limited. The capacity and resources of private individuals would hardly suffice to overcome the tremendous obstacles that have to be faced in a period of falling demand, shrinking prices and increasing competition. If, as a consequence of these, some of the initial enterprises were to close down, as indeed they must, far from breaking the tradition and turning the people's attention to industrial development, they would have dealt a serious blow to the industrial progress of the Province in the future.
>
> The situation, therefore, demands a corporate and organized effort directed in accordance with a well-conceived plan. Such a plan should embrace not only the development of our industrial resources, but should also extend to such important fields of activity as banking, shipping, foreign trade, etc., where the share of the people of the Province is at present very meagre, and in some of them entirely absent. Here, as elsewhere, the haphazard policy which the Government have been following in the matter of the economic development of the Province must give place to planned action.

For these reasons the Chamber suggest the establishment of an Economic Council. Because,

> Before such a scheme could be adopted or a line of action laid down, it is obviously necessary to conduct an investigation of the facts, a study of the whole economic situation of the Province ; for no policy could be effected or measures successful, unless they are based upon precise knowledge and are suited to the actual needs of the Province, as revealed by careful investigation. Evidently, the task of such comprehensive investigation cannot be undertaken by any of the Government Departments, with their limited scope ; nor can it be entrusted to an ad hoc Committee. It has now come to be recognized as the function of special institutions generically called the Economic Council, (which came into being in certain European Countries after the War) to cope with the growing complexities of economic life, primarily with the object of acquiring and utilizing expert knowledge and creative thinking in a well-determind way to secure economic progress and social welfare.

The Industrial Needs of Nepal

On the occasion of the prize distribution of the school and college at Katmandu, the capital of Nepal, His Highness Maharaja Jodha Shamshere Jung Bahadur Rana, the Prime Minister, delivered a stimulating speech, addressed particularly to young Nepalese. He laid great stress on the industrial development of Nepal.

> The training that you need today is the one that will fit you to develop your capacity for, and take part in, the industrial and commercial life of your country.
>
> My knowledge of history of the progressive nations of today, and the experience I have gathered in the course of my foreign travels, tell me plainly that no nation could ever prosper without the development of commerce and industries, and it is here that we are so backward. The greatest need of our country today is not education in the general line, but technical and industrial education, which will increase the material wealth of our country by enabling us to start factories and workshops of our own, thereby opening up new avenues of employment for many of our poorer brethren.
>
> It is true that in the early stages we shall require guidance and training under foreign experts, and I am ready to bring in such experts

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whenever necessary, but we must remember that experts can be employed only on short period contracts, until our young men, having learned the technique of their arts, can replace them and fill their positions satisfactorily.

In some industries India is now in a position to supply some quite capable experts. For reasons which need not be mentioned it would be more advantageous to employ them than foreign experts. It is to be hoped the Maharaja will consider this suggestion. In industries for which there are no real Indian experts available, foreigners should, of course, be employed.

Collectivization in Production and in Punishment

The reader is aware that there has been increasing collectivization in Russia in agriculture for securing the maximum yield from the soil. In Bengal there is a different kind of collectivization. Here in Chittagong and some Midnapur villages, for instance, collective fines have been inflicted on the people and realized to a great extent. These have yielded some revenue, though the fines were not imposed for getting money. Whether the real object of levying these fines has been or will be gained is more than we can say. But the process of collectivization bids fair to be increasingly resorted to. *The Tribune* of Lahore writes :

> While every right-thinking person will strongly condemn the scribbling of revolutionary slogans on the walls of the Chittagong College, we cannot help thinking that the warning given by the Principal, that unless the students are able within seven days to find out the culprits, the College will be closed, is wholly wrong. Not only will this panicky action really defeat its own end and help the end of those responsible for the scribbling of the solgans on the walls of the College, but the vicarious punishment of a whole College population for the faults of a handful would be outrageously unjust.

Lancashire's Threat

Great Britain is not a free trade country. Both in theory and practice it recognizes the need of protecting its industries. Hence it should recognize the justice of the small protection given to the Indian textile industry. But the annual report of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce contains a threat that, unless the cotton duties in India are adequately lowered to suit Lancashire's interests, political pressure will be applied to the British Government for gaining the object. This is no new thing. Political power has been misused in the past to handicapping or ruining Indian industries.

With the above-mentioned threat should be taken the resolution passed last month at a meeting of the representatives of all sections of the Lancashire cotton trade calling upon the British Government "to take prompt and energetic steps" to secure that in "India, colonies and dependencies" no import duties except for revenue purposes are placed on British goods.

Salaries of the Services

Sir George Schuster told the Associated Chambers at their last annual session that it was not enough to say that they could not stand taxation any longer, but that they should also help him with constructive proposals. This has led *The Hindu* of Madras to observe and that justly :

> But he ignored or perhaps thought it politic not to refer to one concrete suggestion made by the speakers who supported the resolution above adverted to. This was that the proposal which is understood to be under the consideration of the Government to restore the cuts in the salaries of the Services should not be given effect to without proportionate relief to the tax-payer. Mr. Winterham who spoke in favour of this motion pointed out that the Services had been much less adversely affected by the economic depression than those engaged in trade and commerce and that "they had contributed nothing to the general betterment in so far as surcharge on income-tax was concerned." Moreover, there is, as the Bombay Retrenchment report has emphasized, a very strong case for a permanent revision of salaries. An unduly inflation of the basic pay of the All-India services is, as the Thomas Report puts it, "reflected right through every branch of the administration from the superior provicial services down to the subordinate establishments, with the result that the artificially high standard of life has been created."
>
> The scales of pay of the All-India services have, as it were, set the standard towards which the men of other Services, and to some extent even those under private employers, aspire. A poor country like India cannot afford to pay such high salaries and the Government and the Legislature will have to tackle this problem before long.

Japan and China, and the League

It is a depressing thought that after all the talk of permanent world peace by the outlawry of war and of disarmament or at least reduction of armaments, as well as the different pacts entered into with the same object, people possessed of organized and arm-

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might should continue not only to swagger but actually to fight bloody battles while still retaining the membership of the League of Nations, whose object is to replace war by peaceful negotiations and arbitation.

Ere now the world has had many practical illustrations of Japan's defiant and bellicose attitude. The following opening paragraphs of Motoi Ouchi's article on "Japan and the League" in the January number of *The Japan Magazine* afford a fresh one :

> All who have any accurate knowledge of Japan's position and policy in the Far East will fully agree with the Imperial Government's observations on the Lytton Report, and with the speeches which our representative, Mr. Yosuke Matsuoka, has been delivering so effectively before the League Assembly and Council at Geneva. The principles which are thus explained before the world have full understanding and support of the entire Japanese people. Consequently the only alternative for the League, if it really desires peace in the Far East, is to agree with Japan's principles or else reserve coming to a definite decision until time brings a better opportunity to find a satisfactory conclusion.

That is to say, either the League must expressly approve of Japan's activities in China, or at least keep quiet until Japan has swallowed Manchuria, Mongolia, etc., and digested them—when no amount of talk on the part of the League would be of any use ! The writer adds :

> As for the decisions so far reached by the Council of the League, in regard to the Sino-Japanese dispute, we Japanese prefer to ignore them ; they not only attempt to discredit Japan but they discredit the League itself. The conduct of the Council in failing to deal with the Lytton Report, before handing it over to the League Assembly, looks like an attempt to favour China as against Japan. Nor can Japan have any faith in the time-wasting discussions of the Council of Nineteen. Little can now be said until Japan knows the outcome of the discussions at the League Assembly. It is safe to say, however, that throughout the world there is a very general dissatisfaction over the ineptitude of the League in handling the Sino-Japanese dispute and the question of Manchukuo.

The words in the last-quoted sentence are undoubtedly true, but in a sense somewhat different from that in which the writer has used them. The very heading of another article, "Japan and Manchukuo Inseparable," in the same Magazine is another indication of the Japanese mood.

Western Imperialists cannot, of course, consistently blame Japan. As *Commerce*, the Calcutta European mercantile paper, writes :

> Can the Powers which exclude Japanese subjects from their own territory be trusted when they profess international amity ? Do force and money rule the Western world, or do they not ? These are the questions which naturally arise in the minds of the average Japanese, and if we wish them to be answered in a manner favourable to ourselves, we must instruct them by example, and not by precept.

Civil Disobedience and the Anti-Untouchability Movement

The leaders and most of the active followers of the Civil Disobedience movement were in jail before Mahatma Gandhi started his anti-untouchability campaign from prison with the permission of the Government. This socio-religious movement is not less important than any political movement. But it cannot be questioned that it has diverted men's minds from political endeavours of all kinds. It is not known whether Government anticipated such a result when giving Mr. Gandhi permission to carry on his campaign. Though Congress has not been crushed and though many Congressmen continue whatever political activities they can, they cannot decide whether they are to leave politics aside and devote all their energy to the solution of the temple-entry question, as their greatest leader has been doing. In the course of a statement of his Mahatmaji tells them that "if many are filled with doubts, let them confer together and come to a decision as to the proper course to take." This has led *The Bombay Chronicle* to write, in part :

> "When he side-tracks his energy deliberately to a wholly different problem, what are his followers to do ? Their sacrifices apparently prove all unavailing midway in the struggle. Their languishing in jail any longer now seems to be beside the point, unless they themselves choose to conduct Civil Disobedience even when the original author of the programme betakes himself to a new field."

But could Mahatma Gandhi betake himself in jail to the *old* field of civil disobedience ? As we have not taken part in the civil disobedience movement, we cannot give any advice to those who have. But we cannot forget that the imprisoned Mahatma is not free to give political advice and that he had to choose between inactivity and some non-political but very useful activity.

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A Separate Berar Province

The C. P. Legislative Council has passed a resolution asking Government to take steps to constitute Berar into a separate province. We do not know whether it can be self-supporting, nor what it has suffered from connection with the C. P., nor what it expects to gain by separation. *The Hitavada* says :

> By the union of the Central Provinces and Berar, both parts have been benefited. By separation both will suffer. In a mood of petulance or in a spirit of retaliation or in a vein of light-heartedness, the Council passed the resolution without realizing its full implications and possible complications. Now the Nizam can say to the British Government: "My beloved subjects in Berar do not want to remain as part of the Central Provinces. Let them come back to me and I will give them legislative and financial autonomy and arrange for their entry in the Federation."

A Separate Baloch Province !

The All-India Baloch Conference—a very high-sounding mouth-filling name—has resolved that, Baluchistan be constituted into a Governor's province, etc., etc., like other provinces. But who is to foot the bill? All are entitled to live under the same kind of self-government, but that does not mean that every group of people, great or small, is to have a separate government, whether they can pay for it or not.

British-ruled Baluchistan contains a population of 463508—less than that of each of the cities of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and Hyderabad. Ajmer-Merwara and Delhi both have larger populations than Baluchistan. Should not they also to be made Governor's provinces ? Chota Nagpur has a population of 6,639,041, and a distinct character of its own as regards population and physical features. Should it not also be a Governor's province ?

The Balochs want Dera Ghazi Khan and the Upper Sind districts to form part of Baluchistan. Supposing the Frontier Province and Sindh agree to part with them, which is extremely doubtful, even their inclusion will not make Baluchistan self-supporting.

Lady Vidyagauri Nilkanth's Address

Presiding over the seventh session of the All-India Women's Conference at Lucknow on the 20th December last, Lady Vidyagauri Nilkanth, B. A., of Ahmedabad, struck the keynote of her weighty utterance as it were by saying :

> Early marriages, exorbitant dowries, prohibition of widow marriages, polygamy, absence of dissolution of marriage, all these need an urgent reform. The caste-system has been the custodian of these evils. With the help of mass education alone these evils could be easily tackled."

The All-India Medical Conference

In his presidential address at the ninth session of the All-India Medical Conference Major Naidu laid special stress on the necessity of using indigenous drugs and home-made instruments and accessories. The Indian pharmaceutical, pharmacological, bacteriological and surgical works under competent experts can certainly be helped by Indian doctors by the use of what the former manufacture. Dr. B. N. Vyas, chairman of the reception committee, forcibly pointed out the injustice and the evils of perpetuating the dominance of the military Indian Medical Service in India in all that concerns medicine, medical relief, public health, medical research and medical education.

"Callous Inhumanity"

Both *The Hindustan Times* and *The National Call* of Delhi comment with just severity on the "callous inhumanity" of the New Delhi Municipality in stopping the supply of drinking water to the 10,000 labourers who have built the New Delhi palaces and made the town what it is today. The Government ordered the men to vacate the hovels they occupy and leave the town. As this involved acute hardship, they failed to comply with the order. At this stage the Municipality officiously intervened in a heartless manner.

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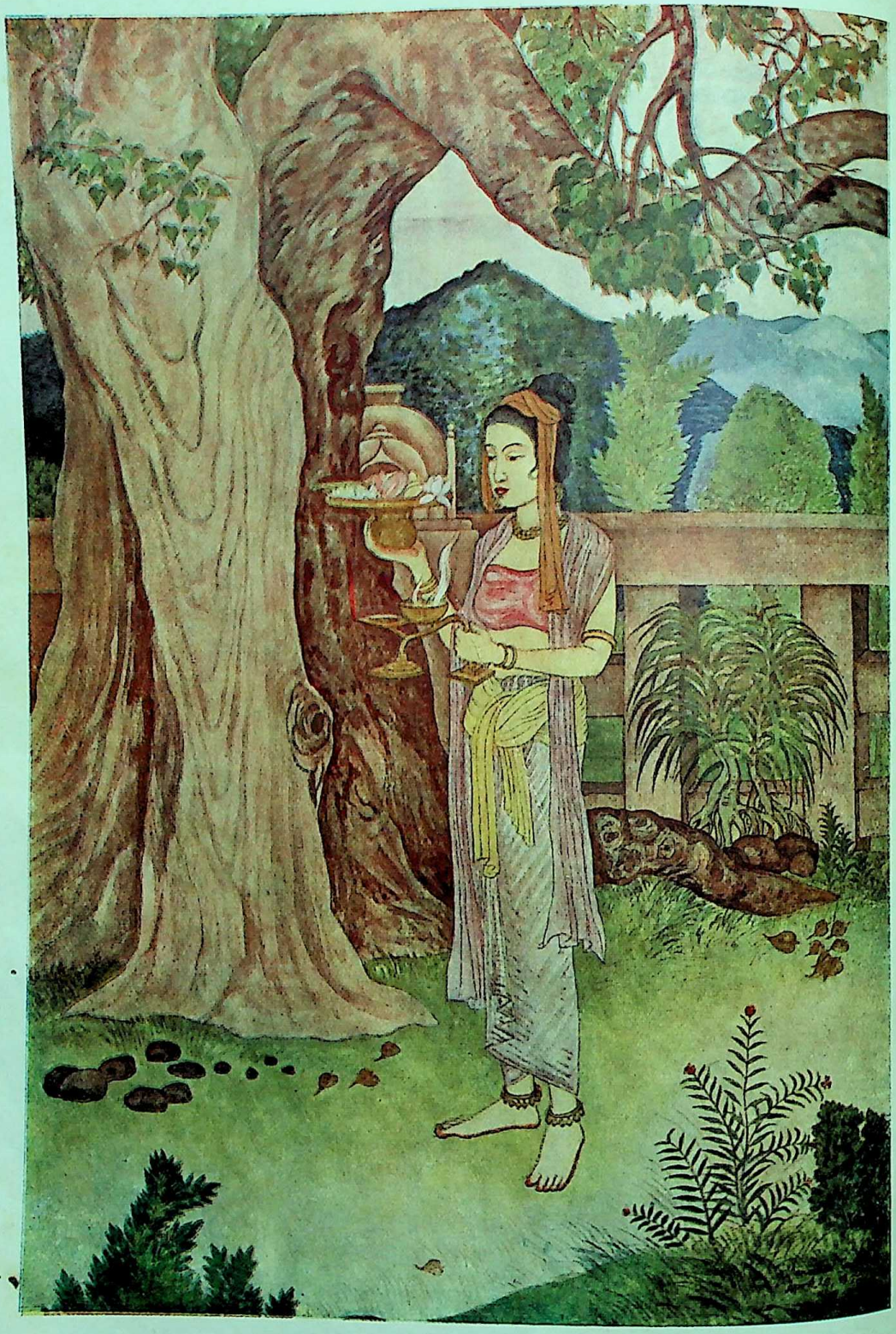

A WORSHIPPER OF CEYLON
By Manindra Bhushan Gupta

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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THOMAS PAINE

JABEZ T. SUNDERLAND

I suppose it would not be an exaggeration to to say that no man within the past century and a half has been so much and so bitterly spoken against by the orthodox Christians of America and England as Thomas Paine. In innumerable books, periodicals, pamphlets and pulpits his name has been one of execration. Satan, Judas Iscariot, Voltaire, Robert Ingersoll and Paine have made up the catalogue of arch-monsters whom all good people are supposed to dread with perfect dread and hate with perfect hatred. He has been spoken of as "Tom" Paine. Men who would on no consideration call Paine's intimate associates and friends, Washington, Jefferson and Franklin, nicknames, and who would be incensed to be called Tom or any other nickname themselves, have not hesitated always to call him "Tom Paine." Children have been taught to associate him with everything vile, and young men going away from home have been solemnly warned against reading anything from his pen.

Yet who is this Thomas Paine? I will quote a few words from another, and then go forward to look at the man and his life, and see whether there was any cause for the opprobrium that has been heaped upon him. The quotation which I wish to make is from one of his biographers. Says that authority: "If Paine had died before he wrote his work on the Bible, not another name would have stood higher on the roll of America's helpers and deliverers than his. Not Lafayette's, not Steuben's, not De Kalb's, not General Green's, not the Adams', not Washington's; he would have had more honour than he actually deserved. Now he has so much less. And why? Because he wrote 'The Age of Reason.'"

Paine's life may be divided into four periods. The first, of 38 years was spent in England, his birthplace, during which time he did not attract much public attention; the second, of 12 years, in America, in connection with the American Revolutionary War; the third, of 15 years, in England and France, mainly in France, in connection with the French Revolution; the last, of 7 years, in America, where he died at the age of 72.

It was because he had become deeply interested in the struggle of the American Colonies for freedom that he came to the New World, bringing letters of introduction from Benjamin Franklin, whose acquaintance he had formed in London.

His arrival was about a year before the Colonies declared their independence, which was done on the 4th of July, 1776. But the agitation against the tyrannies of Great Britain had long been going on, and into that agitation Paine threw himself at once. Possessing a facile pen, he soon became a prominent writer in behalf of the Colonies,

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which early brought him into acquaintance with all the leaders in the struggle.

The situation was confusing, critical and dark. Nobody knew what course to pursue; yet all the American patriots who had taken their stand against British despotism felt that some decided course must be adopted without delay and resolutely carried out. Hostilities had already begun. The battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill had been fought; an army had been raised; Washington had been appointed commander-in-chief. But, after all, what was the real issue? What did the Colonies want? Simply the repeal of some oppressive taxes, or a more liberal British ministry, while they remained still under British rule? Or, did they want, what the wisest were coming more and more to feel, that they must have sooner or later and yet what almost nobody dared to breathe—Independence?

At the beginning of the first winter after Paine's arrival, in the midst of the darkest of the uncertainty and gloom, the whole land was startled and thrilled as with an electric shock, by a pamphlet, which, making its sudden appearance, flew in an incredibly short time over all the Colonies from Massachusetts to Georgia. It was Thomas Paine's 'Common Sense.' One of the most distinguished American leaders said of it: "The book burst from the press with an effect that has rarely been produced by typer and paper in any age or country." Major General Lee wrote to Washington: "Have you seen the pamphlet 'Common Sense'? I never saw such a masterly and irresistible performance. It will, if I mistake not, in concurrence with the transcendent folly and wickedness of the British Ministry, give the *coup de grace* to Great Britain. In short, I own myself *convinced of the necessity of separation.*"

Evidently the pamphlet spoke exactly the brave, clear, strong, decided word that needed to be spoken. With its appearance came speedily a marked change and advance in public sentiment. By summer the Colonies which before had hardly allowed the words separation or independence to be whispered, were ready to unite in demanding complete separation from England, and on the Fourth Day of July, as already said, the Continental Congress issued to the world its Declarati of Independence, that immortal docum which severed all connection between t Mother country and her daughters, t American Colonies, and made the latter a fr and independent nation.

Paine's work for the cause of Americ liberty did not stop with the issue of his fi powerful pamphlet. It continued right throughout all the long war that follow He enlisted in the army; but he carried wi him his pen, which proved to be needed the as much as it had been earlier. The war d not go well for the colonists. Dark da came; hearts began to grow faint, and ho burned low, as Washington sullenly retreat from position to position before Lord How the British commander, who ruthlessly la waste a large part of New Jersey. Th Paine spoke again, and as mightily as befor in a pamphlet entitled 'The Crisis,' the firs of a series. It was another "bolt out of th blue," which ran almost with the speed o lightning everywhere. It was read in home in pulpits, in schools. Washington had i read before every regiment of the army. Th effect was electric. Hardships were forgotten. Courage came to the faintest hearts. Everywhere soldiers and citizens alike echoed th words of Patrick Henry: "Give me liberty or give me death."

In a few months Paine was electe Secretary to the Committee on Foreign Affair created by the Congress. Consequently h left the army for more important duties. B that "Crisis" pamphlet which so nerved th arms of the soldiers at the Battle of Trenton was followed by others hardly less effectiv all through the war. In all those "times tha tried men's souls" no word rang out throug army and town and country with such wis counsel and cheer, and power to create courage as his. Whenever there came a defeat of th army, a new issue of 'The Crisis' was sur to appear, plucking out the sting of the defeat and pointing to the possibilities of victories to come. Whenever the people were undu elated and their heads turned by good fortune immediately a new number of 'The Crisis was certain to come, calling on everybody to take double diligence lest they be throwa off their guard, and, falling into the hands o

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the wily enemy, lose more than they had gained. Thus all through those seven long weary years of struggle with Great Britain, Paine's word never failed to appear in the trying hour, rendering the American cause a service that can never be estimated. No wonder that Paine's greatest enemy wrote: "The cannon of Washington was not more formidable to the British than the pen of the author of 'Common Sense' and 'The Crisis.'

Nor was Paine's service to his adopted country confined to the channels already named. There was another not less important. There was serious danger that the war might fail for lack of funds to carry it on. Consequently, two years before the end, Paine set on foot a Mission to France to secure financial aid. Going to Paris with Colonel Laurens, they obtained from the French Government a gift and a loan, which enabled Washington to prosecute the war successfully to the end.

I need not dwell longer upon Paine's service to America during her revolutionary struggle. Enough has been said to show that the American people owe him a debt of gratitude greater than can ever be paid.

After the close of the war, Paine remained in the country he had served so well, for some three or four years, busying himself with writing on important political subjects, especially those connected with the finances of the Government, and perfecting an invention which he had made and which he regarded as important, that of an iron bridge. Then he went back to the Old World, where he spent the next fifteen years, partly in England and partly in France, as has already been said.

In England, he allied himself with the struggles of the labouring men for greater justice, and with the cause of liberty generally. While there, he wrote what is perhaps his very greatest book, 'The Rights of Man,' confessedly the most masterly of all the replies made to Edmund Burke's 'Reflections on the Revolution in France.' This work produced almost as great an excitement in England as his 'Common Sense' or his 'Crisis' had previously done in America. A hundred thousand copies were said to have been sold in a very short time, and it was soon translated into all the leading languages of Europe. Aimed against monarchical and aristocratic institutions, and setting forth in a fearless and powerful manner the principles of popular liberty, it could not fail to enrage the government party in England, who burned the author in effigy in various cities and towns, and instituted suits against him and his publishers, with the design of suppressing the book. On the other hand, the labouring men and the liberals of the Kingdom were loud in its praise, and sang everywhere to the tune of "God Save the King":

> "God save great Thomas Paine,
> His 'Rights of Man' proclaim
> From pole to pole."

Of course, this work of Paine greatly increased his popularity in France, where the Revolution was already in process. As a result, very soon four different French Departments—Calais, Abbeville, Beauvais and Versailles—elected him their representative in the National Convention. He accepted the honour of becoming a Deputy from Calais, and took his seat in the Convention as a member from the Department. He was welcomed to a seat in the governing body of the country with most enthusiastic honours.

But a crisis in the affairs of France which neither he nor any others could foresee was at hand. The "Reign of Terror" was drawing nigh. Paine believed with all his soul in the great underlying principles of liberty and equality which were at the basis of the French Revolution; but he did not believe in the wild, lawless, extravagances to which under blood-thirsty and unprincipled men these principles were soon to be carried. In the Convention, while outspoken and uncompromising for liberty, he at once and boldly took his stand for law and order. All through the wild days that soon came on, he voted and acted with the Girandists, or moderate liberals, and against the Jocobins. I know not where in all history a nobler or a braver deed can be found than his defence of Louis XVI and his effort to save that monarch's life by a speech and a vote which he knew

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would almost certainly cost him his own life. The stand he took caused him to be thrown into the Luxemburg prison and kept there nearly a year, whence he daily expected to be hurried to the guillotine. Indeed, at one time the order was actually given for his death, and except for a mistake of the jailer in marking his cell door, his head would have fallen. Soon after the death of Robispierre, he was released and again took his seat in the Convention.

In 1802, he left France and returned to America, where, as has been said, he spent the remaining seven years of his life, making his home a part of the time at New Rochelle (near New York City), where the State of New York had given him a farm and a home, and where there is now a fine monument in his honour.

On his return to America, Paine found a change of public sentiment toward him which can only be described as one of the most remarkable in history. He left America the idol of the people. He moved in the highest society. The greatest men of the Revolution were his friends and companions. As we have seen, it was common to associate together "the sword of Washington and the pen of Paine" as the two prime factors in winning the revolutionary war.

When he returned, a large part of public sentiment toward him was as ice; it was worse, it was positively hostile and even vindictive. This does not apply to all; such of the broader-minded men as had worked and fought by his side in the great struggle for the nation's freedom and were not religious bigots, still respected and honoured him. But the Christian churches generally and the main body of the religious community had turned against him, and were united in denouncing him as an infidel, an atheist, an enemy of God and religion, and therefore an enemy of everything that was good.

What was the cause of this amazing change?

It was the writing of his book, 'The Age of Reason.' Let us see what the book really was; how it came to be written, and whether or not it justified the violent alteration of public sentiment toward its author.

Did the work teach atheism? No! Paine was an earnest believer in God and in worship, and the book strongly upheld both. Did the volume oppose religion? No! It strongly defended what Paine regarded as true and pure religion. It only rejected certain beliefs, teachings and practices connected with popular Christianity (so-called "orthodox" Christianity) which Paine regarded as superstitious, untrue, unethical, degrading to the character of God and therefore harmful to religion and to humanity. That which was the chief offence of the book, that in it which brought down upon the head of its author the fiercest anathemas, was its attack upon the infallibility of the Bible, the overwhelming evidences which he brought forward showing that the book was a human product, that it contains imperfections of many kinds,—for example various historic inaccuracies; contradictions of Science, such as the creation of the world and man in six days; averments of impossibilities, such as the covering of the whole earth, even "the high mountains," with a flood, and the preservation of "twos" or "sevens" of all the animals of the earth during the flood, in a boat or "ark"; and most serious of all, immoral teachings, such as that God commanded Saul to slaughter a whole tribe or nation of human beings, saying, "Spare none, but slay all, both man and woman, infant and suckling."

The maddening thing about Paine's book was that nobody could show that it was untrue. Pulpits thundered against it: the press poured out numberless articles, pamphlets and books denouncing it. But nobody could deny its facts: there they stood. The more men attempted to answer the book, the plainer it became that no effective answer, no real answer, was possible. Today there is not a reputable scholar in Christendom, of any sect or denomination or name, but who accepts Paine's central claims and main contentions as undeniable.

This does not mean that Paine was right in all that he wrote. It does not mean that his 'Age of Reason' was without errors—errors of fact and especially errors of inference, reasoning and judgment. It could not be free from such errors, written as it was, a century and a half ago. The truth is,

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the book is not one of or for today. It did a great and needed work in its time; but its usefulness is past. Modern biblical scholarship, of which Paine knew nothing because it had not come into existence in his age, gives us a far more intelligent and a far truer understanding of the Bible than it was possible for him or any one else writing in his day to give. If Paine had possessed the knowledge of the Bible's origin and real nature which scholars have discovered since he lived, he would have written many things differently. He would have done the Bible more justice. He would have dwelt less on its errors and more on its great and important truths. He would have realized that errors in a book do not necessarily destroy its greatness. They do not in Shakespeare. Why should they in the Bible? While he would have been able to prove, and doubtless would have proved even more indisputably than he did, or than any one could do in his day, that the Bible is not infallible, is not a miraculous revelation from God, free from imperfections, we may be sure that he would have assigned to it a much higher place than he did assign it, among the great religious literature of the world.

It needs to be understood that the reason why Paine was so hostile to the doctrine of Bible infallibility and felt the need of destroying it in the interest of religion, was that the main body of the Christian Church had made the doctrine the basis of an utterably shocking system of theology, which consigned nine-tenths of the human race to a hell of endless torment.

We cannot do Paine justice without informing ourselves exactly as to what his views of religion were, and especially under what conditions and for what purpose he wrote his 'Age of Reason.'

He tells us in the book itself why he wrote it. The following are his words:

"It has been my intention for several years to publish my thoughts upon religion. I am well aware of the difficulties that attend the subject, and from that consideration have reserved it to a more advanced period of life. I intended it to be the last offering I should make to my fellow citizens of all nations, and that at a time when the purity of the motives that induced me to it, could not admit of question, even by those who might disapprove of the work."

He makes a strong argument in support of his belief in God.

"Do we want to contemplate God's power? We see it in the immensity of creation. Do we want to contemplate his wisdom? We see it in the unchangeable order by which the incomprehensible whole is governed. Do we want to contemplate his munificence? We see it in the abundance with which he fills the earth. Do we want to contemplate his mercy? We see it in his not withholding that abundance even from the unthankful. In fine, do we want to know what God is? Search his Scriptures called Creation."

He affirms his belief in immortality, saying:

"I hope for happiness after this life. I consider myself in the hands of my Creator, and that he will dispose of me after my earthly life consistently with his justice and his goodness. I leave these things in his hands as my Creator and my Friend."

As regards practical religion, he says:

"I believe that religious duties consist in doing justice, loving mercy, and endeavouring to make our fellow creatures happy."

The evidence is simply overwhelming that Paine wrote his 'Age of Reason' not in opposition to religion but as an effort to save it; not as a friend of atheism but desiring to do all in his power to check it. He saw the French people rushing wildly into atheism, undertaking to banish the worship of God, and denouncing religion in all its forms. To him this seemed madness. He believed that to save religion, it must be stripped of everything that is repellent to reason. He would do what he could to that end. Therefore, he wrote his book. Its aim was to purify religion, not to destroy it; to give a higher idea of God, not to create disbelief in God.

Some years later, he wrote a letter to his friend Samuel Adams, describing still more fully his reasons for writing 'The Age of Reason' and the circumstances under which it was produced.

He says:

"I was in Paris. The 'Reign of Terror' was at its height. My friends were falling as fast as the guillotine could cut off their heads: and, as I expected every day the same fate, I resolved to begin my work. I appeared to myself to be on my death-bed; for death was on every side of me and I had no time to lose. This accounts for my writing at the time I did; and so nicely did time and intention meet that I had not finished the first part of the work more than six hours before I was arrested and taken to prison. The people of France were running headlong into atheism; and I had the work translated into their own language to stop them in that career."

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Here we have the fullest and clearest statement possible, from Paine's own pen, of the reason why and the circumstances under which he wrote his great work. Was such a man an atheist, or an infidel, or an enemy of religion?

Yet because 'The Age of Reason' expressed facts and views concerning the Bible which today no scholar dares deny, he was denounced by practically the whole religious public of America and England, and branded with the bitterest names that language could furnish.

And all this after he had rendered to America service little if any less valuable than that rendered by any of her great revolutionary patriots, even Washington.

In 1794, James Monroe (later President of the United States) wrote to Paine:

> "The crime of ingratitude (ingratitude to you), I trust will never stain our national (American) character. You (Paine) are considered by all your countrymen (in the United States) as one who has not only rendered important service to them, but also as one who on a still more extensive scale, (in England and France) has been a friend of human rights, and a distinguished and able advocate of public liberty. To the welfare and worth of Thomas Paine the American people can never be indifferent."

Alas! how little did Monroe dream of what was coming! How little did he understand the power of religious bigotry!

> "Blow, blow, thou wintry wind!
> Thou art not more unkind
> Than man's ingratitude."

It is gratifying to know that this religious bigotry is slowly growing less in America, although it is clear that much more time must elapse before it will all be gone. Within a very few years of the present time a President of the United States has, in a public address, uttered the amazing words: "Tom Paine, that filthy little atheist!" Happily, from many sources, and the most intelligent in the land, there came the quick and stinging reply: You ought to know, Sir, that the distinguished man you have so lightly sneered at, was not "filthy," was not an "atheist" and was not "little," in any sense whatever—in body, in mind or in achievement. Who are you that you presume to look down upon and slander such a man? We would like to inform you that, whatever may be your own ignorant and bigoted judgment, the judgment of mankind has ago settled it that Thomas Paine is less than a bright fixed star in the the world's noblest struggles for freedom.

There is still more to be said Thomas Paine. Great as was his connection with the American and Revolutions, and in advocating the rig the labouring people in England, and in writing his 'Age of Reason,' these d give us the whole man. Paine's mind one of the most forward-looking, wide-ra fertile, daring, original, known to history. In his thinking he could not would not be "cabined" or "confined." was for ever reaching out after the new the better. He was singularly inventi- not as a speculative thinker, at least in ful directions. His invention of an bridge, the first of the kind in the wor an illustration. No student of his wri or life can fail to be amazed at finding many of the most important new pol social, industrial, economic, and relig ideals, movements and reforms, of the hundred years, which in the public mind associated in no way with Paine's nam a fact were actually proposed and advoc by him. Let us see what some of t were.

He seems to have been one of the if not the very first, to advocate the abol of negro slavery. So far as is know was the first to suggest legal protection dumb animals. The claims are made, w seem all to be well-founded, that he was first to advocate legal justice to wo including legal equality with men; the to suggest more rational ideas of mar and divorce; the first to propose the e tion of the children of the poor at expense, including girls as well as b the first to propose and defend the de "the land for the people"; the first to pr old age pensions; the first to expose absurdity and criminality of duelling first in America to advocate arbitrati the means of insuring international pe and the first to propose and to writ great words, *The United States of Amer*

All this is an amazing record. Paine

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not only an American patriot, he was also a world patriot. When Franklin said to him: "Where liberty is, there is my country," Paine replied with the still nobler sentiment, "Where liberty is not, there is my country." These words exactly describe Paine. Wherever men were oppressed and struggling for freedom, no matter in what land, there Paine wanted to be, to give his aid.

Readers of the writings of Paine can hardly fail to be struck with the abhorrence of war and the love of peace which they everywhere express; and with their striking modernness, too, in that everywhere they recognize so clearly, what our best minds of today are recognizing,—that the way to get rid of war and to secure peace is to do everything possible to promote international good-will, mutual trust between nations, co-operation, brotherhood, friendship, and to avoid all those things that tend to create international antagonism and distrust. It has been claimed that Paine was the first American who ever urged a League of Nations. In his writings we find, over and over, not only such expressions as "limitation of armaments" and "dismantling of navies," but such great constructive words and expressions as "neighbourhood of nations," "confederation of nations," "confederated powers," "European Congress," "Court of Arbitration" and "Republic of the World."

As early as July, 1775, he wrote:

"I am in so far a Quaker that I would gladly agree with all the world to lay aside the use of arms, and settle matters by negotiations."

In his 'Rights of Man,' he wrote:

"If men will permit themselves to think, as rational beings ought to think, nothing can appear more ridiculous and absurd, exclusive of all moral reflections, than to be at the expense of building navies, filling them with men and then hauling them into the ocean, to try which can sink each other fastest. Peace, which costs nothing, is attended with infinitely more advantage than any victory with all its expense. But this, though it best answers the purpose of nations, does not that of court governments, whose habited policy is pretence for taxation, places, and offices.

"With how much more glory, and advantage to itself, does a nation act, when it exerts its powers to rescue the world from bondage, and to create itself friends, than when it employs those powers to increase ruin, desolation and misery."

To understand the full significance and greatness of these words, we must not forget that they were written nearly a century and a half ago.

Paine was one of the most unselfish of men. Moncure Conway, his most trustworthy biographer, says of him: "Paine's services to the American cause cannot, at this distance of time, be estimated by any records of them, nor by his printed works. They are best measured in the value set on them by the great leaders most cognizant of them,—by Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Adams, Madison, Robert Morris, Chancellor Livingston, R. H. Lee, Colonel Laurens, General Greene. Had there been anything mercenary or self-seeking or dishonourable in Paine's career, these are the men who would have known it; but their letters are searched in vain for even the faintest hint of anything disparaging to his patriotic devotion during those eight weary years of the war. Paine held back absolutely nothing from the American cause. He even gave up to the States the copyright of all his writings, refusing to retain for himself a penny of profit, and even paying out of his own pocket for copies to send to friends. By such extreme unselfishness and generosity he kept himself during a large part of the revolutionary period in great poverty, some of the time in suffering, whereas the historians of the time tell us that if he had retained for himself the profits accruing from his writings, as he had a perfect right to do, he "might have had in his pocket fifty thousand pounds."

Of course, Paine had many enemies, just as all men have who dare to support unpopular causes: that is to say, just as Jesus and Luther and George Fox and Mazzini and Garrison and Lincoln had in their day, and just as, today, Gandhi has, and Patel and Nehru and Madam Naidu and all the patriotic men and women who are struggling to win freedom for India.

As was natural, too, the enemies of Paine set afloat many evil stories about him, with the aim of injuring his reputation. But it is gratifying to be able to say that all of them have been carefully examined by students of his life, with the result of proving beyond refutation that not one is true in any sense that leaves a blot on his moral character. One of the stories that has been circulated

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most widely by "orthodox" religious pulpits and press, is, that when he came to the end of his life he realized the "wickedness" of his "infidelity" and "atheism" and his "sin" in writing his 'Age of Reason,' and "died in remorse and agony, cursing God."

Although this story has been repeated thousands of times, and continues to be told today in unintelligent communities, the most thorough investigation proved from the first that there was no truth in it, but that he died as he had lived, glad that he had been able to give to the world all his writings, 'The Age of Reason' with the rest, comforted by his belief in God and in immortality, and falling asleep in perfect peace.

There is much more to be said, that never lose its interest to humanity, ab Thomas Paine, that mighty foe of tyra that mighty friend of God, man and hu freedom ! I cannot better close than quoting two of his sayings, which are so that I wish they might be inscribed in let of gold over the entrance to every ch and temple and mosque and every legisla hall and government building in the wo They are these :

"Any system of theology that shocks the of a child cannot be a true system."

"The world is my country and to do goo my religion."

A PLANET AND A STAR

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

THE little man looked perplexed and answered, 'There is no provision in law for such an offence.'

'I thought so for whoever heard of a man flying ? But there is a penalty for unauthorized entrance into the city.'

'Yes, but the entrance must be made secretly or by scaling the wall. There is nothing said about entering the city in open broadlight by flying through the sky. It must be proved that they were hiding or attempting to run away.'

'Call the guard who first saw them.'

The guard was called. He admitted that there was nothing surreptitious or secretive about our movements and we made no attempt to escape or evade arrest. The Commander looked at the officer who glared at us, but the little man shook his head, and insignificant-looking as he was, his opinion could not be ignored. The Commander asked in a helpless way, 'What is to be done ?'

The little man tapped his book and sententiously declared, 'As there is no provision for any offence committed in the air they must be let off.'

The officer who had brought us in was furious but had to control his temper. 'If the city is invaded by an army through the air, are we to remain passive spectators ?' he asked indignantly.

The little man withered him by a look. 'Can you go beyond the law ?' was all that he said. The officer had nothing more to say.

Then Maruchi proceeded to turn the tab upon our captors. He said in an aggrieved to 'We have committed no offence and still have been arrested and brought here.'

The officer was obdurate. 'You have entered the city lawfully and so you are gui of trespass,' he said.

The Commander still looked puzzled and s 'The law is silent about trespass through the

The little man nodded his head and ad 'Besides, they have come in quite openly do not seem to have any designs against the

'Of course not,' confirmed Maruchi, 'we peaceful travellers and have come as friends. have the highest regard for the law and distinguished Commander of the White City.'

'Ah,' purred the pleased Commander, alters the aspect of the whole matter. You free to go where you please.'

The officer and his men looked crestfallen.

'Where are we to go ?' asked Maruchi. are strangers here and do not know where to and may unwittingly offend against some law.'

The little man promptly came to our and said, 'I shall take you to the guest ho

Maruchi was concerned about our machine inquired about it.

'It is quite safe,' replied the officer. park has been placed out of bounds for public and the entrance is guarded. It is safe for the citizens to go near that danger machine.'

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"What's that?' inquired the Commander.

The officer related his experience and said he had a narrow escape. 'But these men,' he added, pointing towards us, 'are not hurt by touching their machine. They must be magicians.'

The Commander assented but he would ask no questions that savoured of curiosity. We all came out of the room accompanied by the little man. The officer and his men went one way and we went another led by our brisk little guide. He was apparently an important person, for people saluted him and made way for him as he walked on with Maruchi by his side, the rest of us following close behind. He chuckled and grinned while talking to Maruchi. 'But for me,' he was saying, 'you would never have got off.'

'Really?' Maruchi glanced keenly at him.

'Without a doubt. It does not matter whether you come from the sky, or burrowed your way out of the ground. You have come into the city in an irregular way and that is enough to convict you. But the big fellows here are fools and I did not want you to be punished, for I saw there was nothing wrong with you.'

'We are very grateful to you but what would have been our punishment if we had been found guilty?'

'Oh, you would have been locked up and perhaps forgotten.'

'You mean to say they would have imprisoned us for life?'

'It is not put in that way. But no one is set at liberty without a fresh order and without a reminder no such order may be passed.'

'But this is dreadful. How can people be condemned to lifelong imprisonment for a trivial offence?'

'You see, nobody minds, for the citizens are rarely punished and it is only occasionally that a suspicious stranger is sent to prison, and no one asks what becomes of him.'

I spoke for the first time. 'If we stay here we may be taken up on some other charge.'

'No fear. You are quite safe. They will not touch you if you knock a man's head off, though you do not look like quarrelsome people. They have seen I am on your side and they will never interfere with you again.'

The guest house was a large square building with a number of square rooms. There were very few guests or visitors and our guide asked us to occupy any rooms we liked. Maruchi mentioned that one of our number had been left behind in the machine and should be sent for. The little man offered to go and call him if one of us would accompany him. I agreed to go with him and the two of us went back to the park and found the entrance and the interior guarded. On the way my guide asked me many questions and I found that he was more curious than the other people we had seen. He walked round the machine and peered at it with much curiosity, taking good care, however, not to touch it. I called Nabor, who came down and looked at my companion. I explained briefly what had happened and how the little man had proved our friend. Nabor greeted him with a smile and shook hands with him, at which our little friend seemed to be surprised. We learned subsequently that the shaking of hands was unknown in the White City. I had found out that the name of the little man was Yoko and the Commander was called Camboro. I explained to Yoko that as he was our friend it was perfectly safe for him to touch the machine and even to go inside. We persuaded him to climb into the machine and showed him some of the wonders of it and let him hear a few bars of very soft music. He was delighted and promised to keep what he had seen secret. When coming out of the park he stopped for a minute and told the guards that he had satisfied himself that the machine was terrible and no man unless he possessed our powers and magic could take hold of the machine and live. The guards eyed us askance and vehemently protested that they did not want even to look at the cursed thing and would not allow anyone to enter the garden. As we left them and passed on Yoko winked at us and chuckled silently. 'Your machine is now perfectly safe,' he told us, 'for no one will even think of going near it.'

Yoko was voluble and spoke to us freely about the White City and the people living in it. Camboro was the head of the civil government as well as of the guards who represented the police and the army. The inhabitants of the White City were very exclusive and considered all other people inferior to them. They had no curiosity because they had nothing to learn from other people. They had heard of other countries and cities, but they seldom travelled as they were firmly convinced there was nothing worth seeing outside their own city. If there was any occasion to go elsewhere they came back with a heightened notion of themselves and their own city. They lived practically in a fool's paradise and were both happy and proud in their own way. There was no incentive to advancement because they did not consider any other people superior to themselves. They did not covet anything beyond what they possessed because they believed there was nothing better to be had anywhere else. Such a state of mind had its advantages as well as disadvantages. It was an advantage that there was no unrest, no cupidity to drive them to seize the property of others, but it was a distinct disadvantage to miss the urge of endeavour and the constant effort for progress. But Yoko was a wide-awake, shrewd little fellow who was under no delusions. He had travelled a great deal, had seen many peoples and many lands and spoke contemptuously of the people of his own city. Of Camboro he had already spoken freely. 'Set a fool,' he scoffed, 'in authority over a lot of other fools and

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all will go well so long as some one with his wits about him is there to pull the wires,' and he chuckled again soundlessly. The little manikin was positively uncanny.

On our return to the guest house we inquired from Yoko whether we would be allowed to move about freely in the city, and whether there were laws restricting the movements of strangers. Yoko smiled in his cynical way and said that the guards were never happier than when interfering with strangers. 'But this will stop them,' he added, taking out a small silver jewel designed like a star and placing it in the hands of Maruchi. 'This will give you the freedom of the city. Whenever you are stopped or questioned you have only to show this and you will be permitted to go your way and no questions will be asked. Since, however, you are entire strangers and do not know where to go it will be better for you to go out to-night with me and see something.'

Maruchi thanked him and inquired if he intended to take us to some place of amusement.

'You will see', was the cryptic reply of Yoko. He sent for the man in charge of the guest house, told him that we were his friends and should be well treated and that we were to be shown to his house after dinner.

Yoko went away and we went into our rooms where we washed and cleaned ourselves, and rested a little before going in to dinner.

Orlon whimsically declared, 'What promised to be an adventure has turned out a very tame affair. Ganimet would have enjoyed a night in prison.'

'Where he would have been forgotten,' grimly added Maruchi.'

Ganimet scowled, 'We would not have parted company in any case.'

We laughed. Nabor was grumbling. 'The machine is my prison,' he groused, 'you may go where you please but I cannot desert my post.'

'Oh, come, Nabor,' chaffed Maruchi, 'you have had as good a time as any of us. How about the sports at Sipri.'

We laughed heartily as the memory of the recent past stirred within us.

XX.

After dinner one of the men employed at the guest house accompanied us to the house in which Yoko lived. It was an unpretentious, modest building, situated in a lane off the main street. Maruchi knocked at the closed door which was opened immediately by Yoko himself who closed the door from outside and asked our guide to return to the guest house. Then he walked briskly with us through several narrow and devious alleys, and stopped in front of a large building dimly lighted on the outside. A man standing near the door barred our entrance but Yoko muttered a few words and the man at once stood aside to let us pass. The interior of the house belied the exterior for it was brilliantly lighted and we passed through several large rooms containing groups of people of both sexes engaged in animated conversation, moving about, or sitting round low tables playing games of chance. They scarcely looked at us and even the women displayed no curiosity. Yoko steered us past these knots of people, now and again exchanging a silent nod until we found ourselves in a room of moderate size with numerous strange looking musical instruments ranged along the walls. There was only a woman sitting in that room with her fingers playing idly with the strings of an instrument looking like a guitar. The woman was very beautiful, statuesque and stately, with her head proudly poised upon a neck of dazzling whiteness. She was wearing rich clothes but no ornaments beyond a chain which flashed in the light round her throat. She smiled a welcome on seeing Yoko and said in clear, musical voice, 'Welcome Yoko, the more so because you come here so rarely.'

'Cares of State must plead for me as my excuse,' answered Yoko spreading out his arms and shrugging his shoulders with a twisted and comical smile.

The woman took him seriously. 'What you say in jest I take as sooth,' said she, 'for the affairs of the city are in your hands and the pompous figureheads would look foolish without your help.'

Yoko raised his finger in warning. 'You must not speak lightly of the great ones. The walls, even these instruments, have ears.'

'So have you and your friends whom I never saw before. A woman's tongue is her armour and her enemy.'

'Wisely said, my Etola, queen of the [illegible] that enchants the heart. These my friends are strangers who arrived this afternoon and have narrowly escaped imprisonment for trespass.'

Etola turned to us, 'Sirs, how was that?'

Maruchi laughed pleasantly as he answered, 'We made the mistake of flying into the city instead of entering by one of the gates.'

Etola was frankly curious and we learned afterwards that she was not an inhabitant of the White City, but had been living there for some years. She was greatly interested when she heard of our flying machine and admired our pluck and skill in having flown into the city like birds. At the request of Yoko she played on several instruments and we found her to be an accomplished musician, though her music did not resemble anything we had heard before. Then she sang with great feeling a number of songs which moved us strangely though we did not understand either the words or the tunes. After listening to her for about an hour we took leave, Maruchi thanking her warmly on our behalf. Yoko showed us to other rooms where gambling was in progress

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the men and women absorbed in the game and everyone under suppressed excitement. Young and old were all there, the older people being keener than the young ones. There were no dice or cards, nor anything like a roulettle table, and the players were using curious little toys, small loops of metal, and shining balls for the games. These were placed in a heap and a player would place both hands on the heap, draw out some and cover them with the hands, the other players being required to guess the number and nature of the objects. Most of the games were very simple and did not show much ingenuity or skill, but the players were intent on their play and money was freely changing hands. They use only white metal for the coins which were shaped like squares.

Coming out Yoko remarked that it was not late and we might see something more before we retired for the night. We were quite agreeable and Yoko led us to what was evidently the underworld of the city. It was a perfect maze of winding lanes dimly lighted, with suspicious looking, ill-dressed men and women prowling about and sometimes halting to peer at us. Yoko was explaining to us that the people living in this neighbourhood were lazy and slovenly, and it was impossible to get them to stick to work. There was not much actual crime on account of the vigilance of the authorities, but the devil always finds work for lazy hands and that was the danger. People in charge of the city were thinking of getting rid of this obnoxious element by driving it out but if these vagabonds rose in a body it would mean something like a pitched battle and that was why the governor and his advisers were hesitating to resort to extreme measures. Evidently the White City was not wholly so white as it looked.

We came to a halt in front of a low door at which Yoko knocked in a particular fashion, repeating the knocks after a while. The door was opened slowly and carefully by two men whose faces could not be seen as they stood back in the dark entrance. Yoko had to answer several questions before we were admitted. Behind us the door was closed and barred and then we groped and stumbled behind the two men through a dark passage till we came to a long low room dimly lighted by a few cheap lamps. As we entered one of the men who had opened the door lighted another lamp which was hanging from the roof and this shed a better light than the other flickering lamps. There were several groups of men and women in different parts of the room talking loudly and gesticulating vehemently. There was a sudden hush as we came in and several of them stared at us suspiciously. Some of them left their seats and surrounded us. They were an evil-looking and evil-smelling lot and Maruchi nudged me and whispered whether we had been wise in coming to such a place. We looked at Yoko and noticed that he was perfectly cool, nonchalant, with a slightly amused smile at the corner of his lips. Our party looked so different from the crowd in that room that their suspiciousness was quite justified. The man who had lighted the lamp appeared to be the owner of the premises and he spoke sharply and briefly in some argot used by them to the men who had surrounded us and they returned to their seats at once. What was going on in the room? If the people there were gambling they used no devices that we could see beyond pieces of string which they juggled and twisted round their fingers and hands. There was very little money to change hands but the players had a few small coins which were being constantly won and lost. The strings were being coiled into various fantastic shapes with wonderful dexterity and rapidity and then the players compared what they had done and the most skilful player won. The women were winning as often as the men and there were shrieks of delight and shouts of wonder whenever any string was fashioned into a particularly queer shape. The whole thing looked extremely silly, but the players looked upon it as the finest game ever invented. One of the men looped and twisted his string into a peculiar shape and held it up round his finger to elicit admiration. One of the women sneered and sniggered and the man thrust his hands under her nose. She promptly boxed his ears and there was an uproar which was only allayed by the stern threats of the master of the house. We left the place shortly afterwards.

As we were passing a dark lane we noticed two figures lurking in the shadows and as we approached they rushed out with hands uplifted and grasping something that flashed for a moment even in the dark, and attacked Yoko. Quick as a cat Yoko leaped to one side and struck heavily at the head of the man with what looked like a loaded life-preserver. The man dropped with a grunt and the other was struggling in the bear-grasp of Ganimet, who twisted his arm until he cried out in agony and dropped his knife, and was pinioned and held helpless. Yoko, cool as cucumber, pulled out a horn and blew it and in a few moments half-a-dozen watchmen came up running, swinging lanterns and carrying short heavy clubs. The man who had fallen was pulled up to his feet without ceremony. He looked dazed and stared stupidly about him and the two of them were securely bound in a trice. Yoko took a lantern and flashed it in their faces and calmly said, 'Ah, my friends, I thought so. You wanted to pay me out for the stripes you got for robbing a child, but I am not so easily caught and I shall see that you are put away in safe keeping longer than you will like.' Turning to the men of the watch he added, 'Lock these men up for the

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night and bring them up before the Commander tomorrow.' He walked on with us to the guest house as if nothing had happened. We were filled with admiration for this little man, brave as a lion, resourceful, even-tempered. He made light of this ugly incident. It was very rarely, he explained, that men in authority were attacked and it would be necessary to make an example of these men. Still he had to be very careful and to be always on the look out for trouble. He thanked Ganimet for his timely help and promised to meet us again. While taking his leave he said the city was quite safe and we could move about freely and might be interested in what we saw. He refused our offer to accompany him to his house and went away whistling, though music did not seem to be among his accomplishments.

The next morning we first went to the park where we had left our machine and found that the guard posted at the gate would not allow anyone to enter. Our entrance was barred at first, but when Maruchi explained that the thing belonged to us and took out the talisman given to him by Yoko there was no further difficulty and the guards stepped aside, to let us pass into the garden. We found the Mundamus just as we had left it for no one had ventured to go near it after what had befallen the officer of the guard. The rest of the morning was spent in wandering about the city without any definite purpose. As on the previous evening we noticed that the inhabitants were singularly free from the failing of curiosity. Hardly anyone turned his head to look at us though we were dressed somewhat differently from the citizens of the White City. There were shops along the roadside, in which all kinds of articles were being sold. We looked at some of them and were greatly puzzed by a number of things of which we did not know the use. We had brought a lot of gold and silver coin with us but these were of no use on this planet. At Sipri, however, the Damato had given us some money of their currency in exchange for part of our gold, not because it was of any use but because it would be preserved as a curiosity in the State collection. Orlon picked out a few odd looking trinkets and Ganimet was bent upon acquiring a formidable looking bludgeon with a head shaped like a hideous gargoyle. We tendered Sipri money for the price of the articles selected. The shop-keeper looked suspiciousiy at the money, turned the coins over in his palm, rang them on a slate of stone and accepted it only when it was explained to him with much difficulty that we were strangers from Sipri.

On returning to the guest house we were told that we were wanted to give evidence in last night's affair before the Commander and we would have to attend at the same place where we had been taken after our arrest. There were a couple of guards waiting to escort us. There was a marked change in their demeanour and they saluted us respectfully on our arrival. We were told that the charge against the two men arrested overnight could not be decided without our evidence and the Commander was waiting for us. There was much satisfaction in the thought of keeping the great man waiting as we did not at all hurry over our breakfast. Now that we had Yoko for our friend we could afford to snap our fingers at the tin gods of the White City. We proceeded leisurely to the building in which the Commander was holding his Court and were met by Yoko himself at the entrance. There was a look of frightened horror on his face but there was also the familiar merry twinkle in his eyes. 'The Commander is fuming with impatience,' he said, 'and he may order your heads to be cut off at once.'

The taciturn and usually silent Orlon—a habit he had grown since we had left the monastery of Opi—became our spokesman. 'Our heads are firmly set an our shoulders,' he drawled with a proud movement of his magnificent head, 'and we hurry for no man.'

'Right, O King,' answered Yoko, with a mock bow, 'the Commander must be told that men who fly through the air must be great men in their own country.'

And he led us into the presence.

The Commander was reclining in his seat with a look of offended impatience. There were several officers and men of the guard, and the officer who had arrested us frowned as he saw us coming in. The two prisoners were standing in a corner well guarded. They were shock-headed, shaggy-browed rogues in disreputable clothes with shifty eyes that were roving round the room.

The Commander angrily said, 'We have been kept waiting by the strangers who should have been here an hour ago.'

Yoko entered upon a lengthy explanation on our behalf. He said it was obvious to anyone that we were great men in our country and were entitled to be treated with consideration wherever we went. We had mastered the secret of the air and could have easily left the White City in our flying chariot if we were so minded. It was because we were honourable men that we had obeyed the summons to give evidence in the case. A delay of an hour was nothing

So flattering and flamboyant was the language that Yoko used in respect of us that I felt I was blushing under my tan. Maruchi and Orlon were looking uncomfortable, Ganimet was shifting his feet and Nabor was trying hard to stifle a grin.

Camboro was like clay in the skilful hands of Yoko. His brow cleared and he said, 'Well, well, let us proceed with the case.'

Yoko told his story in his own way with many fringes and flourishes. There was a sudden gleam of suspicion in the Commander's eye

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and he asked, 'What were you doing in such a place so late at night?'

'Oh,' replied Yoko waving his hand airily, 'I was just strolling round with our distinguished visitors here showing them some night scenes.'

'But surely you could have taken them to cleaner parts of the city?'

'We were having a look round and took in the filthy along with the clean.'

'And you say you knocked down one of your assailants yourself. These are big ruffians and you do not look like a giant.'

'I am small but I am tough, and I do not think much of big men. I could easily lay out any of the guards or officers here.' And Yoko glared ferociously at the officer who had arrested us.

'I protest,' cried the officer, 'against the insult.'

'Tut, tut,' said the Commander, 'where is the insult? You have only to out with him to prove who is the better man. Shall I adjourn the court for half an hour?

'I am ready,' was the prompt rejoinder of Yoko.

But the officer declined the proposal on the ground that it was not in keeping with his dignity. So the trial of strength fell through and the trial in hand proceeded.

Ganimet was called forward as the capturer of the second miscreant. Camboro scanned his breadth of shoulders and thickness of wrists with approval. 'Here is one,' he observed, 'about whose capability no question need be asked. I should like to have him in my own guard.'

'Nothing doing,' muttered Ganimet.

'What is he saying?' asked the obese and suspicious Commander.

'He says he thanks you for your kindness, but he has to work in our machine and cannot be spared,' said Maruchi with courteous and smooth mendacity.

All of us bore testimony to the unprovoked and murderous attack on Yoko though we did not give any details of the two places we had visited. The two accused men were asked if they had anything to say in their defence and they told a rambling story about their being innocent. They said the real assailants had escaped and as they happened to be passing by at the time they were seized and charged with the assault. It was a cock-and-bull story that was false and unreliable on the face of it, and the two men were promptly sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. They were removed at once and Camboro handsomely thanked us all and Ganimet in particular for the ready and effective assistance given to Yoko who was an invaluable public servant. The Commander agreed with Yoko that we must be men of consequence in our own country and we had invented a machine of which no one had ever heard before. He invited us to visit him at the Governor's palace and also honoured us by expressing a desire to witness a flight of our machine. It was an unheard of concession to curiosity and we looked duly impressed. Not to do things by half Camboro turned towards the officer who had arrested us and said, 'You made a grave error of judgment in arresting these distinguished strangers who, in the short time they have been in the White City, have rendered an important service to the State by coming to the help of our trusted adviser at a time of grave peril and by way of an amende you should give them every help they may require and see that they are not molested by such men as have just met their deserts.'

The officer looked crestfallen but promised to do as he was bid. Yoko was openly triumphant and the Commander's fat face was wreathed in smiles as we bowed ourselves out of the room.

After this we had a gorgeous time. Horses were brought for us to ride and chariots to drive in and we found a couple of guards in attendance whenever we went out on foot. Handsome presents of fruits and various dainties were sent by Yoko, whom we met very often, and the officer anxious to make amends for his mistake. We were bidden to a State reception given by the Governor and saw men resplendent in fine dresses and stately dances with curious ornaments and flowing costumes. But the whole function was chilling in the extreme. The women were not vivacious and the men were stiff-necked and looked about with a stony stare. The weakness of curiosity being absent no one looked at us. Even the younger women were high browed, high nosed creatures who neither smiled nor giggled. As the Commander received us with some distinction and much cordiality a few eyelids were lifted for a moment but no one would permit himself to be curious on any account. It was either a habitual repression of a natural feeling or a sense of false pride. Yoko was moving about in the crowd with his amused cynical smile, exchanging a word here and a nod there, putting out of countenance some particularly grave-looking personage with a light jest or a provoking remark. He came up to us and the expression on his face changed to genuine pleasure. "I am glad,' he said, 'to find some real men among these stuck up marionettes. If you fire a cracker between their feet they will not jump and if you make a joke they will never see the point. I really believe that if you make faces at them they will think you are paying them a compliment. If you ask them they will tell you that they are the last and best products of creation and there is nothing like the White City anywhere. But you may be amused to meet some of these people. Come along."

He piloted us to where a tall, middle-aged lady was standing with a handsome young woman, evidently her daughter, by her side. Yoko introduced us. 'Madame,' he said, 'these are

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famous and intrepid travellers who have flown through the air to the White City and they are my good friends.'

The frosted look on the elder lady's face never thawed. The younger looked at us, her eyes rested for a moment on the faces of Maruchi and Orlon and then they remained fixed on the floor.

'Really?' said the senior lady, 'I am glad these gentlemen find pleasure in travelling, though I think travelling must be very tiresome. One lacks a hundred things that are found at home. You say your friends fly through the air but I do not see their wings.'

Yoko did not permit himself to laugh outright. He replied, 'Madame, they are not bi They fly in a chariot which is a machine.'

'Ah, I see,' said the lady with much co tion, 'it is the machine that flies. It is not same thing as men flying.'

So far she had not addressed a word to one of us, and the other lady was silent a mute.

Maruchi broke the ice by saying, 'You right, madame. The machine flies and car us in its flight. Travel has its discomforts all cannot be so fortunate as to live in White City.'

The mother beamed, the daughter stirred her lips parted in a smile. Maruchi was resistible as a courtier.

BENGAL OFFICIAL LIST OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES

[The following memorandum on the Bengal Government's list of scheduled (depressed) castes has been sent to the Reforms Officer to the Government of Bengal by the Executive Committee of the Indian Association.—EDITOR, *M. R.*]

1. The Association at the outset desires to make it clear that in submitting this memorandum it in no way accepts the justice or correctness, either of the Premier's Communal Award or of the Poona Pact.

2. The Association points out that the Census Reports, even the parts printed, have not been made available to the public and in the absence of such materials, the Association has been greatly handicapped in submitting this memorandum.

3. The Association begs to point out that the tests of "Untouchability" as laid down by the Indian Franchise Committee in paragraph 286 of their Report, which are in general accord with the instructions of the Census Commissioner as pointed out in paragraph 287, are clear and logical, and follow a definite principle. It should therefore be accepted by the Government of Bengal. In paragraph 4 of the above Resolution the Government of Bengal say that they are satisfied "that Bengal is one of the Provinces in which the application of the general criteria of untouchability would result in a definition (of depressed classes) unsuitable to the special conditions of the Province." But the Resolution is silent as to what the special conditions of Bengal are which render the general criteria of untouchability unsuitable, or in what respects the above criteria cannot be applied to Bengal. The Government give no reason whatever for including certain castes in the Schedule, nor is there any indication of any principle underlying the list.

4. It may be mentioned, that, as appears from paragraph 297 of their Report, the Indian Franchise Committee asked the local Government to submit a list of castes and sub-castes which in their opinion are depressed in Bengal, having regard to the criteria of untouchability a unapproachability. The Government of Beng submitted a list of depressed classes, as set o in Vol. II, Indian Franchise Committee's Rep pp. 220-21 as subsequently amended by telegra In so doing they never objected to the applicat of the criteria laid down by the Indian Franch Committee (hereinafter, for brevity, referred to the said criteria) nor did they make out the sai criteria were in any way unsuitable to the speci conditions of Bengal. It is therefore a matter surprise that the Government should now co forward with the objections raised in paragra 4 of the Resolution, after an interval of years. The Association submits that it is t late to raise this objection and that the sa criteria should be applied though the applicat of the said criteria in Bengal may result in very small number of castes being inclu under the head of depressed classes.

5. The Association further submits that list of Scheduled Castes (referred to, for brevi sake, as the said list) is illogical, unscientific without any underlying principle. The said *inter alia* includes tribes and castes beyond pale of Hinduism, but the said tribes and ca according to the rules followed by the Ce Commissioners should be excluded (see paragr 287, page 111 of the Report). It further incl Moslems, as explained in the paragraph be The said list also includes aboriginal tribes w according to all principle and precedent, sh have been excluded therefrom.

6. As pointed out above, the list incl Moslems, *viz.* (1) Dhoba (2) Halalkhor (3) K (4) Lalbegi (5) Pasi and (6) Bediya. In Census Report, 1891, Vol. III, at page 270 pointed out that the Dhobas who are Mussal are practically a caste that rarely marries out its own limits and their occupation is, under influence of Hindu ideas, regarded as an unc one, and other Mussalmans decline to give daughters in marriage. As further poi

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out in the Census Report of 1901, Vol. VI. part I, Bengal, the social rank of the Mussalman Dhoba is very low and no other class of Muhammadan will eat in his house. The Halalkhor is a class of Muhammadan Mehtars. (See Census of India 1901, Vol. VI, Bengal, Part I, Report by E. A. Gait, p. 310). The Kans are a very low caste of Mussalman musicians akin to the Doms; they are mostly workers in steel, who repair umbrellas, make fish-hooks, etc. (see above report, p. 296). The Lalbegi is a class of Muhammadan sweepers supposed to have come from Upper India. Their religious rites are partly Hindu and partly Muhammadan (above Report, Vol. II. p. 3). The Pasi is a Dravidian caste of Bihar and there are Mussalman Pasis (above Report, p. 167). The Bediyas are a class of degraded Muhammadans who are not allowed the use of mosque or burial ground and regarded by Muhammadans in much the same light as are Chamars by Hindus. (Census Report 1901, Vol. VI, Bengal, p. 443).

7. The said list, as pointed out above, includes aboriginal aad semi-aboriginal tribes. This is wholly unwarranted. The Indian Franchise Committee in their Report Vol. I, chap. XII. paras 339-43, are of opinion that "it is of the greatest" importance that the interests of the people, who "live a life entirely apart from the rest of the population of India, should be protected by effective representations in the council, or if this is not possible, by some other arrangements in the new Constitution." The Indian Franchise Committee accept the view "that the aboriginals are an entirely distinct community from the depressed classes," and that "under no circumstances should the two communities be amalgamated for purposes of representation." The Association begs to point out that this is exactly what is sought to be done by lumping together depressed classess and aboriginal tribes in the said list.

8. So far as the Association is able to make out, the said list contains the following aboriginal tribes :

(1) Bhuimali (2) Bhuiya (3) Bhumij (4) Bind (5) Doai (6) Garo (7) Hajang (8) Ho (9) Kandh (10) Kharia (11) Koch (12) Kora (13) Mal (14) Mallah (15) Malpaharia (16) Mech (17) Munda (18) Oraon (19) Paliya (20) Rabha (21) Rajwar (22) Santal.

The number of these aboriginal tribes, according to the Census of 1931, is 528,037. The Association is emphatically of opinion that these should be excluded from the said list.

9. In paragraph 4 of the Resolution it has been stated that the said list has been prepared on the basis of the social and political backwardness of those castes and the necessity of securing for them special representation in order to protect their interests. But in the opinion of the Association the said list contains castes who are by their education and enlightenment in no way backward. The Namasudra community is an instance in point. This caste is advanced in education and is on the same footing as the Sahas who are no longer regarded as a depressed class. The Namasudra community is well represented in the services, professions and in the Legislatures. In fact, the Namasudra community during the Census of 1911 petitioned the Government to be classed as Brahmins on the ground that they are of Brahmin descent and their social customs and rites are similar to those of Vedic Brahmins (*cf.* para 834, Vol. V, Part I Census of 1911 – O'Malley). The Rajbansi caste is another instance. According to Sir Herbert Risley (*Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 183) it is a Dravidian caste of North Bengal originally Koch, but now claiming to be an outlying branch of Kshatriyas. It is well represented in the local Legislature. It is well known that this caste has long been putting themselves forward as Kshatriyas and wears the sacred thread. Their leaders have been attending the Kshatriya Conference along with the Kshatriya Ruling Princes. The Rajbansis are to some extent *Acharaniya* and are served by Brahmins who are not degraded. They have repeatedly applied to be excluded from the list of depressed classes (*cf.* para 835, Vol. V, Part I, Census of 1911 and para 212, Vol. V, Part I, Census of 1921) and that is the reason why the list submitted to the Indian Franchise Committee by the Government of Bengal did not originally include this caste. The Association therefore submits that these advanced communities like the Namasudras and Rajbansis as well as those castes who applied at various times to be regarded as belonging to the higher castes, should be excluded from the said list. The Association understands that some castes like the Malo and Nath have lately applied to be excluded from the said list.

10. It is well known that in course of time many caste regulations and restrictions are being obliterated and the hardships and obstacles, which have been of a social and never of a political nature, facing certain classes are gradually being removed. The Association submits that this natural process is likely to be hindered if certain castes are now stereotyped as depressed. There is no doubt that certain castes are really regarded as untouchable in Bengal—those who follow what are really regarded as unclean occupations, *e.g.*, Chamar, Dom, Hari, Bhuimali, Mehtar and Moshi. These castes may claim special protection. It will be noted that these castes have no Brahmins to perform their religious and social ceremonies.

11. Further the Association begs to point out that the Government have excluded castes like Shah, Teli and Kalu (who are exactly in the same position socially and politically as Namasudras), presumably on the ground of their objection. The Government have thus apparently accepted the principle of self-determination by each caste. Is it therefore open

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to any caste however advanced it may be, (for the purpose of enjoying a special franchise), irrespective of any question of social or political backwardness? Will the Brahmo community or the community of Hindus who have crossed the seas, who are denied entry in the temples and are untouchables in the sense defined by the Lothian Committee, be permitted to have itself included in the said list, however advanced it may be? Is it the intention to induce a caste to declare itself depressed by the bait of special political privilege and representation?

12. Further admitting for the moment the principle of self-determination, the Association calls the attention of the Government to the well-known fact that several castes included in the said list, have in the past often claimed to belong to the higher castes, *e.g.*, a Pod claims to be a Pundra Kshatriya; a Pundra also claims to be a Pundra Kshatriya; a Koch claims to be a Koch Kshatriya; a Sunri calls himself Saundika-Kshatriya, etc.

13. The Association begs to point out that the said list contains many castes belonging to "all religions" *e.g.*, Bhuiya, Bhumij, Binjhia, Garo, Hajang, Kadar, Mahli, Mal, Mech, Malpahariya, Munda, Oraon, Santal, and Turi (see Census of India 1931, Vol. V, Bengal, Part II, pp. 226-48). It is not clear why people belonging to other religions should be lumped under the list of depressed classes. Further, the Association believes that in the total of Hindus shown in the Census 21,570,407, the many tribes, who figure in the said list have been excluded. Is the object artificially to increase the number of depressed classes? Be that as it may, the Association lays stress on the fact that the said list is inaccurate and misleading.

14. To sum up, the Association shows:

(*a*) The criteria of untouchability as laid down by the Lothian Committee are clear, logical and based on definite principles which have been followed in practice by the Census Commissioners, and should be followed in the preparation of the list.

(*b*) The Local Government in submitting a list of depressed classes early in 1931 were asked by the Lothian Committee to adopt the criteria of untouchability in drawing up the list, and when doing so did not then object to the application of the said criteria as unsuitable to the special conditions of Bengal, as they are now doing.

(*c*) The list of Scheduled castes is illogical and based on no principle, including tribes and castes beyond the pale of Hinduism and also Moslems and Christians.

(*d*) The following castes in the said list: Dhoba, Halalkhor, Kan, Lalbegi, Pasi and Bediya include many Muhammadans.

(*e*) The said list includes aboriginal and semi-aboriginal tribes; this is unwarrant[illegible] view of the express opinion of the L[illegible] Committee that they should be on no a[illegible] amalgamated with the backward classes for [illegible] pose of representation. (Report Vo[illegible] Chap. XII) and that the aborigines shou[illegible] protected separately.

(*f*) The aboriginal and semi-aboriginal [illegible] should be excluded from the list.

(*g*) The list is stated to be on the ba[illegible] social and political backwardness, but it co[illegible] castes who are in no way so backward [illegible] Shahs and Kalus and Suburna Baniks [illegible] excluded, there is no reason why Namas[illegible] and Rajbansis should be included. Namas[illegible] claim to be Brahmins and Rajbansis cl[illegible] be Kshatriyas. The latter were not in [illegible] original list submitted by the Bengal G[illegible] ment to the Lothian Committee.

(*h*) The natural process of break up of [illegible] restrictions will be hampered if certain [illegible] are now stereotyped as depresssd. The [illegible] untouchables are those who follow certain u[illegible] occupations, *e.g.*, Chamar, Dom, Hari, Bhu[illegible] Mehtar, and Muchi—castes who have no Bra[illegible] These can claim special protection.

(*i*) It is not open to any caste on [illegible] principle of self-determination to declare [illegible] depressed, irrespective of the question wh[illegible] it is really socially and politically backwar[illegible] solely for the purpose of obtaining special [illegible] presentation in the Council.

(*j*) Several castes in the list claim to be[illegible] to the higher castes and had even in 1921, a[illegible] to be excluded from the category of depr[illegible] classes, *e.g.*, Pod, Koch, Rajbansi, Namasudra[illegible]

(*k*) The list is further incorrect and [illegible] leading as it includes several castes belo[illegible] to *all religions*, *e.g.*, Bhumij, Bhuiya, [illegible] Hajang, Oraon, and Santal, some of [illegible] follow tribal religions (non-Hindu) and [illegible] are Christians. Further tribal castes are [illegible] included in the total of the Hindu popu[illegible] as shown in the Census.

15. The Association, therefore, submits [illegible] the said list is inaccurate and misleading [illegible] its effect will be artificially to create m[illegible] pressed classes, as in this list have been gr[illegible] together real Hindu castes, non-Hindu [illegible] aboriginal tribes (whose total number, ho[illegible] has for Census purpose been shown sep[illegible] from that of Hindus), castes of all religions [illegible] also it is believed, Moslems. There is [illegible] principle underlying the said list. The Asso[illegible] therefore urges that the list should be thor[illegible] revised according to the criteria of untouch[illegible] as laid down by the Lothian Committee so [illegible] the list should contain Hindus only. T[illegible] should not be so drawn up as to le[illegible] colour to the suspicion that the objec[illegible] inflate the number of Depressed classes.

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MR. V. J. PATEL'S VISIT TO AMERICA

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

AMERICA has been favoured at different times with visits from a considerable number of distinguished Indians, among whom the *following five* may be mentioned as perhaps having been most warmly welcomed and as having done most to give to the American people a proper understanding not only of India's past high place in the world's history and civilization but also a clear realization of the justice of her present great struggle for freedom.

1. Mr. Lajpat Rai was in America five years as a refugee during the World War. While here he not only wrote and published three important books but organized and carried on in New York an India Information Bureau, published an important monthly magazine called *Young India,* lectured to large audiences in many of our cities, and won a multitude of friends for India among our most influential classes.

2. Sir J. C. Bose, the distinguished scientist, has made two visits to America of several months each, delivering illustrated lectures before our most important scientific associations and in our leading universities on his remarkable discoveries in Electro-Biology and Electro-Physics, and fully sustaining his high reputation as one of the leading scientific investigators of the present time.

3. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu came here on a lecture tour two years ago, speaking with eloquence in many parts of this country in behalf of India's freedom, giving a fine impression regarding India's womanhood, and doing much to counteract the evil influence of Miss Katherine Mayo.

4. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, the world-famous poet, has honoured America with three visits. Needless to say, all that is best in American intelligence and culture has recognized and acclaimed not only his remarkable poetical gifts but also his important achievements as an educator and as a philosophical and religious thinker.

5. Last, and in some respects most important of all, Mr. V. J. Patel, India's great and heroic leader and peace-loving fighter for her freedom, came in November, 1932. Notwithstanding his impaired health caused by his cruel imprisonment in India and the four severe surgical operations which he was compelled to undergo in Europe to save his life, he is moving about widely and doing much very valuable work for India's cause. No other visitor from India has ever met with such high official recognition and welcome. He has been received with distinguished honour and given notable public receptions by the mayors of New York City, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston, Detroit, Washington and others of our largest cities. His pictures and accounts of his long and able services to India as Mayor of Bombay and President of the Indian Legislative Assembly, have been published in many of our widely circulated papers. In all places visited by him where there are Indian students and other representatives of his own country, of course these have rallied around him with the greatest possible enthusiasm, and done everything in their power to extend knowledge of his mission and of his work. In his addresses and lectures delivered in colleges, theatres, great halls, churches, and before clubs and associations of many kinds, he has presented India's case for freedom and self-rule fearlessly and with great clearness and power. In a lecture which I had the pleasure and honour of hearing him delivered in Vassar College, the oldest and best known of our institutions of higher education for women, he created a most profound impression and the applause at the end could hardly be stopped. This is an illustration of his work.

Up to January 10th, he remained in the East, going only as far West as Chicago, where he gave twenty addresses. On the date just mentioned, he left New York for the Pacific Coast, expecting to fill lecture

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engagements in a number of large cities on his way. He stated it as his purpose, to spend a few weeks speaking in California and the extreme West, then to return to New York for a little more work in the East before taking his final departure from the country.

It need hardly be added that the visit of this great Indian leader to America will long be remembered. As already has been stated, to no other visitor from India has ever been accorded more distinguished honours. His addresses and interviews have everywhere produced strong impressions. Certain it is that he has created or deepened in the minds of thousands the conviction that his great historic nation, which has had such an illustrious past, is abundantly able to rule itself now, and ought to be granted its freedom without delay.

RUSSIA AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR TECHNICAL MEN FROM INDIA

By PRAFULLA C. MUKHERJI,
Metallurgist, Magnitostroy, Magnitogorsk, USSR.

FOR the last fifteen years Russia has attracted the attention of the world. Things here have moved very rapidly. There had been revolutions and counter revolutions until the whole country was shaken to the core. These revolutions were not only political but also economic and social, until the Communist Party under the leadership of Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin and others was able to form a somewhat stable government. The aim of the leaders obviously is to eliminate all special privileges, and break down social and economic barriers which had been built up under an autocratic system for many centuries, and in its place to build up a socialistic State, giving every person an equitable social and economic standing. The present leaders of Soviet Russia hold that a man's worth is not to be measured by the wealth he has amassed nor by his social position nor even by his learning and talents but by the service he has rendered to his community. Russia to-day is a gigantic laboratory, where political, economic and social experiments are carried on. It, therefore, presents to us a very interesting and vitally important study. I wish it could be possible for young-men and young women of India to go to Russia in large numbers as engineers, technical men and social workers to take part in these experiments, to study their achievements and learn from their failures. It was with that idea that I accepted an offer from the Russian Government to work as metallurgist at Magnitostroy, which is destined to be the largest industrial centre of all Europe and Asia. I wish to deal briefly with the industrial system of this enterprise and only incidentally with the social and educational systems.

Magnitostroy is not the first steel plant in Soviet Russia ; yet, when on February 4, 1932, the first Blast Furnace in Magnitogorsk began to pour forth molten iron, the whole nation was stirred. The reason is that Magnitostroy stands as a symbol of Russia's Five-year Plan in iron and steel just as power generation is typified by the enormous hydro-electric development of Dnieperstroy. Magnitostroy is a gigantic enterprise. When completed, it will be by far the largest of its kind in all Europe and second only to the Gary Works of Indiana Steel Company of U. S. Steel Corporation. The authorities from the very beginning knew that to cope with so large a project the efforts of the whole nation must be mobilized. So they used every means of publicity. The newspapers, the radio, the cinema, the theatre, the trade unions, the schools, mass meetings

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parades and posters, etc., were made use of in the campaign to awaken the people to the vital importance of Magnitostroy and the sacrifices required to create it.

Magnitogorsk is about 1500 miles east of Moscow but the railroad facilities are not yet so good. Hence, it takes about four days to go from Moscow to Magnitogorsk by railway. But there are direct trains and the International cars supply comfortable accommodation. There are no dining cars however and one must secure provisions before leaving Moscow and buy from intermediate stations. The city of Magnitogorsk is named from magnetic iron ore of which there is a rich deposit within the limits of the city. It is situated on the southern slopes of the Ural Mountains and on the eastern bank of the Ural river. Hence geographically it is in Asia. In summer it is very pleasant but very cold in winter, the temperature going down to minus 50 degrees centigrade. There are not enough houses yet, but the whole city is under construction and hundreds of buildings are being built and roads constructed. The foreign specialists receive every consideration from the authorities with regard to lodging, food and transportation, etc. There is even a special restaurant or *stolovya* for them. In short, the Russian Government has made a sincere effort to give foreign specialists comforts and privileges which are not often available to the Russian engineers. The condition of the workers, however, is not so good. But when one takes into account the fact that in three years the city has grown from 5000 to 200,000 in population one can imagine the immensity of the task, so that building operations in the city itself formed not the least difficult part of the entire project and the supply of houses has never been able to meet the demand.

Magnitostroy is one of a number of industrial projects in Soviet Russia's Five-year Plan that were almost entirely prepared in America. The designs, specifications for materials and equipments, estimates of construction and production costs and explanation of operating processes were prepared by Arthur G. McKee and Co. of Cleveland, Ohio in 1930. They received the active co-operation of a commission of Russian engineers headed by V. Smolianinoff and Ch. Ildrim who supplied the necessary data and stayed with the company until all details were finished. The project of Magnitostroy chiefly covers the developments of ore-mining and concentrating establishments of 25,000 tons daily feed capacity, 42 Open-hearth furnaces of 150 tons each distributed in three departments and possibly one Bessemer furnace department for producing steel. All these will have a total annual ingot capacity of 2,700,000 tons. Three blooming mills and nine finishing mills with a combined yearly output of 2,100,000 tons of rails, structural shapes and merchant mill products will soon be finished. There will be 8 blast furnaces of 1000 tons daily capacity, 8 batteries of coke ovens, erected by the Koppers Company of Pittsburgh, Penna., each capable of producing 1000 tons of coke per day and chemical plants for the extraction of by-products. Besides these Magnitostroy also constructed and now manages a dam in the Ural river, five-eighths of a mile long, a 300,000 kilowatt power house (2 more will be added, giving a total of 632,000 kilowatts), pump houses, maintenance and repair shops of all kinds and a brick plant. Over 60,000 people are employed in the whole plant. Coal is received mostly from Kuznetsk, which is about 1200 miles distant and also from Cheliabinsk, about 400 miles. For economic reasons the authorities found it necessary to construct a steel plant also in Kuznetsk. In making designs, and specifications the specialists, whether Russian or foreign, are advised by the authorities that utmost care should be taken to find out if the materials required are available in Russia, otherwise substitutes are recommended. In almost all instances Russian products, even of inferior quality, are used when available. At present of all foreign countries Russia buys most from Germany, on account of both lower costs and easier credits. The whole enterprise of Magnitostroy is managed by Russian engineers and technical men with the help of some foreign specialists.

Although the responsibility is nominally on the General Manager and his associates, it is actually more or less equally divided among leaders of trade unions and local

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secretary of the Communist Party. A foreign specialist who is not used to this system soon discovers that there is not proper co-ordination between the different departments. Frequent change of personnel is another drawback for the foreign specialists, for they are thus required to deal with new men and sometimes to repeat the plan of work. This divided responsibility, lack of proper co-ordination, and change of personnel no doubt constitute the greatest handicap to the rapid and successful industrialization of Russia. But on the other hand, these defects are greatly offset by the courage, patience and dogged persistence of the officials and the use of an enormous army of workers, so that work is frequently carried on at an amazing pace by sheer force of enthusiasm and mass action. Under these circumstances the going into action of the first of Russia's metallurgical giants symbolizes the materialization of planning and consummation of an intensive effort. This has a value which can not be measured in dollars and cents, for it has brought a good deal of confidence and self-reliance to the Russian engineers and workers.

The Magnitostroy will supply materials to many industrial enterprises in the Urals and Central Russia, such as the motor plant at Nizhni-Novogorod with an annual capacity of 140,000 cars, the tractor works at Cheliabinsk, machine building plants of Ufa and of course to the 16,000 miles of railroad contemplated in this Five-year Plan.

Rusia is now making every effort to increase production. To that end an all-Union contest among hundred and one blast furnaces in operation was instituted last summer and perhaps will continue through this winter. The initiators of this contest were the workers and technicians of Kerch Steel Works. They issued a challenge to the other plants to engage in competition for the fulfilment of the programme and suggested that an all-Union contest be organized. Their suggestion was accepted and the contest was officially organized by the Commissariat for heavy industry, the newspaper *Pravda* and the central committee of the metal workers' trade union. Prizes totalling 200,000 Roubles have been assigned for the best blast furnaces and best individual workers.

According to the present system no person can derive any individual profit from these industries, except of course the salaries and wages which are quite equitably distributed. The difference between a high technical man and an unskilled labourer is not so much in salary as in certain privileges which the former enjoys. For instance, the head of an industrial organization or director of different departments do not necessarily get much higher salaries but have the privilege, while so employed, of the use of perhaps a better furnished apartment, a motor car or similar other comforts. So naturally the ambition of a young engineer is not so much to earn more money as to render better service to enable him to enjoy better living conditions.

Magnitogorsk is essentially the creation of Soviet youth. Sixty per cent of the workers there are under 24 years of age. They not only are eager to learn but also eager to teach those who are less fortunate. My contact with the young members, both men and women, of the technical union has been of great benefit to me. I believe that the future of Russia rests not so much on particular political or economic doctrine as on these young people and the intense educational programme. I have not seen anywhere in the world young people who are so earnest, so sincere and so eager to learn as in Russia and fortunately the authorities are sparing no pains to give them an opportunity to learn. Besides the grade and high schools there are also technical and extension schools maintained by Magnitostroy. The city of Magnitogorsk is divided into different districts. Each district has houses and apartments, at least one community restaurant, a general store, a school, a place of amusement, a club house (when completed will contain gymnasium, swimming pool, rooms for different games, library, lecture hall and facilities for amateur theatricals and musicians), a nursery and a kindergarten. The community will take care of children in the nurseries, so that mothers may be free for whatever other activities they choose.

What I have said about Magnitostroy may be applied to most of the rising industries of Russia. Working conditions are

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systems are about the same in all of the new industrial centres. An ambitious young Indian engineer or a technical man or a social worker can learn a good deal from these enterprises. There is opportunity for any one who can afford to work with only Russian currency. It should be mentioned in this connection that the Russian Government does not allow anybody to spend Russian currency outside of the country. This opportunity may not exist very long. I suggest that those Indian students who have graduated from engineering and technical schools of America or Europe will do well to work for two or three years in Russia before going back to India.*

* A paper read before the second Conference of Indian Students Abroad held in Munich, December 20—22, 1932.

DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE

By NILKAN A. PERUMAL

THIRTY years ago, a slim pleasant-looking Bengali youth who had matriculated from the Victoria College, Bengal, went to sea. Why he did so I do not know. No one knew where he went and what he did. But, in 1916 we see him appear before a United States Senate Committee as one of the two representatives of the Indian community of America to voice a protest against a proposed legislation to exclude Indians from entering that country: we see him teaching political science in a great American university, we see him travelling around the globe meeting politicians and publicists, statesmen and senators, we begin to know him as a distinguished educationalist, an eloquent speaker, and a brilliant writer whose articles found ready space in almost all the important publications in India and America. Such has been the career of Dr. Sudhindra Bose, who is according to Dr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh (the distinguished American political scientist) "the foremost teacher, lecturer and writer on Oriental Politics in America."

Sudhindra Bose was born in Dacca in the year 1883. His father was in the service of a rich Indian prince and his brother was for many years Principal of the Victoria College, Comilla.

As a young man Bose was an enthusiastic

Dr. Sudhindra Bose

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student and won admiration from his school-masters. Even in those days his exceptional proficiency in the English language was the envy of many of his fellow-students and when he matriculated, he was awarded a special prize for proficiency in English.

Young Bose was perhaps a dreamer. His love for the English language and his painstaking study of many books on adventure stirred his imagination to hitch his wagon to a far distant star. Perhaps he would have admired the adventures of Robinson Crusoe or the courageous voyages of Columbus: or perhaps he loved to go around the globe like Marco Polo or Drake, whichever it was I cannot say. Then, one fine morning he had boarded at Calcutta a Standard Oil Company's cargo boat bound for New York, himself working aboard as an assistant steward. The boat rolled on through the waters of the Bay of Bengal, the Indian Ocean, the Arabian sea, the Suez Canal, the Mediterranean and then the great Atlantic. Months have passed and he has now become a sturdy sailor. But, is it for a career aboard an ocean tramp that he has sought work on the Standard Oil boat? Oh, no. This was only a means to realize his far greater ambitions, ambitions which could be realized only in a land of opportunities which at that time the United States of America certainly was in all the world.

Bose landed in New York. The city was very strange to him. It was many times greater than Calcutta. The tall sky-scrapers and the rushing crowds of men and women attired in Victorian top coats and frilled long skirts, fashionable coaches—all amazed him. He had come to a land of the free where he could sink or swim according to his own initiative and enterprise. But New York with its high-sounding material life even sometimes terribly displeases the ascetic-minded Indians and no wonder Bose took a quick departure from this great metropolis. He arrived at Philadelphia and sought work in one of the largest depart-mental stores of that time known as "John Wannamaker" at a salary of seven dollars a week. But he did not stay here for long. He was merely counting the hours, the days and the weeks to get away to college as soon as he could afford to. So, he went to University of Illinois with forty dollars hand and started as a freshman in the co of liberal arts. He earned for himself all funds necessary to meet his educational living expenses, by working as a trave salesman, library assistant, cub repo dish washer and in a host of other capaci And when the degree of A. B. was confe upon him, it was a proud moment of his and a year later when he was made a "M of Arts" he was still more gratified.

In 1910 he was awarded a fellowship the State University of Iowa, which confe upon him the degree of Ph. D. in Poli Science in 1913. He had written his th on "Some aspects of British rule in Ind Bose's student career had now reached zenith for he had already earned the hig degree any university student can earn dint of his merit. Now, he was faced w the question of starting life and he did so becoming a member of the teaching staf the State University of Iowa, to which h even now attached.

Dr. Bose is fifty years of age at pres He is of moderate height, has a sm oval face, large forehead and thin lips. is a somewhat "reserved" man, for, he spe all his leisure either in his private home libr or in any one of the University librar scanning through the pages of volumes a volumes. In my estimation, he would be de ing at least eight hours a day to reading writing. He rises early in true Hindu fashi for, you will find him at his desk in the st of his charming villa by six o'clock in sum as well as in winter, buried in a heap of b and papers. By seven he breakfasts eight o'clock finds him in College. Like Americans he dines at twelve o'clock takes his evening meal by half-past Again he retires into his private library to leave it at bed time.

When I met Dr. Bose for the first ti I was taken aback, for in all my travels abroad I have never met Indian who greeted me in the true Hi fashion by raising both hands. Dr. Bose so. Not only he, but Mrs. Bose (a distingui American) also welcomed Indian visitors her doors in the same manner. He smili

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told me, "Mrs. Bose and I are happy to have founded the first Hindu colony in Iowa City."

As he said this, his countenance changed, and I could read in his eyes how proud he was of his Hindu faith. In the so-called "Christian America" Dr. Bose has kept the flame of Hinduism burning all these years, and he has defended his faith from attacks with zeal. Time and again he has also taken up for himself the responsibility to interpret the greatness of the religion of India to Americans.

"Can my adoption of American life change in me my pride of being a Hindu ?" he asked with a twinkle in his eyes.

"Once a man argued that I should become a Christian since I am an American," he told me.

"Is it necessary that all Americans should be only Christians ? Top ignorance !"

It may be perhaps amazing for many Indians to know how typical a Hindu life Dr. Bose leads in America. In his pleasant villa, which is situated in a quiet spot in Iowa City, one could notice pictures of Saraswati, Ramakrishna, Vivekananda, Sri Krishna and the Taj adorning the walls. The carpets on the floor are Persian and the brass vases placed on the tables in the parlour were made in Delhi by skilful Indian artists. Even among his smoking paraphernalia one could notice a fine hookah—in fact, everything gives you an oriental atmosphere in this American home.

As a regular reader of *The Modern Review* for more than fifteen years my admiration for Bose's many articles in it is boundless. Beginning with an article on the University of Illinois in the year 1909, while he was still a student there, Bose has been a regular contributor to this fine magazine ever since. To me his inspiring articles were a rare education because he writes in a lucid style, and imparts a wealth of details to his readers' mind.

"Why is that, your articles are so very fondly read by many of your readers ?" I once asked him. "Do you write in any way different from the rest ?"

"Yes," he said, "I always write tersely, clearly and fearlessly. Such kind of writing will appeal to the human mind more than any other way of writing. That is the way to do it."

Dr. Bose admires the writings of men like Shaw, Mencken and Frank Harris, who are all fearless writers, who sharply say what they want to say. The secret of their success is much more due to their force and frankness than to anything else. Bose has always written in a like manner and therefore his writings particularly appeal to his readers.

Sitting at his desk one Sunday morning he showed me a heap of missives from American publishers asking for contributions on Indian questions.

"My time for writing is too limited," he said. "Still, by writing to these publications in this country, I have the foremost interest of service in my heart, since many Americans will understand India and the Orient better from an oriental writer. I am similarly anxious to serve the East by telling the people of the Orient all that is best in America."

As a writer to the Indian press, Dr. Bose has told Indians all that is best in the West.

As a lecturer Dr. Bose has made a reputation for himself in America. I have heard him speak on a few occasions. To a crowded class room the manner of his address is entirely different from the way in which he would address a pious congregation in an American Church.* Again, he was a different sort of lecturer before a multitude of the intelligent American public. He is forcible, sauve, eloquent and humorous, his analogies are fine and his discussions thorough. There is nothing theatrical about him when he is on his feet nor does he lack simple gestures. He could keep his audiences spell-bound for hours together and whenever he finished, his listeners were in no mood to leave the hall.

"I thought you would continue for another hour or more," an elderly lady told him after he had concluded a speech before a large audience in an American city.

"No, Madam, that is the place where I stop," was his brief reply.

* In America the Church audiences often listen to speeches on Politics, Social affairs in foreign countries, etc. besides religious topics.

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As an educationalist, Dr. Bose's record is enviable. He is one of the important members of the Faculty of the State University of Iowa. Hundreds of students from various parts of the country flocked to Iowa because they say that they "could learn Oriental politics from an Oriental teacher." During my college days, fellow students used to ask me time and again, "Do you know Bose ?" and upon my admitting that I did, they would go on telling how best they used to enjoy his classes. "A brilliant product of the great East" they used to comment.

Dr. Bose is the author of three good books. *Some Aspects of British Rule in India* was written as his thesis for his doctor's diploma in Political Science. In it, he traces the greatness of India, from time immemorial, politically, economically and spiritually, how his motherland has contributed to the culture and civilization of the world, and finally how she tumbled down to her present status as a subject nation.

Again his book *Fifteen Years in America* gives the reader true impressions of an unbiassed writer on things American. Like Chamberlain's authoritative book on Japan Dr. Bose's work is thoroughly authentic and those who have never been to the New World may profitably get a true glimpse of that land from abroad by reading it. The book is by no means a detailed presentation but everything American has been briefly dealt with and admirably presented.

The *Glimpses of America* is yet another book of his. This may be well described as a supplementary volume to his *Fifteen Years in America*

Once we were discussing journalism. He surprized me when I found out that he had gone through every book on the subject from the large collection kept in the University library. Indeed no Indian more hungry to gain all-round knowledge the world than Dr. Bose.

"In India the Press is yet to impr he told me in a low tone. "We could fitably follow the methods adopted American publications."

He also believes that a school of jo ism will be useful for India to train youths, so that they may have some p sional knowledge about journalism b they begin to work in newspapers.

Dr. Bose is a pleasant conversatio He is at his best when he is at the d table. On some occasions when I invited to lunch with him, I used to e his "table talks." Mrs. Bose also prove equal to the occasion. These ple "talks" are by no means a special priv to me alone, for, hundreds of Indian vi to America have availed themselves o opportunity to make a call on this tinguished son of India. He could prove himself to be a real Indian host t countrymen when the meals served w consist of rice, dal and Indian sweets.

For more than a score of years he been lecturing in America about the O and in turn writing useful articles in per cals of the Orient about the West. He done much to create a correct understa between the East and the West. He both, understands them well, and inte them in their true perspective. Tod stands as an occidentalized Oriental labouring for the cultural, politica spiritual unity of the East and the He is a messenger of brotherhood humanity. The mission of his life establish such a "brotherhood" and doing his duty towards it.

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THE CHARTER ACT OF 1833 AND INDIAN PUBLIC OPINION

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

THE Charter Act of 1833 inaugurated a new era in the administration of India. The East India Company, originally a trading concern, became master of vast territories by 1830. Their administration naturally devolved on the servants of the Company. The Parliament which renewed the Charter by a fresh Act every twenty years, forced the Company this time to divest itself of its commercial character, because they thought that the Company's servants would thereby be able to devote adequate time and attention to the government of the country. The Charter Act would have been welcomed in India, had it not contained harmful and defective provisions. According to the Act, the Company's commercial debts required to be paid from the Indian exchequer, which augmented the already heavy burden of public debt. It also sought to increase the missionary establishment of the Government, which would be of no good to people at large. The Governor-General was given unlimited powers, and the Supreme Court of Calcutta came within his control. The freedom of the people had been already curtailed—the Press Ordinance was still on the statute book, public meetings had also been banned. The Charter Act of 1833 reached India with all its harmful provisions and exasperated the people. It affected Indians and Europeans alike; and both of them joined in seeking redress. A meeting was convened at the Town Hall, Calcutta, on the 5th January, 1835, under the chairmanship of W. Hickey, the Sheriff. The object of the meeting was threefold: to take into consideration the propriety of petitioning the Governor-General in Council or the Legislative Council of India to repeal the Press Regulations passed in 1823, and to remove the restraints upon public meetings, and also of petitioning the British Parliament upon the subject of the Act passed for renewing the Charter.

The repeal or amendment of the Charter Act was the main proposition before the meeting. Mr. Theodore Dickens moved:

> "That the new Act for the Government of India is essentially defective in its provisions for attaining one of its objects, *viz.*, the better Government of His Majesty's India's territories, which by the arrangement effected with the East India Company, a burthen of insupportable magnitude is laid upon the people of India for the sole benefit of the East India stock. And that therefore it is expedient to petition the Parliament of the United Kingdom to obtain an amendment and revision of the Act.

Theodore Dickens, the mover, Thomas E. M. Turton and Rasik Krishna Mallick, editor of the *Jnananveshan*, a famous bi-lingual weekly of the time, spoke on this resolution. They dwelt at length on the defective provisions of the Act, and their far-reaching effect on the Indian as well as the natural-born subjects of the Crown. The speeches were so forceful and just that they elicited favourable comment in the contemporary papers. *The Bengal Hurkaru* wrote:

> "On the subject of the Charter Mr. Turton and Mr. Dickens spoke most powerfully. We never saw either of them more animated than they were in pointing out the monstrous defects of this disgraceful measure—never heard men deliver themselves with stronger indications that they deeply felt what they said—and spoke from the heart. Babu Russick Lal [Krishna] also exposed with great ability the utter want of cosiderations for his countrymen manifested in this measure."

I give below the speech of Rasik Krishna Mallik. He was the only Indian who spoke on the occasion. Rasik Krishna's speech is of peculiar interest at the present moment when the constitution of the country is being remoulded, for better or worse. I am indebted for the speech to an account of the proceedings of the meeting in *The Calcutta Monthly Journal*, 1835.

THE SPEECH

Gentlemen: In rising to second the resolution just proposed by Mr. Dickens, I must beg you to excuse any inaccuracy there may be in my mode of expressing my sentiments. I have to address in a language foreign to me, foreign to the country which gave me birth—and this must plead my apology. Before I proceed to the immediate question, I must call your attention to one point to which I feel it necessary to allude. It may have been expected that the natives would be prepared to come forward and defend themselves if the persons who made those attacks had the boldness to come forward at this meeting, and propose any amendment to resolutions; but as that has not been done, the natives did not consider themselves entitled to occupy your time by coming forward to repel an attack which has not been followed up. (*Loud cheers*).

Gentlemen, Mr. Dickens has drawn your attention to some of the most important defects in the new Act of Parliament and certainly, after a careful perusal of it, however much it may have been intended for the better government of His Majesty's Indian territories, I cannot come to the conclusion that the clauses contained in it do in any way tend to their better Government. (*Cheers*) The more I have perused it the more I have perceived that the

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motive which guided those who passed it was—*self.* *(Cheers).* It was passed not for the benefit of India, but for the benefit of the proprietors of India stock, and the benefit of the people of England, while the welfare of the millions who inhabit these vast regions was not at all cared for. *(Cheers.)* Mr. Dickens has directed your attention to the commercial debts of the Company being paid out of the territorial revenues. I think that unjust, and it shows the British Parliament were looking to the interest of the proprietors of the East India stock, and not to those of the inhabitants of this country. *(Loud cheers.)* We were already burdened with a heavy debt, and yet the British Parliament entailed upon us an additional burden to pay the commercial debts of the Company. It should have been considered whether those commercial debts could with propriety be paid out of the revenues of this country; if they were incurred through the folly and mismanagement of the servants of the Company, the burden should have fallen upon them and not upon us.

I shall not detain you longer upon this point, or go over the ground Mr. Dickens has already traversed; but there are one or two points he has omitted, and to which I, as a native, must be allowed to advert. *(Loud cheers.)* I know there are many who defend this, and who say that the civil and military servants require ministers to preach to them. It may be so, and it may be hard to deprive them of that blessing, but why should the revenues of this country, taken from the hard earnings of the poor Indian, wretchedly fed and clothed, be devoted to the purpose of extending a religion, which the natives feel to be destructive both of their temporal and eternal happiness? *(Loud cheers)* There might be some excuse, if the object were merely a provision for the eternal interest of the Company's civil and military servants but there is something more. It is said in the Act—"Provided always that nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to prevent the Governor-General in Council from granting from time to time, with the sanction of the Court of Directors and of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, to any sect, persuasion, community of Christians not being of the United Church of England and Ireland or of the Church of Scotland, such sums of money as may be expedient for the purpose of instruction or for the maintenance of place of worship." What does that mean but that money is to be taken out of the hands of the natives to convert them to a faith which they consider to be wrong, which they consider to be detrimental to their salvation? Is that just? Is it right? Is it in accordance with the precepts of that religion of which they boast so much? I have not found one word in their sacred book which warrants them to wrench money from an unwilling man to convert him to a faith which he believes to be wrong. *(Loud cheers.)*

So much with respect to that clause, but there are others which as a native I must notice. It has been asked (not here, but elsewhere) if there is anything in the Act to which a rational Englishman can object. Not being an Englishman, I cannot judge the feelings of Englishmen, but I do see a great deal to which I, as a rational native of India, do object. *(Cheers and laughter).* It is asked if natives are to object to the clause by which all persons, of whatever religion or colour, are rendered eligible under the Government. Certainly not. But let us enter a little deeply into that question, and we shall find, though such a clause is inserted, there are other things which render it nugatory. *(Cheers.)* I allude to the necessity of education at Haileybury College,* an institution which, from what I have heard of it, I should think the sooner it is abolished the better for all parties. *(Cheers)* The best school for those who are to hold office in India is India itself. *(Cheers)* All the lessons they receive at Haileybury can lead them but little to a practical acquaintance with the wants and feelings of the people of India. It must be by communicating with the natives, by speaking with them, by entering their wretched hovels, that any man can acquire the knowledge without which his best intentions will be in vain. *(Cheers)* This is an objection to the clause upon general grounds, but I will show that the clause has the effect of rendering utterly nugatory that other clause which makes the natives eligible to office. However one may regret the prejudice still the natives entertain a prejudice that it is sinful for them to cross the ocean, much more to remain in England for years for the purpose of tuition. That being so, how can a native qualify himself for office? He must either give up his worldly prospects or his religion. *(Loud cheers.)* It is another question whether the Hindoos are sufficiently advanced to be entrusted with high office, but while this prejudice exists, if the legislature intended that clause to mean anything at all, they ought to have made some other provision to enable the natives to enter the civil service. *(Loud cheers).*

Gentlemen, the more I read this Act, the more I am convinced the interests of the people of England were alone thought of. It has been said the tea monopoly has been abolished, and is that a measure to which we can object? No, but why was the tea monopoly abolished? for the welfare of the people of India? No. Only for the welfare of the people of England. If our welfare was thought of why was not the monopoly of salt and opium abolished? *(Loud cheers.)* Sir Charles Grant has promised to do away with it, but when his promise will be fulfilled, heaven knows, I cannot say. *(Cheers and Laughter.)*

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* The Haileybury College was an expensive show. An Englishman, by name Fielder, a proprietor of the East India Company, spoke of the college at a general meeting of the proprietors held at the East India House, London, on March 18, 18[illegible] as follows:

"In the year 1831, there were only forty-one boys and forty-four tutors and attendants: the gross expense no less than £18,677. 3*s.* 9*d.*, being at the rate of £455 10*s.* 9*d.* each boy, and for the salaries and pensions of the masters and attendants, £8[illegible] 2*s.* 2*d.* (Hear!) In the year 1832, there were thirty-one boys, with the same forty-four masters and attendants: the gross expenditure amounting to £15,699. 5*s.*, 11*d.*, being at the rate of £506. 8*s.* 7*d.* each boy, and for the salaries and pensions, £3,02[illegible] (Hear!)...

There seems to be almost a natural association in the minds of Englishmen between India and wealth. This notion is naturally fostered at Hertford (Haileybury College); habits of extravagance are in consequence contracted there which cleave to the young men throughout their Indian career, to their detriment, and that of the Government whose servants they are..."

The Asiatic Journal—Asiatic Intelligence (1835).

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Allusion has been made to absolute power of the Governor-General, and Mr. Dickens has shown you that he is more absolute than the Kings of England in their worst-days. What check is there upon him? If this petition succeeds, we have one check (*cheers*), but the Parliament has taken from us one that already existed. The Supreme Court has always been a check, and that is now taken away. The Supreme Court is now put under the power of the Governor-General, and, to borrow words which have been written in one of the journals of the City, "British Judges whose independence is our pride and our glory, are rendered to be mere administrators of possibly ill-concerted and ill-considered laws." (*Cheers.*)

Mr. Dickens has also alluded to the commercial interests of this country. In vain do I look for any clause that speaks of the removal of the restriction upon commerce. I recollect Mr. Grant said that the merchant of great Britain was so enterprising, it was impossible not to attend to his calls, and do away with tea monopoly. I cannot say what may be the enterprise of the merchants of Calcutta, but I ask, if those restrictions under which Indian commerce labours, had been removed, whether this country would not have flourished and increased in wealth and power far more than it has done. (*Loud cheers.*)

There is another subject to which we hoped, but hoped in vain, the British Parliament would have given some attention. In this Act there is not one word about education. (*Cheers.*) Two additional Bishops have been provided for the comfort of the civil and military servants, but there is no provision whatever for the education of the people of India. (*Loud cheers.*) Gentlemen, what are the conclusions at which we must arive from this state of things? Read Act over and over again, and you will find the truth of my remarks, however badly they have been delivered. (*Cheers*) I do humbly submit that we should petition the Legislature to remove some of the most obnoxious clauses in this Act, which disgrace the British name and power in India. (*Loud cheers.*)

THE ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE OF TRADE AND CRAFT GUILDS IN INDIA: A PICTURE ON THE EVE OF THE ECONOMIC TRANSITION.*

By N. DAS, I. C. S.

It would be a mistake to suppose that in India, on the eve of the economic transition, there were no organized industries at all. The *Rambles and Recollections* of Sleeman, the *Annals of Rajasthan* by Colonel Tod and extracts from old district records and the pages of the *Calcutta Gazette* prove beyond doubt the existence of organized industries (especially in the urban areas) in the India of this period. Broadly speaking, the industries and manufactures were of two classes: those grouped in villages only and those extending to the towns and capitals as well. And the modes of financing these two types of enterprise were, owing to the very nature of their structure, quite distinct.

Now, the rural industries did not present any serious problem of finance at all. These were concentrated in small villages, isolated from one another, serving mainly local needs and fulfilling their portion of work in the rural economy of India; they presented neither the complexity nor the comprehensiveness of the urban industries of this period. The artisans were mostly village servants, doing all the miscellaneous duties connected with their occupation in the village, and the division of labour was extremely limited.* The lack of good roads and the consequent absence of outside competition resulted in an absence of localization of these types of enterprises, and the

* It is difficult to say about what time the economic transition came in India. Some writers (e.g., Dr. V. Anstey) even doubt if India has passed out of the transitional stage from the mediaeval to the modern and if a well-balanced economic life has yet been attained. While not overlooking the truth of the contentions behind such statements, I have assumed that some sort of a transition began in India about the second half of the nineteenth century. My picture is not, however, coincident with a definite period like the late eighteenth or the early nineteenth century; the economic transition that started in India was a process of slow growth and steady evolution, and this process was by no means uniform over a particular period or in a particular area.

* Dr. Gadgil: *Industrial Evolution of India in Recent Times* (London, 1924), p. 12.

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artisans were merely members of a village group with purely local means of providing for the simple wants of daily life. Any difficulty in the satisfaction of these wants was met by attracting to the village a body of resident craftsmen and menials, "who were not paid by the job, but were employed by the village on a fixed remuneration, sometimes a bit of rent-free (and perhaps revenue-free) land, sometimes by small payments at harvest, as well as by customary allowances of so many sheaves of corn, millet etc., or certain measures of grain and other requisites in kind."* Usually, each artisan was also given a house-site in the village, or, in some cases, as in Madras, in a group outside it, forming a sort of suburb.† The whole thing is very pithily summed up by a traveller of the period: "Nothing can exceed the simplicity of the oriental manufactures and mechanics. In Surat and Baroche the silversmith, if convenient to his employer, brings his apparatus to the house and there makes such things as are required; in a style of strength and neatness that answers every useful purpose."§ Indeed, in the essential rural economy of India the problem of financing these artisans and craftsmen did not arise at all; they were members of a homogeneous structure, the small isolated village republics, unknown to the world beyond their confines.

The same cannot, however, be said of the urban industries of the period. Although towns in the modern sense were few, the industries which were concentrated there and in the capitals, and which sometimes extended outside to surrounding villages, formed a vital part of the country's wealth and greatness. The artistic wares, the luxury products and the urban handicrafts catered for a market well beyond the confines of the towns or villages where they were localized: the textile handicrafts of Dacca and Krishnagar, other fine cotton fabrics all over India, the Palampore industries of Madras, the silk manufactures of Murshidabad, the fine flowered brocade work of Benares and Ahmedabad, the woollens of Kashmir and the Panjab, and the brass, copper and bell metal wares of Benares, Nasik, Poona and Hyderabad—all these were products of highly specialized industrial organizations requiring some capital and great enterprise and ability. For a considerable number of years most of these were flourishing industries, and some of them, like the *muslins* of Dacca and the woollens of Kashmir, had a vast market in India and beyond.†

A most common feature of the organization was the existence of trade guilds. Our knowledge about the functional importance of these bodies is, however, very scrappy, although guilds were not unknown even in the days of Manu § and the guilds of eighteen organized industries in Buddhist India were said to have powers of arbitration between members of the guild and even their wives; the Muhammadan historians are rather silent on the point. But occasional enquiries carried out by individual experts†† and the fragmentary records of guilds in the process of decline enable us to make a fairly comprehensive picture of the system.

It should be noted at the outset that the guild organization was not something peculiar to the urban industries alone. Even some villages had guilds, sometimes one only in a village, and usually the head was the Patel or the head of the village himself. All the trades of the village were jealous against the entrance of new families into it, but, apart from this and certain other social and religious duties, these village guilds did not have to play a very important part in the small rural economy of India.§§

In the big towns and capitals, however, guilds played a much more important part

* Baden-Powell, B. H.—*The Indian Village Community* (London, 1896), p. 16.

† Hunter, Sir W. W.—*Annals of Rural Bengal* (London, 1897), p. 102.

§ James Forbes.—*Oriental Memoirs*, Vol. II (London, 1813), p. 223.

* Gadgil: *op. cit.*, pp. 35-38.

† Sleeman, W. H.—*Rambles and Recollections* (London, 1844) p. 125.

§ The Code of Manu says: "A King should enforce his own law only after a careful examination of the laws of castes and districts, guild-laws and family laws."

** T. W. Rhys Davids: *Buddhist India* (London, 1903), pp. 96-97. Guilds came into prominence in Buddhist revival: the Buddhist gave unprecedented freedom to the third estate, *viz.*, the Vaisyas. The same is true with regard to the Jains.

†† Like E. W. Hopkins. *Vide* his *India Old and New* (New York, 1901).

§§ Hopkins. *op. cit.*, p. 178.

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the strictly economic sphere. Generally, there were two types of guilds—the merchant guild and the guild of artisans; a merchant guild or a *Mahajan* as it was popularly called) consisted of all the merchants, bankers and large dealers of a city and its leader was called a *Sheth* while an artisans' guild was a sort of trade-association between workers of identical wares and interests and was usually called a *Panch*.* These latter organizations were not exactly coincident with the sectarian or ethical caste of a particular class of artisans, while the former, by very definition, included men of heterogeneous sects and beliefs.†

The great merchants' *Mahajan* wielded a considerable power over its members: usually it included, as in Broach, bankers, money-changers, brokers, agents, cotton-dealers and so forth, and was in fact a sort of board of trade or chamber of commerce. The executive authority lay in the headman and elders who were allowed a special position by virtue of their age, experience or family prestige, but who generally held their position by hereditary right.§ The headman or *Sheth* and his Council formed, as it were, the President and Cabinet of the *Mahajan*: the interest of one was the interest of all and in ordinary circumstances there was a ready acquiescence on the part of the whole guild in any measure brought forward by the *Sheth* and supported by the Council.**

Almost each of these merchant guilds had a central fund of its own. Funds were derived in a variety of ways, the mode of impost varying from town to town and from district to district. In Surat, for example, they were derived from fees on cotton and on bills of exchange,†† while in some other places a fee was exacted from new members.§§ In all these the democratic principle—the principle of justice and equality—was adhered to, at least in theory, although the increase of the capital and wealth of individual members often prevented even its nominal application.* It is debatable, however, now for the common treasury, into which flowed all imports, subscriptions and occasional munificent donations, was employed, if at all, in the actual finance of industries. Details are singularly lacking about the employment of any portion of these funds in industrial finance proper, and in such a state of our knowledge we cannot come to the sweeping conclusion that these merchant-guilds were in the nature of great reservoirs of capital for different urban industries.† Most of the money was spent on social and religious activities: in the guilds of Western India (where they prevailed chiefly among the Vaishnavas and Jainas of Gujarat) the greater part of the fund was spent on charities and, particularly, charitable hospitals of sick and helpless domestic animals, and also on the temples of the Maharajas of the Bhallabacharya sect of Vaishnavas,§ while almost similar things may be said of the *Mahajans* in other parts of India as well.

Where does then the importance of these *Mahajans* lie so far as the urban industries of the pre-Revolution India are concerned? Their direct share in the actual finance of industries was, at best, small; but they contributed to the maintenance of that homogeneity of interest which was essential to the harmonious development of different urban industries represented on their councils. They controlled the output of merchants' wares, determined rates of sale and amount of marketable material and were undoubtedly "indispensable to the advancement of the middle classes in their struggle for recognition at the hands both of despotic kings, and of an organized priesthood that was bent on suppressing the elevation of the third estate."** It was the growth of these guilds

* Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 178.
† Birdwood, Sir G.—*The Industrial Arts of India* (London, 1880), Vol. I., p. 138.
§ Birdwood : *op. cit.*, pp. 138-39.
** Hopkins : *op. cit.*, p. 186.
†† *Bombay Gazetteer* (Bombay, 1877), Vol. II. p. 321.
§§ Hopkins : *op. cit.*, p. 186. All sons of a deceased member, however, became members of the Guild on his decease without paying an entrance fee and were received into the guild without formality. Membership was a family right which, once acquired, was inherited.

* "Trade Guilds in India" in *The Modern Review* (Calcutta, March, 1911).
† We should not forget Ashley's warning that it is dangerous to make up for the silence of native chroniclers by foreign analogies.
§ Birdwood : *op. cit.* p. 140.
** Hopkins : *op. cit.*, pp. 197-205.

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that made commerce between the towns as well as with countries abroad possible. Like the English guild-merchant of the mediaeval times, the Indian *Mahajan* regulated the economic life of the town and represented its members in dealings with other towns, and the object of both was the regulation of trade rather than of production.* The *Mahajan* punished breaches of commercial morality and tried to maintain fair dealing and a high standard of quality in the goods sold ;† and while the monopoly of internal trade was undoubtedly the *raison d'etre* of the union both in England and in India, the tie was strengthened by the observance of religious and social charities which were almost an indispensable adjunct of its various functions.§ Like the trade-guilds of China the Indian *Mahajan* established rules and compelled obedience to them, fixed prices and enforced adhesion, settled or modified trade customs and imposed their will on traders in and out of the guild ; and sometimes, by the cessation of all business or a threat to do so, it could even cause the local authorities to modify or withdraw its orders.** In short, the *Mahajan* solidified the communal character of trade and industrial enterprise, and although it did little towards the actual financing of industry, its services towards the maintenance and development of an organized production and a fairly stable market were by no means insignificant.

We should consider now the economic importance of the smaller guilds, *Panches* as some of them were called, associations of masters and craftsmen of a particular industry. These were, in very many respects, similar to the guilds of "crafts or misteries" in mediaeval England. The Indian artisan guilds were not exactly caste groups: on the one hand, the same caste might be sub-divided guilds (*e. g.*, among the silver-smiths of Gujarat and Western India); on the other, it did sometimes happen that a guild comprised different castes (*e.g.*, as in the confectioners of the same district in India.)* The most important feature of these craft-guilds was the system of apprenticeship ; the idea of an inherited trade was kept up by this and the apprentice found in the guild a school well-calculated to fit him for his future career ; he was treated as a member of a family union, taught the value of self-restraint and impressed with the feeling of necessity for self-improvement.†

These craft-guilds of the pre-transition period had also like their contemporary *Mahajans*, central funds of their own. There is some difference, however, in the way in which these funds were made up: in the artisan guilds there was often no entrance fee at all and no annual subscription either, but fines imposed for non-observance of guild-rules formed an important source of revenue.** Sometimes, however, special subscriptions were levied from those who could afford to subscribe "not less than a rupee,"†† while at other times a favourite device was for the men of a craft or trade to agree on a certain day to shut all their shops but one, put the monopoly to auction and then credit the guild funds with the highest amount that was bid.§§ On other occasions a *mahajan* (*shroff* or money-lender of the guild would advance some money in return perhaps for a more effective control of the fund and, through that, of the members as well. The essentially provisional nature of meeting these emergencies was mainly due to the fact that the aim of these guilds

* *Vide* H. O. Meredith : *Outlines of the Economic History of England* (London, 1930), p. 56. It is interesting to note the following about the English guild-merchant : "It is probable that common purchases were often made and that loans were often made to members out of a common chest." We are not, however, quite so sure of such probabilities about the Indian *Mahajans*.

† See Hopkins. *Cf.* W. J. Ashley : *An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory* (London, 1894), Part I, pp. 71-76.

§ *Cf.* E. R. A. Seligman : *Two Chapters on the Mediaeval Guilds of England* (Baltimore, 1897); pp. 25-31.

** H. B. Morse : *The Guilds of China* (London, 1909), p. 30. See also the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. III, p. 251.

* Hopkins : *op cit.*, p. 181.

† Hopkins : *op. cit.*, p. 183. Hopkins relates however, that the old law had fallen into disuse that the impact of Western culture led to a suspension of the old apprenticeship system which was kept up only in name, but violated frequently and with apparent impunity.

§ Hopkins : *op. cit.*, pp. 186-89.

** This was chiefly applied to the observance of holidays. *Vide* Hopkins : *op. cit.*, p. 190.

†† Birdwood : *op cit.*, p. 140.

§§ *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. II., p. 443.

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was not the accumulation of money, but rather certain social and charitable observances, and this could be done in the ways mentioned even if no money were previously in hand.* As in the *Mahajans*, it is improbable that any considerable amount was spent in the actual finance of the crafts concerned; dinner parties, annual feasts and occasional charities formed the bulk of the debit side of these funds.†

That does not mean that these craft-guilds were economically unimportant; the apprenticeship system, the co-ordinating influence of the unions themselves, and the general insistence on having a high degree of excellence in wares and crafts certainly strengthened and developed the organization of these arts and crafts. We need not exaggerate the idea of an opposition between the craft-guilds on the one hand and the *Mahajans* on the other: many members of both sections were the same individuals, and the position was not exactly one of antithesis between the capitalist-owner and the working journeyman.§ The pre-transition artisan-guild of India was neither a combination of oppressed plebeians struggling against the patricians or an outgrowth of the big *Mahajans*: it was more or less a purely voluntary union to which were superadded the customs and traditions of predecessors and it played a most useful part in the communal economy by regulating wages and other forms of remuneration, by arbitrating in cases of dispute and by administering its own funds.** Like the craft-guilds of China, the Indian artisans' guilds were mostly of purely democratic origin, without a grant or licence from the governing powers;†† they promoted the fraternal spirit and accentuated the monopolistic instinct, as in the Goldsmith's guild in Southern India where there was an implicit understanding among the members that they would charge one rupee as fee for every sovereign weight of gold.*

It should be noted, however, that the guild was not the only form of organization in the industries and crafts of the pre-transition period. The guilds were no doubt the more common phenomenon, but sometimes important industries and mining deposits were controlled by the princes themselves. Thus, in Rajputana, the productive mines with the rich tin of Jawara, or copper of Chunbal, or the marble quarries of Marwar, were properties of the States from which an important revenue was got and which were managed and financed by the States themselves.† In other cases the features of the guild organization were maintained only in some specific aspects. While for example, the wire and tinsel industry of the Panjab presented interesting features of a strong guild control, the brass and copper manufacturers of the N. W. Provinces were much less organized.§ In the former all the *Kandla-Kashes*** of Delhi and Lahore worked together in the old mint buildings even as late as the latter part of the nineteenth century—simply to prevent the deterioration of the Lahore manufacture and consequent depression of the trade. "Each *raini* prepared for wire-drawing was taken by the *Kandla-kash* to the municipal office where it was tested. The fixed proportion of alloy allowed in a *raini* intended to be drawn into pure *Kandla* was 32 rice-grains or 4 *rattis* to the *tola*. Any *raini* found to contain more than this proportion was destroyed as spurious. . . . The system was an admirable one: the purity of the Lahore *Kandla* was guaranteed, the solidarity of the guild was assured by it, and the trade was protected against fraudulent interlopers who

* "Trade Guilds in India" in *The Modern Review* (March, 1911), Calcutta.
† Hopkins: *op. cit.*, p. 190. See also Birdwood: *op. cit.*, pp. 139-41.
§ See Hopkins: *op. cit.*, pp. 193-95. *Cf.* also Seligman: *op. cit.* pp. 58-60 for an account of the English craft guilds.
** Hopkins: *op. cit.* pp. 193-96.
†† R. C. Majumdar: *Corporate Life in Ancient India* (Calcutta, 1918) pp. 10-30. See also Morse: *op. cit.*, p. 9.

* K. R. R. Sastry: *South Indian Guilds* (Madras, 1925), p. 14.
† Tod: *Annals of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 121.
§ E. Burdon: *Monograph on the Wire and Tinsel Industry in the Punjab* (Lahore. 1909). Also G. R. Dampier: *Monograyh on Brass and Copper Ware in the N. W. Provinces* (Allahabad, 1894).
** "*Kandla*" is the generic name given to wire made out of gold or silver or an alloy of these metals, the wire being drawn until 10 or 12 yards per tola of metal are produced: the men who are engaged in this process are known as *Kandla-Kashes*."

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might damage the credit of the industry and undersell the pure *Kandla-Kashes* by placing on the market as genuine any *Kandla-wire* which contained more than the recognized quota of alloy."* About the Delhi guild we have more interesting details. Under the Mughal rule the guild wire-drawers paid fees to government which in turn supervised the actual methods of manufacture. When control was assumed by the British, the levy of fees was continued, though it does not appear that the impost was ever legally sanctioned : but, so far from objecting, the wire-drawers for years heartily approved of the payment. It was generally considered that the supervision by the controlling power, which was a necessary consequence of the levy of fees, gave the industry a special distinction, assured the purity of the *Kandla* made, and generally maintained the solidarity of the guild.† The influence of the guild organization was apparent in the manufacture of paper and papier maché even in the distant State of Kashmir : heavy taxation was imposed on any outsider, guilds of artisans were sanctioned and protected by the State and most stringent measures taken to guard the secrets of the art.*

Thus we see that although the guild communal feeling was very strong in c arts and crafts, its direct influence on a finance was small. That does not, how diminish the economic significance of associations. Undoubtedly both the Mu and the craft-guilds tended to promo sense of economic solidarity amongst th of identical or similar wares, and amongst the workers of a particular c their social and semi-religious festi charities and dinners were certainly expression of this community-sense. Vi in their perfection, these trade and guilds with their more or less demo organization left wide room for the exe of individual enterprise and initiative wi hampering the solidarity of the group groups as a whole, and thereby mad important contribution to the success prosperity of those industries which ca the reputation of the excellence and fi of India's wares far beyond her confines.

* Burdon : *op. cit.*, p. 9.
† *Ibid.*, p. 10

* *Monograph on Paper-making and Papier M in the Punjab*, (Lahore, 1908), p. 1.

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WHO PAYS THE LAND REVENUE OF BENGAL—THE HINDUS OR THE MUHAMMADANS ?

By JATINDRA MOHAN DUTTA, M.Sc., B.L.

In Bengal the Government does not collect the land revenue direct from the cultivators, but from the zamindars. This is so even in the Government estates, where they are usually leased out to *ijaradars*, or revenue-farmers. In 1925-26, the demand from the permanently settled estates was 205 lakhs ; that from the temporarily settled estates 21 lakhs ; and that from the Government estates 53 lakhs. If we assume that all those who are returned in the census returns as dependent upon 'income from agricultural lands' pay land revenue—a big assumption—we can find out the respective numbers of Hindus and Muhammadans from Table XX of the census tables. They are, according to the 1921 census, 855,916 Hindus, and 452,151 Muhammadans, or the relative proportion is 66 : 34. But the above figures include both the actual workers and dependents—and it is the actual workers, always adults and often the heads of the families, who actually pay land revenue ; so to find out the true proportion we must eliminate the dependents. As a first approximation all those who are below 15 may be taken to be dependents ; the proportion of such dependents is 75 out of 208 amongst the Hindus, and 110 out of 255 amongst the Muhammadans. Thus the proportion of dependents among the Muhammadans exceeds that among the Hindus by 7 per cent. If we deduct this from the Muhammadan's proportion, 27 per cent of land revenue is paid by them. But all those who earn their livelihood as rent receivers or as dependents upon income from agricultural lands are not zamindars always. There are tenure-holders who are so returned. In Backerganj there are as many as thirty grades of tenure-holders between the zamindar and the actual cultivator. In Appendix XXV to the Land Revenue Administration Report 1925-26, we find the number of tenures assessed to cesses. A substantial proportion of such tenures is likely to be substantial ; and their owners are more likely to be returned as dependent on income from agricultural land in the census returns. We give below the number of such tenures division by division.

	Per cent of Muhammadans	No. of tenures assessed to cesses
Burdwan	13·4	608,145
Presidency	47·5	495,212
Dacca	69·7	1,592,080
Chittagong	72·6	597,839
Rajshahi	61·4	998,600
		4,291,876

It will be seen that in Muhammadan areas, the number of tenures is large ; hence it is likely that there are more tenure-holders than zamindars among the Muhammadans. So the percentage figure 27 is, if anything, in favour of the Muhammadans.

The number of proprietary interests entered in the land registration registers was 1,016,649 in 1925-26, and the cess demand was Rs. 95,95,077 in that year. The average cess payment per recorded proprietor works out to about Rs. 9-8. One of the qualifications for being a Council and Assembly voter is the payment of cesses of Re. 1 and Rs. 5 respectively. If we assume the proportion of Hindu or Muhammadan cess-paying voters to the total of either the Council or the Assembly voters to be the same, we can get a relative idea of cess-payment by the respective communities. The respective numbers of non-Muhammadan, almost all Hindus, and Muhammadan voters in rural areas for both the Council, and the Assembly for 1926 are given below :

	Non-Muhammadan	Muhammadan
Assembly	116,936 (70)	56,779 (30)
Council	469,566 (48)	487,741 (52)

The relative proportions are shown in the bracketed figures. There is a rapid falling off of the Muhammadan voters, or

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cess-payers. About the level of Rs. 9 or Rs. 10 cess-payment, at the same rate of falling off, the relative proportion would be 40 : 6 approximately, or some 15 per cent of the total. If a definite proportion of the cess-payers of Rs. 9 or Rs. 10 class pay land revenue, then the share of the land revenue paid by the Muhammadans is 15 per cent. The weakness of the above argument lies in the fact that many persons qualify as Council or Assembly voters on account of payment of union-rates of Rs. 2 or Rs. 5 respectively.

The respective numbers of the non-Muhammadan (mostly Hindus) and the Muhammadan electors to the Council of State from Bengal are given below :

	Hindu	Moslem
East Bengal	590	583
West Bengal	882	201
	1,472	784

The main qualification of an elector is, in the case of the Hindus, the payment of land revenue to the extent of Rs. 7,500 in West Bengal, and of Rs. 5,000 in East Bengal; while in the case of the Muhammadans, it is Rs. 600 only. The Hindu elector must hold the estate in his *own* right and not in a fiduciary capacity; but in the case of the Muhammadans, "a *mutwali* or manager of a *wakf* estate shall be deemed to hold such estate in his own right."

The other qualifications are payment of income-tax on Rs. 12,000 in case of the Hindus, and Rs. 6,000 in case of the Muhammadans, being a M. L. A., or a M. L. C., or a Chairman of a district board, or a municipality or a co-operative central bank, etc.

If all the Muhammadan electors are so qualified by virtue of payment of land revenue—an assumption very much in their favour—the combined payment does not exceed Rs. 480,000.

The total of electors in the five landholders' constituencies of the Bengal Council is 932. It is a complaint on the part of the Muhammadans that they are overwhelmingly Hindu—some say 95 per cent are Hindus. Let us assume that a little more than half are Hindus, say, 500—an assumption least in favour of the Hindus. The combined payment of such Hindus is 22½ lakhs. On this basis, the Muhammadans pay about 18 per cent of the land revenue.

If we assume all the electors from Western Bengal to be Hindus, which is very near the truth, and assume half of the East Bengal electors to be Hindus, a safe assumption, they pay more than Rs. 23 lakhs; and we arrive at the same proportion of 18 per cent. Calcutta is in West Bengal; and as such all the M. L. A.'s, M. L. C.'s, income-tax payers, etc. are more likely to be concentrated here; of the 117 municipalities, 76 are in West Bengal. Hence we may assume that all the East Bengal electors, both Hindus and Muhammadans, are qualified by virtue of payment of land revenue. Further this assumption, apart from general consideration of being nearer the truth, has the advantage of having the largest number of Muhammadan electors, and the least number of Hindus, and the further advantage of the qualifying payment of Rs. 5,000 as land revenue being less than that in West Bengal in the case of the Hindus—thus making the greatest concession in favour of the Muhammadans. On this basis the relative payments are in the ratio of Rs. 5,000 : Rs. 600, or about 10 per cent at most is paid by the Muhammadans.

If we assume that the same proportion of the Hindu and the Muhammadan electors is qualified in respect of other qualifications, then the relative payments stand in the ratio of 11,565 : 480; or about 4 per cent is paid by the Muhammadans.

In the landholder's constituency of the Legislative Assembly, the qualifying payment of land revenue are Rs. 6,000 in respect of West Bengal, and Rs. 4,000 in respect of East Bengal. It is said that not more than 5 or 6 per cent of the electors are Muhammadans; and that they are mostly qualified in respect of East Bengal qualifications. An actual count would be instructive.

Owing to the greater sub-division due to their laws of inheritance, and owing to owners being often co-sharers due to their laws of marriage and inheritance, the Muhammadan estates are in greater chance of mismanagement. The Government of Bengal partly on account of such mismanagement and consequent debts, and partly in

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anxiety to protect as many Muhammadan families as it can on political grounds, have assumed charge of a relatively larger number of Muhammadan estates through the Court of Wards.

In 1337 B. S. the Court of Wards was in charge of 98 estates, of which as many as 21 were Muhammadan estates. In Appendix II at pp. 32-34 of the Report on the Administration of the Wards,' Attached and Trust Estates, the revenue and cesses payable to the Government by these estates are shown. For comparison, we may take the amount of revenue and cesses paid by the Muhammadan estates to the total of revenue and cesses paid, as the proportion of land revenue paid by the Muhammadans to the total. On actual calculation, we find that out of Rs. 60,34,304 only the sum of Rs. 6,00,141 is paid by the Muhammadans. This works out to 10 per cent, as Muhammadan's share.

That the number of Muhammadan zamindars is insignificant compared with the Hindus can be shown in other ways. For example, according to the Land Registration Act, every proprietor has got to register his name within six months of succession, purchase or otherwise getting possession of the land. Normally, succession is by far the largest cause of such registrations. Amongst the Muhammadans, both sons and daughters as well as wives inherit; so in a Muhammadan area the number of such registrations is expected to be larger than in a Hindu area. If the Muhammadans had formed any considerable proportion of the land-revenue paying class, and had they borne any relation to the general population proportion, one would expect larger number of registrations in areas where the Muhammadans are preponderant. But such is not the case.

	Percentage of Muhammadans	Percentage of applications for registration granted during 1925-1926.
Burdwan	13·4	5·0
Presidency	47·5	3·2
Dacca	69·7	3·2
Chittagong	72·6	2·4
Rajshahi	61·4	4·9

Not only is the percentage of applications independent of the percentage of the Muhammadans in the general population, it is greater in areas where the Muhammadans are few.

If the Muhammadans formed any considerable proportion of the land-revenue paying class, ordinarily one would expect to find that in Muhammadan areas, the average size of estates, after repeated partitions, to be much smaller than in Hindu areas. This would be more so in case of the permanently settled estates, first because of their increased value and fixity of tenure, secondly, as several generations have passed since the permanent settlememt and the number of co-sharers have increased largely, it is in the interest of every one to have them partitioned. In temporarily settled estates, exclusive management can be secured otherwise than by partition. But we find the average areas of permanently settled estates in the several divisions to be independent of the proportion of the Muhammadans in the general population.

	Percentage of Muhammadans.	Average area per sq. mile.
Burdwan	13·4	0·95
Presidency	47·5	1·24
Dacca	69·7	0·46
Chittagong	72·6	0·12
Rajshahi	61·4	2·49

It is sometimes urged by the Muhammadan publicists that although an overwhelmingly large proportion of land revenue is, no doubt, paid by the Hindus, it is the Muhammadan tenants who are the ultimate source of such revenue. It is the Muhammadans, who really pay, but they pay through the Hindu zamindars. Now this is a big and complicated question. Many things can be urged against such contentions; many fallacies can be pointed out; many historical and sociological arguments can be adduced.

In Table XXVI of the Land Revenue Administration Report of 1925-26, the gross rental realizable by the zamindars is shown district by district. If we assume that of the total rental, the proportion paid by the Muhammadans is proportional to their population in the district, we find out of the gross rental of Rs. 1,480 lakhs, Rs. 694 lakhs is paid by the Muhammadans. In the Table

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below, we have calculated similar figures division by division.

	Gross Rental	Percentage of Muhammadans	Moslem's share
Burdwan	457 lakhs	13·4	68 lakhs
Presidency	257 ,,	47.5	124 ,,
Dacca	309 ,,	69·7	217 ,,
Chittagong	148 ,,	72·6	111 ,,
Rajshahi	307 ,,	61·4	177
	1,478 lakhs	54·5	697 lakhs

But as there are more females, more minors among the Muhammadans, and as tenancies are mostly held by adult males, it would be much more accurate, if we reduce the Muhammadan's figure by 7 per cent (*i. e.*, the relative excess of minors over the Hindus). Thus the Muhammadan's share becomes 594 lakhs, or some 40 per cent of the whole. If the Muhammadan's share of gross rental is 40 per cent, that does not necessarily mean that they pay 40 per cent of the land revenue. Much depends upon the nature of the proprietary rights of the zamindar, the money he spent in developing the property and the money he is spending for its protection, the amount of collection charges he has to incur, etc. But 40 per cent may be taken as the highest limit of Muhammadan's share in payment of land revenue. Of course, this is a crude calculation; a thorough enquiry on the point would be very welcome.

From all these various estimates and calculations, we may assert that the Muhammadan's share of payment of land revenue is about 15 per cent. But as these estimates and calculations have varied widely, there is greater chance of our estimate being wrong. However wrong we may be, the error cannot be more than 5 per cent and so the Muhammadan's share cannot exceed 20 per cent.

DEBTS

By JOHN EARNSHAW

"Therefore is the kingdom of heaven likened unto a certain king which would take account of his servants.

And when he had begun to reckon, one was brought unto him, which owed him ten thousand talents.

But forasmuch as he had not to pay, his lord commanded him to be sold, and his wife, and his children, and all that he had, and payment, to be made.

The servant therefore fell down, and worshipped him, saying, Lord, have patience with me, and I will pay thee all.

Then the lord of that servant was moved with compassion, and loosed him, and forgave him the debt.

But the same servant went out, and found one of his fellow servants, which owed him an hundred pence: and he laid his hands on him, and took him by the throat, saying, Pay me that thou owest.

Then his fellow servant fell down at his feet, and besought him, saying, Have patience with me, and I will pay thee all.

And he would not: but went and cast him into prison, till he should pay the debt.

So when his fellow servants saw what was done, they were very sorry, and came and told unto their lord all that was done.

Then his lord, after that he had called him said unto him, O thou wicked servant, I forgave thee all that debt, because thou desirest me:

Shouldest not thou also have had compassion on thy fellow servant, even as I had pity on thee?

And his lord was wroth, and delivered him to the tormentors, till he should pay all that was due unto him."

—St. Matthew, Chap. xviii, 23-34.

The above-quoted parable which Jesus Christ told his disciples would seem to give fairly clearly, at all events to those who claim to be the followers of Christ, the procedure that might be adopted in the settlement of debts. Of course there are plenty of people who have put forth elaborate explanations to the effect that the teachings of Jesus Christ are not to be taken at their face value, but still the state of the world after nineteen centuries of "rationalized" Christianity, might temp[illegible] us to think that possibly matters would not

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be worse if a more literal interpretation of Christ's sayings became the rule. Indeed as one of the characters in Mr. Hobson's recently published book, *The Recording Angel* remarks "Forgiveness of debts . . . . is not then a Christian virtue but a business policy !" (p. 52). There are signs that today some nations are beginning to think that it might be a good thing if debts were forgiven, or at all events scaled down, but unfortunately such nations are rather apt to think that whilst their own debts should be forgiven there is no reason for their doing the same thing, and forgiving their debtors !

During December last a great deal was written both in the European, and also in the American papers about the question of War Debts, which were owed by most of the leading countries of Europe to the United States. But though there was so much written about the matter, a great many people found that it was too difficult for their powers of comprehension, on account of the technicalities and astronomical figures that the "economic experts" delighted in discussing. This the historical significance of the British Government's notes to the United States asking for the extension of the Hoover Moratorium of 1931 was largely overlooked, and few people in India seemed to realize the significant parallelism between the British debt to America, and the Indian debt to Britain. The parallelism becomes clear if one considers the history of the Debt problem, and also the measures which may be taken for solving it.

During the first three years of the European War of 1914-1918 the United States remained neutral. As a result of that neutrality the United States became the great creditor nation of the Allied Powers. The Allied Powers needed money, and credits to help them in their struggle against Germany and the Central Powers, and thus the financial interests of America came to lend more, and more money to Great Britain and other allies. In November 1916 the turning-point came when the Federal Reserve Board of the United States warned American bankers against the conversion of any more short-term loans of the Allied Powers into long-term loans. If this policy had been continued the Allies would have been driven to make peace for lack of supplies. The United States was then really in a position to control the world ; but unfortunately this advantageous position was given up, more money was lent to the Allies, and finally the United States became financially interested in the success of the Allies, with the result that in the early part of 1917 the United States entered the war against Germany. Then after the Armistice in November 1918, came the disastrous Treaty of Versailles, and the world as it exists today is the result.

Anyway the Allies found that having won the war, they were burdened with a load of debt. The idea of Reparations was therefore introduced. Germany was declared to be guilty of having deliberately brought about the war, and therefore, as the author of the mischief, was called on to make good the damage done in the war. These payments made by Germany were called Reparations, and the money so obtained it was hoped to use for paying off the money owed to the United States. Nobody paused to consider how it would be possible for a country already beggared to pay these huge sums. It was asserted that Germany could and must pay, and there the matter ended. It was not long, however, before it began to be increasingly obvious that Germany could not pay, and there were a succession of Conferences on the subject, each one of which successively reduced the amount.

Now here one should point out two facts, which are obvious to all save the usual politician, or economist. If one owes money one can only pay one's debts by selling something and handing over the proceeds to one's creditor. This obvious fact applies equally to Reparations, War Debts, or in short to any debt whether national or private. Coming now to the second fact, namely that the present system aims at producing *money* not *materials*. Money is essentially a sort of ticket which gives the holder the right to claim certain goods, or services, which he may need. Money is good neither for eating nor for wearing, but today it is better to have money, rather than food, to have bank notes rather than clothes. This may seem at first to be absurd, but it is nevertheless a fact. Consider for a moment the position of the agriculturalist,

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he needs a small crop and high prices, rather than a good crop and low prices; similarly the manufacturer looks forward to a shortage of the particular articles he is engaged in producing as then the price will be higher. This is also true of nations, and every nation today is attempting to create artificially a shortage within its own territory so that prices may rise. Great Britain, for example, has decided to limit the importation of meat, not because the British Government has suddenly become vegetarian, but because it hopes in this way to limit the supply of meat and so bring about a rise in the price of meat! In short *debts can only be paid by money, money can only be obtained by selling something, but every country is determined not to buy.*

To return to the particular problem of Reparations and War Debts. It might have been possible for Germany to pay Reparations, and for the Allies to pay the United States, if payment in materials had been allowed. Payment in materials, the idea of allowing somebody else to work for one, whilst it is pleasant to the mind of the individual is anathema to any Government, since it would mean that Labour and Capital would both be unemployed! To prevent any such thing taking place the system of tariffs was gradually extended. Since payment in materials was not allowed, the alternative was adopted. The United States invested more money in Germany, and Germany used the money so invested to pay off her Reparations to the Allies and the Allies in turn used the same money to pay off their War Debts to the United States.

This system worked moderately well for some time, but in 1929 things began to happen. In the first place there was the rise of national sentiment in Germany, which objected more and more vigorously to the stigma of the War Guilt clause, in the Versailles Treaty. Then secondly the increase in mechanical productiveness resulted in more articles being manufactured, by an ever decreasing number of people. More and more people began to be "unemployed," and as soon as they ceased to be employed, they ceased also to be able to buy. As soon as they ceased to buy, fewer and fewer articles came to be sold, and as fewer and fe articles came to be sold, fewer and fe people were needed to produce th and more and more people came to "unemployed." One saw therefore, m and more things being produced, th which people urgently needed; one prices falling down and down, so more and more people might be able buy them; and one saw more and m destitution and poverty. The natural re of all this was that those people who lent money, began to demand it back, instead of lending more money to Europe enable Europe to pay back the money Eu had already borrowed, the United St ceased to lend and began to demand r ment. Matters became worse and w but in 1931 part of the problem was so by President Hoover of the United St offering a Moratorium of one year, and th in 1932 the Lausanne Conference clev arranged that although Reparations sh not be cancelled, neither should they be paid Certain people hoped that the United Sta might agree to an extension of th Moratorium, with a view to event cancellation of the Debts, and this led the British notes of November and Decem last but the United States insisted on paym and therefore on December 15, 1932 British Government duly paid to the Un States the instalment which was then due.

Now it has already been pointed out payment of a debt must be made eith money or in materials, but since mate are not acceptable payment can be made in money. If however payment is to be made in money it m be made in money which the cre can use. It would be useless for the Un States to accept payment in British curre since British currency could only be us purchase British goods, which would re apparently in American "unemploym Payment must therefore be made in Ame currency. Now American currency can obtained either in return for articles so America—but this is prevented by tariffs,—or by buying American curr with some international currency. The however only one form of internati

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currency, *gold*. In order therefore that the Debt instalment should be paid, the British gold reserves had to be depleted from one hundred and fifty odd million pounds, to one hundred and thirty millions. Gold can of course be bought like any other commodity, but one can buy only if one sells, and the difficulties of selling have already been pointed out. It is fairly obvious therefore that the number of payments which can be made from reserves, as was the case in the last payment, are strictly limited, but a good many people failed to realize this fact. Another peculiarity of money should also be pointed out. Money is lent so that certain things may be purchased. But if there is a fall in prices, the purchasing power of money becomes increased. That is to say the same amount of money would purchase an increased amount of materials. Thus a sum of money which during the War would purchase 100 units of mixed goods, would today purchase 154 similar units and therefore the repayment of the money borrowed means that expressed in terms of real values, more has to be paid than was received. Great Britain therefore feels that the Debt is an impossibly heavy burden which cannot be carried much longer.

The problem could of course be solved in a manner similar to the Reparations problem. That is to say, an international loan might be floated at a minimum price. This obviously could not be done unless there was a fair certainty of the interest charges being met. Until the loan was floated however no more payments should be made, and when the loan had been successfully floated it would cancel the debt, and would be used for purposes of reconstruction, and development."

Having now carefully discussed the problem of War Debts, in which Great Britain is the debtor, who hopes to be forgiven, the parallelism with the Debt situation in India may be realized. In this case Great Britain is not a debtor but a creditor, and at times a somewhat anxious creditor. The money which was "lent" to India in the past is now an impossible burden round the neck of India, and certainly it is gravely hindering India's development. Leaving aside all consideration of the conditions under which the money was "lent," one is faced with certain facts. The first fact to be remembered is that the purchasing power of the money, at the time when it was lent, and the purchasing power of that same amount of money today, are two quite different things. Secondly most of the money lent in the past was lent for the purpose of capital investment, for example, railway construction, but if that capital were destroyed today it could be more efficiently replaced on account of scientific progress, and also more cheaply replaced. Another point to be remembered is that Great Britain has no more wish than any other country, for the debt to be repaid. Provided that the money is thought to be "safe," nothing more is asked than the privilege of lending more money, because money which is lent brings in interest, and it is difficult today to invest money advantageously. Similarly again, just as, as was pointed out previously in this article, Great Britain cannot go on indefinitely paying interest out of her reserves, India too cannot go on indefinitely paying away capital as interest charges. If India tries to prevent this draining away of her resources by tariffs, or by other means, what a howl there is from the Manchester Cotton Exchange! The position in India is then that India is heavily indebted to a foreign Government; that the debt has been contracted at the instance of the same foreign Government: that the same foreign Government insists that under no considerations shall India default: and finally the same foreign Government forces India to buy from it whenever possible. It is impossible for the present system to continue much longer. The various alternatives are, first, that when Great Britain comes to some arrangement with America regarding the British debt to America, she should also come to a similar agreement with India regarding the Indian debt to Great Britain; or secondly that India should repudiate the debt. This latter course is unlikely save under a Socialist Government, since if India as a country repudiated her debts, possibly private individuals might also claim to be allowed to repudiate their debts.

Turning finally to the historical significance of December 15, 1933, the significance

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is, not that the money was paid, but that there was at any time *any doubt as to its being paid.* The fact that the payment of the debt was considered by some not to be in the interest either of Great Britain or America is beside the point. One has always heard so much about "an Englishman's word being as good as his bond," that possibly people may be pardoned for overlooking the fact that it was not the Socialist section, but the Tory section, the essentially "safe" section of Great Britain that was at one time wondering, and seriously wondering, if the debt was going to be paid or not. That Great Britain could have decided a payment is unthinkable since it would the whole Capitalist order. For the U after a complete break with the pa repudiate debts, is not surprising, bu talk of repudiation from the centre Capitalism suggests that Capitalism is so firmly founded as people believed. burden of usury which is the key-sto Capitalism and Imperialism, and is aft only a glorified form of Capitalism, has be too heavy, and by its weight is al causing the arch of our present civiliz to crack.

ALLAH BUX, ARTIST FROM THE PANJAB

By SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI
Professor, Calcutta University

I saw some of Mr. Allah Bux's pictures at an exhibition in the Government School of Art, Calcutta, a few years ago and at that time they did not impress me much. I felt only a little bit curious at an artist with a Mohammedan name painting pictures of the Krishna legend. The drawings appeared to me to be rather weak, and the colouring airy and unconvincing—the general intentions of the artist seemed rather to create an atmosphere of prettiness. But the very sympathetic treatment of the theme was quite noticeable and had its immediate appeal, and the pictures on the whole were favourably commented.

At an exhibition in Calcutta which is now on (the Universal Art and Industrial Exhibition at Bhawanipur organized by a group of Panjab artists and business men resident in Calcutta) I found Mr. Allah Bux's pictures once again before the Calcutta public, occupying a considerable part of the wall-space. But this time one cannot pass by Mr. Allah Bux's pictures : they are, to say the least, quite striking.

In the first instance, had it not been for the signatures and the labels, no one could have dreamt that these pictures w the work of a non-Hindu artist. But th is nothing strange in that. The arts of country as well as its legendary and my lore were never neglected by the cultu Musalmans of India ; and among Mohammedan masses, there is far gre understanding and appreciation of the Hindu culture, as a common inherit shared with the Hindus from their com forbears, than is apparent on the surf Hindu music, as for instance in *Dhrupad,* is as much cultivated Musalman *Kalawants* and *Vstads* as Hindus. The brass image makers of Be are a good many of them Musalmans are the crystal and other stone cutters carve the Tantric *Yantras* on crystal use in Hindu worship. So there is not to wonder at the fact of a Panjab Mus artist feeling at home with a Hindu th

What is more important is high quality of the pictures. There a few Krishna pictures in which the old style is quite discernible, but in most of a far better understanding of his subject stronger grasp of his style are appa

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Panjab Village Bride and Bridegroom. —*By Allah Bux, Lahore*

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In his groupings in the more elaborate compositions (*e.g.*, 'the Offerings from the Gopis,' showing the figure of Krishna in the middle and Gopis with offerings of all sorts in trays surrounding him) he is quite spontaneous, and charmingly so. Some of the two-figure compositions (*e.g.*, Krishna teasing Radha on her way to the river with water-pot on head,—a theme which is given on two canvases, and the beautiful *Sohni and Mohiwal* group, also done in a slightly different duplicate) are quite good. In the picture of Krishna teasing Radha, it was a happy idea, still more happily executed, to make the tall handsome ephebian figure of Krishna showing a movement in unison with that if the equally handsome Radha figure—as of both of them were unconsciously executing a dance—a situation which evokes the memory of a great many old Hindi lyrics on the theme of the two divine lovers. These pictures of Mr. Allah Bux are veritable little idylls of Indian life and romance : and there is a touch of sincerity, of a profound sympathy with his subjects, which suffuses the canvases with a delicate charm.

Fortunately, the beauty and mysticism of the Radha-Krishna legend is not the only theme that attracts him. He has felt drawn by the romantic legends of his own province, and stories like that of the beautiful Sohni have found in him an eloquent interpreter. The story of Sohni and Mohiwal is but a late Panjabi version of the eternal legend of Radha's quest for her Beloved who is calling her by the sound of his flute : we have here a beautiful idyll of a pair of lovers in Panjabi folk costume, and the whole composition breathes a unique atmosphere of romance. The same may be said of a newly-married couple going to their home from the bride's village—the girl in a searlet costume turning back wistfully for a last look at the home of her childhood.

Somewhat different though allied to these above compositions, carefully worked out in their delicate and rather evanescent colouring, are some vigorous brush pictures depicting the life of the virile rustics of the Panjab. (*e.g.* 'People at a Panjab Village Fair,' 'A Rustic Wedding Procession ;' 'Three Generations ;' 'Escaping Famine'). In these pictures Mr. Allah Bux shows his powe[illegible] a clever draftsman who has a perfect co[illegible] over his brush. Fidelity to life is [illegible] combined with a very fine balancing o[illegible] figures in the canvas and a most na[illegible] way of treating them. There is neverth[illegible] a sculptural quality—the quality of a pr[illegible] sional frieze—in these canvases.

These are all pictures in oil colour. [illegible] addition he has executed in water colo[illegible] series of dancing figures in the convent[illegible] alized ancient Indian dress, which, in [illegible] attempt at a too conscious stylizi[illegible] appear to me to be less happy.

Mr. Allah Bux's artistic training has n[illegible] been a formal one in any school of art. [illegible] learnt his painter's craft from an old [illegible] *Naqqash* or craftsman decorator and pai[illegible] of Lahore, who trained pupils and apprenti[illegible] even as Mr. Allah Bux himself is now d[illegible] Figure-painting early had a fascination [illegible] him. Later Mr. Allah Bux spent a number [illegible] years in Bombay, where the work of Gu[illegible] and Rajputana artists seems to have exer[illegible] some influence on him. The spell which [illegible] Krishna legend exerted on him may have [illegible] come from Gujarat, as well as a peculia[illegible] gracious softness and harmony of colours.

There is nothing vauntingly 'Indian' ab[illegible] his style, which is just that of ordin[illegible] European technique with a strong influe[illegible] of the Indian tradition such as we [illegible] lingering in the latest schools of In[illegible] painting as at Kangra, at Jaipur and [illegible] Nathdwara. Naturally enough, this kind [illegible] style will be rather weak than vigorous, [illegible] would aim more than anything else at b[illegible] romantic and pretty. Mr. Allah B[illegible] undoubted control of his materials and [illegible] poetic feel added by his sincerity larg[illegible] counterbalance the absence of any stri[illegible] vigour and individuality of style.

Judging from the better class of H[illegible] mythological pictures and those of Sikh his[illegible] and legend which are now in vogue in [illegible] Panjab and Northern India, it would seem [illegible] Mr. Allah Bux's artistic talents are working [illegible] close harmony with this trend, and it app[illegible] that at least in the Panjab he is helpi[illegible] great deal to establish the style now in vo[illegible] This style is certainly much fitter to [illegible] pictorial representation to what may

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Radha and Krishna. —*By Allah Bux, Lahore*

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Three Generations. —*By Allah Bux, Lahore*

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Sohni and Mohiwal. —*By Allah Bux, Lahore*

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called the Medieval Hindu spirit which still dominates the finer elements of North Indian artistic endeavour in the plastic arts. The Rajput (Kangra and Rajputana) and Mogul art traditions are all but dead, and as in other culture areas of India, Hindustani-speaking or Hindustani-using India is building up a new art tradition. So long the garish Bombay lithographs and oleographs (ultimately going to the Malayalam artist Ravivarma for their inspiration) have dominated the *bazaars* of the whole of India, excepting Bengal. Their influence on the artistry of India has been disastrous. The inherent good taste of North Indian art in the matter of costume and other accessories has been very adversely modified by the cheap commercial products of the Bombay presses. It is time that the spirit of the Medieval Art of Northern India once more asserted itself, albeit with the help of European technique. In Mr. Allah Bux's pictures, and in similar ones by other artists of the Panjab and Hindustan, I rejoice to see the beginning of this re-assertion. For are not pictures of this type—those, *e.g.*, of the *svelte*, handsome and pensive Krishna, in the exquisite garb in which Kangra and Jaipur painters loved to dress him, of the tall fair Radha in the North Indian or Gujarati style of *sari* or *lahangi*; of the Pandavas who whether clad in armour or in Hindu civil dress seem to come down from the pages of the *Razm-nama* (the Persian *Mahabharata*) as painted for Akbar; of Sikh *gurus* in pictures which remind us of scences from the Mogul miniatures—being scattered all over the Panjab and Northern India, in tricolour reproductions in magazines, books and almanacs, as well as in the form of 'sacred' pictures to be framed and hung up in the living rooms? We have a strange medley in the art that is assailing the man in the street in an Indian town. Bombay oleographs, showing a most jarring discord of loud colours heightened with a most assertive and odoriferous varnish—a travesty of art, cheap and gaudy; pictures of European ladies and lovers masquerading as Hindu ladies, and as Hindu deities and heroes and heroines, like Radha and Krishna, which as an art is an abomination; pictures of the Bengal art studios of the eighties and nineties of last century, sometimes quite good in the naïve attempt to express the folk art of Bengal with a European technique, but reproduced in a manner far inferior to what used to be the way formerly from the Calcutta lithograph presses; pictures along this line of Panjab and Hindustan school; and those of a similar Bengal school. A study of these small art-movements would be most interesting; and in such a study, work of the type of Mr. Allah Bux's will certainly deserve honorable mention.

For Mr. Allah Bux is naturally by virtue of his subject and his being with the times more in touch with the artistic tastes and artistic life of the land. His fellow-provincial Mr. Abdur Rahman Chughtai stands apart,—he has created a world of his own, and types of his own, which interest cultured art-lovers who are in sympathy with the Musalman poetry and the Musalman mysticism of the Panjab and of Persia.

It is rather remarkable that both Mr. Chughtai and Mr. Allah Bux have taken to the human figure as the best medium for their art and their artistic aims. They are very much at home there. But we do not find in them that sympathetic understanding of or interest in nature—such as, for instance, we see in Nandalal Bose. The latter has given us the souls of trees and in his pictures. We seek for that in vain in the Panjab artists.

Be it as it may, in Mr. Allah Bux's pictures we see a fine rendering of the Krishna legend and other Indian legends, and of Panjab life, in a mixed Indo-European style which is growing up in Modern India; the range of his themes is not large, but his work is pleasing, and above all is sincere and it is a popular rather than a professedly superior or high-browed art: his pictures are a visible demonstration of a fundamental cultural unity among Hindus and Mohammadans in India; and all who see his pictures will be sure to like them, especially if they are lovers of Indian poetry and mysticism and will wish him still greater success as an artist.

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CHATS WITH AMERICA'S BILLIONAIRES

ERALIL A. VARGHESE, M. A.

ONCE a lifetime one gets a chance to meet America's billionaires socially. I met three—Rockefeller, Dodge and Carnegie—oil, copper and steel magnates—a good bag for any lion-hunter. My luck was through a series of circumstances which may interest but need not detain the reader.

John D. Junior—as he is called to distinguish him from his father John D. Senior, the founder of the Rockefeller fortune, who spends his old age quietly in his sub-tropical Florida home—was kind enough to invite me for dinner at his New York residence in famous plutocratic Fifth Avenue. A most unostentatious home with its number unrecorded perhaps to avoid the curious or the gunmen. It was not even a skyscraper—I had imagined that millionaires lived in big buildings—a childish thought at all times.

Mrs. Rockefeller, tall, aristocratic, with a Roman nose, received me at the door—not far from where was posted a detective in mufti to protect her and her jewels. Subsequently I learned that she was the daughter of a late Senator and the sister of the President of the Chase National Bank—perhaps the greatest bank in the world, certainly in America.

The Rockefellers are a simple folk. John. D. Jr. is a very shrewd, intelligent man, as you soon discover over the dinner table. He is t and t—teetotaler, neither smokes nor drinks although he is against prohibition. His brother-in-law Mr. Aldrich, the President of the Chase National Bank, was vigorously puffing away sitting next to him. Mr. Rockefeller's sons were also there; as the father so the sons. Neither in their dress, manner nor speech did any of them betray that they have more dollars at their disposal than there are people in India. They have long outgrown the new-rich stage. The father gave them all a good university education, married them and put them to work in the many Rockefeller interlocking directorates. Their training was rigorous in the extreme. One of them, Nelson, had to work as an elevator boy in his college to supplement the allowance from his father—a good man to teach the value of money. The young Rockefellers travelled third class around the world including India as they told me and I have seen one of them who was sitting at my left at dinner carry about a heavy Gladstone bag around at the stations and other places. (Porters and beggars are not so available in America as in India). He had just then returned from his honeymoon with his wife, a simple, unornamented and charming girl—an object-lesson to our bejewelled Indian women who dangle gold from every angle of the nose, ears, hair and toes.

John D. Jr. asked me my interests. I told him that I am a lawyer in India, that I am now interested in Economics and came to America to learn how to make money—to get rich quick.

A short-cut to fortune? He asked me if I knew any, for he liked to learn it himself.

"Yes,...To be born the son of a rich father or to make a lucky guess on the stock market." I replied.

He was amused. Later when I bade him good-bye he gave me a key chain with a lucky elephant and horse-shoe as a souvenir. It was a good joke. John D. Sr. gives dimes (10 cents) to boys seeking souvenirs.

One of John D. Jr.'s sons joined me in conversation.

"You have philosophy in your country," he remarked.

"Yes," I answered. "You have money and the comforts of life, we have misery and philosophy—the philosophy of misery and the misery of philosophy. I am

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prepared to exchange shoes with you any minute."

Like most millionaires the Rockefellers have a home in the country where the family lives, besides the one in the city where they entertain. Of course, they have other mansions in Florida or France for summer hibernation.

One day I drove to the country home of the Rockefellers in Tarrytown on the outskirts of the city. An expanse of a thousand acres with deer jumping across the private roads of the millionaire. There were notices that trespassers will be prosecuted under the penalty of the law. On and on we drove, without seeing a single soul. We passed the garage where a greyhound was rebelliously sniffing at his man-made chains. At last the Rockefeller home. It looked like a cottage. It was not made with bricks of gold or paved with chunks of marble or studded with rubies. Simplicity itself!

It is interesting to observe that the practical American Croesuses and Midases do not build imposing structures in marble like our Maharajas. They have rather a few comparatively small buildings on the same grounds so that the different members of the family can live separately and at the same time be near each other. So no quarrels among the in-laws!

The Rockefellers like others amassed their vast fortune through dubious practices as can be read in Tarbell's classic on the Standard Oil Company or in Ripley's *Railroad Problems*. There were scandals of rebates, rate wars, trustification, litigation and all the other devious devilry that the ingenuity of financiers and lawyers could invent. It was the order of the day. Rockefeller was just the culmination of the system. He fought with his back to the wall. He crushed or would have been crushed. But Rockefeller—especially the son—is the benefactor of nations. Part of the fortune is spent nobly through educational, medical and other foundations. It conquers illiteracy in China or Arabia, mosquitoes in Brazil and Panama and cholera in India. Ill-gotten is well-spent.

The Rockefellers are also free from the *parvenu* snobbishness that characterizes other American millionaires. They never aspired to marry into or from the bankrupt dukes or duchesses of Eng or princes or princesses of Italy or E with long titles and lean purses. The Ro feller dollars could buy them up in shove if they cared. Being simple they prefer equals or almost equals from the democ of America.

I invited the Rockefellers to India. shall get you elephants to ride," said twirling the lucky elephant they had g me.

Small wonder that an American fri of mine—himself a distinguished man—w pered in my ears:

"...'s money is a curse; but Roc feller's money is a blessing to the world."

The Dodges, the copper magnates, o about six hundred acres along the Hud just on the limits of the New York C They have mines all over the world. A they have munificently endowed colleges Turkey and Arabia, besides institutions like Columbia in America.

The wife of one of the Dodges is th daughter of the Morgans, internation financiers from whom French and Engli Governments borrow at a pinch. Preside Wilson was one of the Dodge family frien and whenever he came to New York he us to stay over with them. They showed the room where Wilson drafted his fourte points.

Like the country home of the Rockefell the Dodge home was small. In fact, th was a number of these houses strewed alo the grounds in one of which their moth in another of which their brother lived. T Americans do not build for eternity eit as we seem to do in India—not even o hundred-and-twenty storeyed skyscrap which have an actuarial life of only twe years.

The Dodges are a fine people. Th little daughter button-holed me with a flow as we parted.

Old Andrew (Andy) Carnegie is de So his widow spreads hospitality from h

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home also in New York's millionaire Avenue. It is an old home, a massive structure of stone, but there is nothing grandiloquent about it from the outside. But inside there are richly carpeted stairs. Scott and Burns stare from their niches in the Carnegie walls at this dusky intruder. (Carnegie was a Scotch by birth and he had built a castle in his old country). In the reception room there hung pictures of Carnegie with closely clipped grey beard as well as those of his wife and only child—a daughter and son-in-law. Both the latter were present on the occasion when I was there. I had expected to see Charles Schwab, the executive brains of the Carnegie Steel Trust, whom the old Babbit had "discovered." But he was out of city—his home on the Riverside Drive is not far from where I live.

The Carnegies show you round their home, pass through the conservatorium on the second floor where there are orchids and roses in winter. Old Andy, they say, was a man of simple tastes but I saw more lavish style in Carnegie's than at Rockefeller's. Andrew Carnegie was all for peace and libraries. He gave his millions away to the public. He held his money as a sacred trust. There are millionaires like that now and then.

The Carnegies gave me a purse as a souvenir. Eagerly I opened. There was no money in it.

I said, "Give me the money and I will find the purse."

They were tickled to death.

American millionaires make you feel at ease and at home. Our rajas, zamindars and chaprasis—my God !

I hope some day to meet Ford—apostle of mass production and king of the road. Edison, his friend, to whom I had long intended to go on a pilgrimage is now beyond the sphere of his wizardry, gone into the land of eternal light, like the beacon they have erected to his memory.

ZIONISM

By KARUNA MITTER

THAT nationalism is one of the most terrific forces in the world today, threatening peace and civilization constantly, is recognized. Still, there is a difference here; perhaps one of degree only, but which is material from our point of view because of the danger that it offers to the larger interests of mankind in general. For instance, there is ample difference between the resurgent nationalism of China seeking expression of her decadent civilization and subdued personality and the obstrusive and aggressive nationalism of Japan that thrusts its arms into Shanghai and Manchuria. The study of Zionism presses on us all the aspects of nationalism, for we witness the amazing spectacle of a race scattered through the continents seeking closer ties of mutual interest, a common Home, and the media of a cultural renaissance. We are compelled to inquire what are the forces that inspire it when the Zionist movement does afford the remarkable phenomenon of a national spirit (preserved without territory) striving through centuries of persecution and neglect. And the problem of Zionism which is in effect the national problem of the whole world Jewry offers an interesting study, for the problem is international as much as it is national.

We have, then, in the first place, a national problem of absorbing interest, for it aims at the resuscitation and the keeping alive of an ancient civilization and culture in the body of a people which has not ceased to have its distinctive characteristics under the most adverse conditions imaginable, and, secondly, by reason of its wide international bearing cannot be without interest for us or for the matter of that for any other nation because every country has its share of Jewish population.

The Zionist idea is nearly as old as Jewish history itself. Israel's history in ancient times shows the path to the realization of Zionism. The exodus from Egypt was an example of colonization and emigration. The Jewish people entered Canaan, occupied lands, and in a few generations became a glorious nation. The return from Babylon was a great Zionist event. In fact,

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the favourite idea of modern Zionism, the idea of a spiritual centre in Zion for the whole Diaspora, the focussing of a pure Jewish life in Palestine, the creation of an intellectual and moral reservoir, from which a stream of influence should flow all over the scattered nation and waves of Jewish inspiration and knowledge should spread in all directions, making the little land a metropolis of Judaism in religion and life.

While the idea of a Jewish colony in Palestine had its origin in the Scriptures, modern Zionism has manifestly an economic and political motive as its mainspring of action. But this transition was effected by a painful evolution through the centuries that have elapsed since the Roman legions attacked the Temple.

The history of the Jews during the period between the eleventh and the present century makes sad reading with very few interludes of short duration. The hardships of the Jews increased as the years went by. Martin Luther, early in his career summed up the position thus: "Our fools, the popes, bishops, sophists, and monks, have hitherto conducted themselves toward the Jews in such a manner that he who was a good Christian would have preferred to be a Jew. And if I had been a Jew and had seen such blockheads and louts ruling and teaching Christianity, I would have become a swine rather than a Christian, because they have treated the Jews like dogs and not like human beings." One wonders how the Jews survived such trials. They lived as a separate "untouchable" community within the ghettos outside the pale of civilization. It is not surprising that what has been described as the "asperities" of Jewish character developed rapidly, and orthodoxy of the worst type flourished with becoming ease. The idea of the rise of the Messiah to be followed by return to Palestine found ready response in the hearts of the suffering men and women. Hope of the deliverance from their persecutions formed the main bulwark in their Faith on which the rest of their religion were grounded.

Thus the Jews were never allowed to forget their old nationality. They never forgot that they were a nation apart, distinct in morality and learning, in literature, in social arrangements and in agriculture: a civilized nation at a time when Western civilization was still unknown. For hundreds of years after the loss of political independence they believed with passionate intensity in their future as a nation in Palestine. The idea of Jewish nationalism has been stated as, "one great family bound together not alone by a common past, but by a community of undying ideas, aspirations and hopes for a national future." The nationalist spirit of the medieval Jews is sufficiently reflected in their liturgy, and especially in the works of Jehuda Ha'levi, the Jewish poet.

The astonishing popularity of the pseudo-Messiahs in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was another symptom of the disease that had overtaken the Jew mind because of its degenerate condition. The sanest of them were led, largely because of their sore trust in the promises of a succession of fanatics and half-deluded fanatics who controlled Jewish life for two centuries. The Cabala with its Messianic predictions stimulated the claims of the impostors, but Jewish weakness was the real cause of the blind extravagant devotion of whole communities. The most outstanding of these in the sixteenth century were: David Reubeni (who came to Rome in 1524 from the East) and his imitator, a Portuguese, Diego Pires (*alias* Solomon Molcho, *c.* 1501). Both interviewed various rulers, the former actually counselled with them regarding a Crusade which never came off. The latter was burned at the stake (1532?) and Reubeni ended his life in a Spanish prison. Thus they were a very short but important Zionist movement in calamity.

In the following century the influence of the Christian millenarians gave a fresh impetus to the national idea. Manasseh ben Israel (1604-1657) co-operated with English millenarians to procure the re-establishment of Jews in England whence they had been expelled by Edward I in 1290, as a preliminary to their national return to Palestine. Some Christian interpreters had asserted that the dispersion of the Jews was to be everlasting. Manasseh very definitely rejected the idea that Israel's mission demanded a continuous exile. To him it seemed that the dispersion ought to be made complete, because it must lead to restoration.

The most popular and influential of the Jewish pseudo-Messiahs was Sabbathai Zevi (1626-1676) who proclaimed himself Messiah in 1648. He thoroughly exploited the credulity of the Jews, who everywhere prepared for his journey to Palestine. But Sabbathai was imprisoned, and adopted Islam at the Sultan's death threatened by the Sultan, and lived in ignominy. But the bulk of the people had to be disillusioned for a whole century. The "successors" followed, who continued the movement till in 1778 the reaction arrived in the shape of the Mendelssohnian movement, started by Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786), the father of Jewish Rationalism. A prominent figure in the German literary world of his time, he became a vigorous champion of his people after an attempt was made by a wisher to convert him to Christianity. He first presented the case of Jewish emancipation in a clear form. In a little volume, he pleaded for the freedom of thought of his people. He asserted that no religion can boast of a monopoly of truth, that the value of a religion lay in its effect on

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and that all religions were true which affected believers for good. Therefore, he urged : "Let everyone, who is obedient to civil government, who acts righteously toward his fellow men, be allowed to speak as he thinks, to pray to God after his own fashion, or after the fashion of his fathers, and to seek eternal salvation where he thinks he may find it." The influence of *Jerusalem* was not immediate but when it made itself felt it initiated a renaissance in Germany as well as in Russia. But the paths in the two countries followed different directions. Whereas in Germany the newly acquired knowledge of German was utilized to dip in German culture, in Russia, the paucity of Russian intellectualism at the time left young Jews uninspired and they turned to Hebrew and its development.

A leading disciple of Mendelssohn's Hartwig Wessely, a German humanist, began to apply his master's theories to Jewish education. He insisted that a true knowledge of Judaism was impossible without the background of a general culture. That Biblical and Talmudic training were indispensable, but education could not end there. The natural sciences, philosophy, history, the wisdom of the world, were fully as important. His appeal met with both resistance and response. Secular schools were started in Prague, in Austria, and in Germany. Orthodoxy began to give way, "disintegration" set in, and a little later the "Berlin Religion" claimed adherents. The older order had recieved a severe blow. Jewish life expanded beyond the confines of traditional literature which emphasized, amongst other things, the Zionist idea. The French Revolution which followed generated the same tendencies.

Famous and influential Christians advocated Jewish emancipation ; among these numerous well-wishers of the Jewry were : Lessing, whose dramas put cultured Germany to shame ; von Dohm, who in his work *Upon the Civil Amelioration of the Condition of the Jews* (1791) made a plea for the admission of Jews to civic rights ; Montesquieu, who stated, "If any of our descendants should ever venture to say that the nations of Europe were cultured, your [the Christians'] example will be adduced to prove that they were barbarians." At the same time Goethe and Voltaire were remarkable exceptions in that they suffered from extreme Judaeophobia. The writers and political philosophers who were influenced by the general humanitarianism of the Age were reinforced by politicians. Of these were, Joseph II of Austria, who capped his reforms with an Edict of Toleration in 1782 ; the famous Mirabeau, who advocated complete political equality for Jews in the National Assembly ; Pelham, Prime Minister of England, who in 1753 introduced a naturalization law, but had to withdraw the act in the following year "because it had provoked displeasure" on all sides. President John Adams, on the other hand, was one of the most enthusiastic supporters of the Zionist idea. In a letter to Major Manuel (1785-1851) he said, "I really wish the Jews again in Judaea, an independent nation, for as I believe, the most enlightened men of it have participated in the amelioration of the philoshophy of the age ; once restored to an independent government and no longer persecuted, they would soon wear away some of the asperities and peculiarities of their character, ..." He believed, therefore, that a Jewish State need not prejudice the interests of the Jews in other countries.

The French Revolution and its child, Napoleon, inaugurated a new era in Jewish history. The latter tore down ghetto walls all over Europe and added political and economic equality to the newly found intellectual freedom ushered in by Mendelssohn and Lessing. But Napoleon was led to these local emancipatory measures after he had failed to create his Jewish Palestinian kingdom in 1799, when he issued a summons to the Asiatic and African Jews to march under his banner, promising "to give them the Holy Land" and "to restore ancient Jerusalem to its pristine splendour." It may be mentioned here, schemes of founding a Jewish State had also been gaining currency in England (where the Jews were not admitted to full citizenship till the nineteenth century) and that the restoration of Israel was a favourite idea of the English.

In 1807 Napoleon ordered the convention of a Jewish *Sanhedrin* in Paris. It virtually repudiated the nationalist tradition.

The first decades of the nineteenth century brought important changes in the structure and content of Judaism. The changes followed two tendencies, the first opportunist and empirical, the second philosophic and doctrinaire. Many of the Jews converted to an European life wished to reshape Jewish practice to fit easily with their new mode.

The second impetus to change was more fundamental. Some thinkers deeply influenced by scientific developments sought to re-examine the very foundations of their religious faith. They examined the "mission" of Israel and its relation to the non-Jewish world. They completely reconstructed Judaism until it seemed to be almost a new religion. Jacobson, a Westphalian rabbi, realizing that the services had become unaesthetic and the prayers unintelligible introduced German prayers, German songs and German sermons. Abraham Geiger, the most notable leader of Reform Judaism precipitated a widespread schism. He maintained that all reference to a restored national life and a messiah should be taken out of the creed. He refused to link up the destiny of Israel with

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Palestine. The immediate cause of dissent varied in each place but the fundamental issues involved were similar everywhere. Was it a revealed faith, and, therefore, an immutable religion, the question persisted, or, a developing religion that could be adapted to shifting circumstances? Jews flocked to Reform Judaism as it made life less irksome.

The disappearance of Napoleon from the European political stage relaxed the control of Judaeophobia and the former restrictions on the Jews were reimposed. But the new consciousness which the Mendelssohnian movement and the French Revolution had given the Jews never left them and the success of Reform Judaism should be ascribed largely to these causes. When the French Revolution lifted the Jews, even the sentimental attachment began to dissolve. The Jews prided themselves on their identification with the life of the Western world. They turned their faces from the East; they insisted that they were not a separate national group, only their religious beliefs marked them off from their neighbours.

Dissentient voices were few. The most aggressive challenge came from Moses Hess, a Jewish German Socialist. In his *Rome und Jerusalem* (1862) Hess pointed out the historical bases of nationalism and maintained its indestructibility. He declared that if nationalism was inconsistent with Jewish emancipation in each country, the latter should be sacrificed. But Hess made little impression on German Jews to whom his work was addressed. At about the same time, Hirsch Kalischer startled the orthodox Russian Jews in the very prime of Alexander II's liberalism, by belittling the Messianic theory and urging practical work to help themselves. He advocated colonization work in Palestine and was intrumental in establishing the first colonization society in Frankfurt in 1861. Perez Smolenskin (1812-1885) of the Nationalist school of thought criticized the ideal of being "a Jew at home and a man outside" as unworkable. Hence, he advocated a Nationalism based on the "Tripled Chord" of the land (Palestine), the Law (Torah) and the Language (Hebrew). Side by side with this propaganda for nationalism there was a deeper undercurrent of Hebrew revival: a literary movement in Hebrew which fought obscurantism persistently at the same time infusing a love of the ancient language. This, known as the *Haskalah* (Enlightenment) movement had a definitely liberalizing tendency. Thus, a clear direction was absent in which the Jewish thought tended to flow.

Then came the anti-Semitic wave that burst upon Germany after the Franco-Prussian War. It gained in strength and political significance as Bismarck made the Jews the scapegoat of his own follies. In 1872 Pope Pius IX celebrated his Christmas by issuing a diatribe against the Jews, characterizing them as e of Christ and a pernicious influence in o society. The papal pronouncement had its effect at all centres of Catholic strength, cularly in Germany. The Anti-Semites to organize societies there in 1879 unh by the Government. Though the mo almost collapsed at the end of the c the Jews lost their sense of stabilit a continuous emigration to America which ended only with the declarati war in 1914.*

In Russia, the reactions of anti-Semiti to the reforms of Alexander II ma themselves in terrible pogroms 1880-81. Semitism also flourished in Poland, A Hungary and Roumania, and the D Case revealed France was not free fro racial incubus.

Anti-Semitism, however, stimulated unity just when the ancient solidarity being jeopardized. Thousands of young who had merged themselves into the their country wholly, or had tried to renouncing their own people, were flung Not a few turned to Zionism and history once more attracted attention. The of the *Haskalah* gave place to a more dis nationalist tendency.

At the forefront of aggressive nationali stood Leo Pinsker, a native of Odessa seized the psychological moment just after Russian massacres to publish his striking pa on *Auto-Emancipation* (1882). His thesis w original but its timeliness increased its potenti He thought, the Jews in hoping for their fication with the life of the countries in they lived were nourishing illusions only. could not even be treated as self-resp aliens, for they had no national Home. G ments regarded them as floating gro individuals, ghosts in every land. He p for auto-emancipation through the creati a national Home, preferably in Palestine if that was not possible, in any other land. Driven by the force of events, the started organizations in Vienna and in the Vienna society being known as the and the Odessa one, the *Chovevé Zion* of Zion). By 1890, the organizations had branches at all important university in Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary Switzerland, for it was essentially a movement. Similar associations also up at various places. The *Chovevé Zion* nally aimed at helping groups of pio emigrating to Palestine. Such a group *Bilu*, composed of young enthusiasts professional men, who left Russia and R Their efforts resulted in the found

* Recently the exodus has begun a Hitler's assumption of the Chancellorship

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the Rosh Le Zion in Judea, Zicron Jacob in Samaria, and Rosh Pinnah in Galilee. The work proved extremely difficult. The soil had been left uncultivated for centuries, funds were meagre, the Turkish authorities created complications and, lastly, malaria, cholera and trachoma took a very heavy toll of lives. Edmund de Rothschild lent a helping hand but for which the colonization work would have collapsed. This was not at all hopeful. More serious, however, was the indifference of Jews all over the world. The *Kadima* and the *Chovevé Zion* kept up the fight valiantly in the face of almost insurmountable difficulties; but, it was the students only they could affect by their outlook. Still, they produced a training ground from which have come the best and foremost leaders, in the political as well as in the cultural spheres, of the present-day Zionist movement.

The field was lying fallow, so to say, when came Theodor Herzl, the originator of modern political Zionism, upon the scene. Herzl was a Viennese writer and a reviewer of plays but plunged headlong into the Zionist movement, or, what is more proper, created a Zionist movement when he felt the impact of the anti-Semitic campaign which accompanied the Dreyfus Case while he was in Paris. He was thoroughly German in his education and was ignorant of the religious bases of Zionism and the works of Hess, Pinsker, Smolenskin and other nationalist leaders of thought. Therefore, he let go all religious rubbish and driven by the force of his imagination, planned for a vast international Jewish Society, with a capitalization of millions to reconstruct Palestine, to draw off surplus Jewish populations in all countries. He approached Jewish leaders (*e. g.*, Baron Hirsch and Alphonse Rothschild) and Bismarck with his scheme, but met with the inevitable contempt and rebuff. Still undaunted, he published his epoch-making brochure *Judenstaat* in 1896, which immediately created a noise. But, on the whole, the reception was unfavourable. "It was rent," Herzl wrote, "with the viciousness with which the theatre hyenas tear down a *première*." But the *Kadima* in Vienna supported him, and so did Max Nordau, a famous philosopher and critic, and Israel Zangwill, the most eminent Jewish man of letters of that time. The humbler masses were thrilled as it were, and Herzl felt so encouraged that he called an international congress in Munich. He met with violent opposition from the Western European Jews, who insisted that Jewish Nationalism was a delusion and a myth, that it would be prejudicial to the painfully won rights of Jews in Europe. They pointed out that Zionists were creating tangible evidence for the anti-Semite accusation that Jews owed their allegiance elsewhere and were indifferent to the interests of the countries in which they lived. The meeting was held at Basle—this being the first Zionist Congress which has met regularly ever since, excepting a few years during the war. A programme of Zionism was adopted which stated that the object of Zionism was to establish a Jewish home in Palestine "secured by public law." It laid down the following means to the attainment of this end: (*i*) The promotion, on suitable lines, of the colonization of Palestine by Jewish agricultural and industrial workers, (*ii*) the organization and the binding together of the whole of Jewry by means of appropriate institutions, local and international, in accordance with the laws of each country, (*iii*) the strengthening and fostering of Jewish national sentiment and conciousness. (*iv*) preparatory steps towards obtaining government consent, where necessary, to the attainment of the aim of Zionism.

The primary object of the programme was to secure to those who had been rendered homeless or felt uncomfortable by reason of the pogroms in Europe, or those who sought a pure Jewish life in Palestine a permanent homeland. Further, the colonization was meant for workers only, which is important to note having regard to the frequent anti-Semite accusation of Jews as nothing but usurers and blood-suckers conveying the meaning of social parasites. In short, it aimed at the attainment of a new level of material contentment and moral dignity in Palestine. It also aimed at emphasizing and perpetuating the racial distinctions of the Jews. For this reason Zionism has to contend even today with the uncompromising hostility of a vast section of Jews who have assimilated themselves to the countries in which they live or are earnestly trying to do so.

During the following years, Herzl approached the chief European Governments and the Porte but nothing came of it excepting that the British Government evinced some interest in the matter. An offer of Uganda followed in 1903 which was finally turned down by the Zionist Congress in 1905 after an acute controversy. The controversy told on Herzl's health and he died in 1904. After his death the differences increased and a separate organization was started which had for its object the colonization of the East African territory offered by the British Government. There was another controversy regarding the method of work. The "political" Zionists believed in diplomacy and opposed colonization until a charter could be secured, while the "practical" Zionists wanted the colonization work to be pushed forward regardless of the political status of Jews in Palestine, the idea being that when the political future of Palestine came to be discussed Jewish claims could not go unheard if a healthy Jewish colony existed. And this latter view had certainly some force; for if propaganda for and organization of Zionism had been essential to the existence and growth of the Palestinian Settlement, it is no less true

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that but for the work of those who, in the pre-war years built up the new Jewish life in Palestine there would have been no inspiring force behind the Zionist movement and no solid basis for its organization.

The "practical" Zionists established a Zionist agency at Jaffa in 1908. The political side was not abandoned, but the work of construction was concentrated upon. Progress, on the whole, during the following years leading up to the time of the War in 1914 may be considered satisfactory, though the resources of the Jewish National Fund was quite inadequate to the task. In 1914 the Jewish population in Palestine was 90,000 and the number of agricultural settlements had risen from 25 in 1904 to 44. The Hebrew school system grew rapidly and the project of a Hebrew University was definitely launched in 1913. The membership of the organization and the capital of the Jewish National Fund expanded from year to year, and unorganized sympathy with the Zionist outlook and aims became more and more diffused.

The war upset all calculations, it stopped Zionist work in Palestine and the Organization was threatened with disruption. In the eastern theatre of war and in Palestine the Jews had to bear the full blast of a protracted struggle. Contacts between the various branches of the Organization could not be effected and, moreover, a united front on the international question was an impossibility. "Political" Zionism was once more in the ascendant. Nearly all the Allies on the Continent were approached by Nahum Sokolow, and in England, Chaim Weizmann and Herbert Samuel pressed for Government recognition of Zionist claims on Palestine. Ultimately a time came when the British Government saw the importance of rallying Jewish opinion in all countries, particularly in the U. S. A. and in Russia, to its side and on Nov. 2, 1917 Lord Balfour as Foreign Secretary, wrote to Baron Rothschild stating that "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country." The Allied Powers who had been consulted before, formally endorsed the policy of the Balfour Declaration after its issue. The Allied troops entered Jerusalem on December 9, 1917, and in March 1918 a Zionist Commission left for Palestine to "act as an advisory body to the British authorities" in all matters touching Jewish interests and the establishment of a national home. for the Jews. The Commission directed the work of reconstruction; and in July 1918 laid the foundation-stone of the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus—this brought a message from Woodrow Wilson, who congratulated the Commission on their enthusiasm in those "times of stress."

Out of the welter of opposing Jewish interests existent and non-existent interests in Palestine claiming precedence, the clashing interests of the Powers, and personal desires for leadership nothing tangible emerged at the Paris Peace Conference, but in the formulation of various minority treaties the Conference guaranteed complete civil and political rights to the Jews residing in the countries which came under the purview of the treaties.

The Zionist aim required to be finally endorsed and given a suitable form. But the Zionist work went on as if all had been well and in the best possible light. Matters came to a head when Arab sentiments led to riots in Jerusalem during the Passover of 1920, lasting over three days, in which a number of Jews were killed. The whole world reverberated with protestations. In England the leading newspapers insisted that the Government should make good their promises to the Jews. President Wilson and leading members of his Cabinet reiterated their friendliness to the Zionist aspirations. The storm of protests overpowered Allied diplomacy and on April 25, 1920, the Balfour Declaration was incorporated in the Turkish treaty and Britain was made the mandatory for Palestine. Article 4 of the Mandate (ratified by the League of Nations) states: "An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognized as a public body for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and subject always to the control of the administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country. The Zionist Organization shall be recognized as such agency."

The outcome of all labours for many years was not quite satisfactory from the Zionist standpoint. It is true Zionism has a cultural side which may find ample scope in the Hebrew revival in Palestine but its primary characteristics are political and economic. This is admitted. Therefore, it would be natural to suppose that any movement that aims at the betterment of the political condition of an ethnic group must inevitably lead to a desire for the consummation of such aims in a national State, the highest ideal in any national movement yet. Hence, the ideal of a Jewish National State is emphasized. But there are practical difficulties in the way to the realization of such hopes, which at present seem insurmountable. In area, Palestine is very limited with a population of about 600,000 Arabs and 60,000 Christians, exclusive of the 200,000 Jews. Whether reasonably or unreasonably land acquisitions by the Jewish Agency have embittered Arab feelings. They have

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upon all such acquisitions as encroachments on their own soil. The safety of the Jewish colony has to be ensured at the point of the British bayonet. And there is no knowing how long this kind of security may be obtained. In England a section of public opinion have long insisted that the mandatory responsibilities are an unnecessary burden and a source of anxiety to the British. There has been a talk of the French relinquishing their Syrian Mandate, and speculations have been set on foot whether Britain will follow France's example if she took such a step.* From the Jewish point of view this would be disastrous, but there is little prospect of such a contingency ever becoming a reality, since Palestine offers a protection to the Suez route to India and a base for the airway to the same country.

But notwithstanding all the vicissitudes, the Wailing Wall incidents of 1929 and Lord Passfield's declaration of British Policy, the Jews are going forward with their numerous schemes. In this they have shown remarkable amount of resilience. Three years back all seemed lost but the stubborn endurance and unfailing optimism of the Jews has sustained the movement this time as many times before. Co-operation of many of the most important Zionist and non-Zionist leaders who had hitherto refused to take part in Palestinian affairs was secured at Zurich in August 1929, and a historic pact was ratified by the Zionist Congress whereby non-Zionists were admitted into the Jewish Agency, the official instrument of colonization. The tide of emigration of sometime ago has been reversed into a tide of immigration though this is severely restricted. Modern Palestine is humming with life and activity. Agricultural farms, factories, banks, schools, the University, clubs and sports all indicate the vigour of Jewish intellect and life. It is difficult not to believe in a great future for the Jews.

At the beginning of this article the question of belligerent nationalism was raised. It is important in the Jewish Palestinian colony of today. "The Jews have furnished proof of their ability to do that fundamental work on which civilization is based" says Ludwig Lewisohn,* and this is no exaggeration. The modern city of Tel-Aviv near Jaffa stands as a concrete evidence of the Jew's will to work. There is honesty, there is enthusiasm, and there is intelligence and skill. Unemployment among the Jews in Palestine is unknown ; all co-operate to see that everyone may have a chance of living. There is no prison in Tel-Aviv! In their long history the Jews have been spared no pains, do they remember it? Yes! for today even, the pogroms are not unknown in Europe.† Secondly, they cannot exercise that political power in the State which will make them drunk and vain of power. "It follows that, wherever they live, Jews must throw the weight of their strength and influence against the power of the absolute, belligerent, master State and that their supreme way of doing this is by aiding in the upbuilding of Palestine and insisting that their devotion to Palestine, far from interfering with their civic rights, is prophetic of the freer citizenship of the State of the future."§ May we expect then that Jewish Nationalism will attain to so fine a standard of synthetic values as to be a pattern to the world? *That* the future can only show. Lewisohn states his ideal of peace at any cost. He reminds us of the pogroms and says: "We cannot fare worse by refusing to fight. We can shed our blood and endure our martyrdom for peace. We can be true to ourselves and to Israel. We can be like the Quakers, a light to them who are in darkness. For myself I hold this ideal. I do not expect it to be accepted today. But its day will come."

Let us also hope so.

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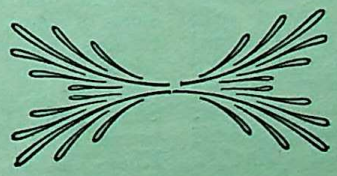
* *Cf.* The Mandates in Syria and Palestine by Douglas V. Duff., *Quarterly Review*, January, 1933.

* *Israel* by Ludwig Lewisohn.

† *Cf.* "Reign of Anti-Semitism" by I. Cohen, *New Statesman and Nation*, July 23, 1932.

§ *op. cit.*



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BOOK REVIEWS

BOOKS in the principal European and the Indian classical languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

TRIAL OF DIWAN MUL RAJ *(Governor of Multan) ; Edited with notes and introduction by Sitaram Kohli, M. A., Deputy Keeper of Records of the Government, Punjab, Lecturer in History, Government College, Lahore : Punjab, Government Record Office Publications ; pp. 191+XXXV ; Rs. 8-12.*

Mr. Sitaram Kohli has edited with commendable industry and thoroughness a document of great historical importance. Mul Raj was the son of Diwan Sawan Mal, Maharaja Ranjit Singh's governor of Multan for 23 years (1821-1844). He succeeded his father to the governorship of Multan in October, 1844. But owing to differences with the Council of Regency at Lahore Mul Raj resigned his office in December 1847, and this was ultimately accepted in March, 1848. Sir Frederick Currie, Resident at Lahore, appointed Sardar Kahan Singh to this post, and sent him there with two British officers, Mr. Vans Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson in command of a body of troops. On the morning of 19th April, Diwan Mul Raj formally made over the charge of the fort to the newly-appointed governor ; but while the party of Sardar Kahan Singh was returning to their camp at Idgah outside the fort, some soldiers of the garrison attacked the two above-mentioned officers and wounded them severely. Mul Raj's soldiers mutinied, evidently on account of the apprehension of their loss of service. Mul Raj was forced to accept the leadership of this revolt against the English, and Sikhs and Mussalmans took the most solemn oath of fidelity to him. Next morning the rebels issued proclamations in the name of Mul Raj summoning the whole country to revolt, and before evening Lahore troops deserted their British comrades. Immediately after one Godar Singh putting himself at the head of a rabble attacked the English officers at Idgah and killed them. This unfortunate incident was the *occasion*, though by no means the sole cause, of the Second Sikh War.

However, Mr. L. Bowring (prosecution counsel in Mul Raj's case), thundered, "All the misfortunes which have befallen this country during the past year owe their origin to Diwan Mul Raj. *Had there been no Mul Raj, there would not have been no Chattar Singh and no other Singh*, and *Maharajah Dulip Singh would still be seated on the throne of his father*" (p. 169). Apparently the Judges took the same view of Mul Raj's offence, and sentenced him to death with a recommendation for mercy as he was to a certain extent a *victim of circumstances*. Lord Dalhousie commuted the death sentence for imprisonment and transportation for life.

Apart from its considerable historical importance this valuable monograph of Mr. Kohli enables us at this distance of time to take a more dispassionate view of the whole proceedings than it was possible for those who sat in judgment over Mul Raj. We hope *the trial of Mul Raj*, though not so tragic as the trial of Nanda Kumar, will not fail to interest and instruct every student of Indian history.

IMPERIAL FARMANS : *(A. D. 1577 to 1580) granted to the Ancestors of His Holiness the Tilkayat Maharaj ; translated into English, Hindi and Gujarati, with notes by Krishnalal Mohanlal Jhaveri, M.A., L.L. B., (Sometime Officiating Judge, High Court, Bombay ; Fellow of the University, Bombay) printed by Manilal Itcharam Desai, (Bombay).*

Mr. Jhaveri has done unique service to the Vallabhacharya Sampradaya as well as to students of Indo-Muslim history by publishing these documents, some of which are of great historical interest. The volume of *Imperial Farmans* contains five *Farmans* of Akbar, one of Shah Jahan, and two of doubtful character wrongly ascribed by the editor to Emperor Shah Alam II. Besides, there are included in it one *sanad* from Akbar's mother Hamida Banu, one from Khan-Khanan Abdur Rahim, three *nishans* of Prince Dara Shukoh, one *sanad* from Mirza Najaf Khan, Zulfiqar-ud-daula, and one from Lord Lake. All the *Farmans* of Akbar were issued in the name of Gosain Vithal Das (1516-1586 A. D.) The editor says in the biographical sketch of Vithaleswara that

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Akbar invited the Gosain to ihs Court "for elucidation of the nature of the Supreme Being."

Hamida Banu's Order issued in favour of Vithaldas, if genuine, would throw a flood of light on her character as the worthy mother of Akbar. Khan-Khanan Abdur Rahim, friend of Tulsidas, and patron of poet Gang, and himself a popular Hindi poet, was quite likely to issue a *sanad*—we do not know in what capacity—in favour of Vithaldas. Dara Shukoh's partiality for Hindus is too well known to throw any doubt on his *nishans* which are, in our opinion, most genuine of the whole series. It is only in the fitness of things that Dara who made a gift of a stone railing to the temple of Keshav Rai at Mathura, should extend his generous protection to property and sacred kine of Hindu temples in Braj. (*Nissans* Nos. XI, XII, XIII).

The Emperor Shahjahan was in character a compound of Dara and Aurangzib. The official history of Shahjahan's reign, namely, *Padshah-nama* of Abdul Hamid Lahori and Waris, depicts him as a destroyer of temples, breaker of idols, and a zealous upholder of the purity and prestige of Islam. But, it is absolutely silent on those acts of Shahjahan which appeared to the orthodox historiographer and perhaps no less to the Emperor himself—as lapses from orthodoxy unworthy of notice in the court history. Among these benevolent acts of Shahjahan the restoration of the temple of Chintamon desecrated by Aurangzib, and the remission of Pilgrim Tax on Hindus in response to a Hindu deputation* headed by the famous ascetic and bibliophile Kavindracharya Saraswati deserve notice.

Mr. Jhaveri's *Imperial Farmans* contains further proof of Shahjahan's regard for the rights of his Hindu subjects. Shahjahan confirms the successors of Goswain Vithaldas in all their possessions in Pargana Sahar and of Gokul in Pargana Mahaban for the expenses of their idol temples.

The *Sanad* No. 16, a document executed in favour of Goswami Murlidhar by Bakshi-ul-mulk Mirza Najaf Khan Bahadur Zulfiqar Jang in the fifteenth year (1773 A. D.) of the reign of Shah Alam II is not without considerable historical interest. Najaf Khan had recovered Agra and Mathura districts in that year from Rajah Nawal Singh Jat of Bharatpur. It is quite likely that he issued this order to win the support and sympathy of Hindus by granting them protection, and confirming old rent-free lands to the custodians of the temples. It is no wonder that when Mirza Najaf Khan fell ill last time, Hindus of Delhi offered a *pujah* at the shrine of the goddess Kalka Devi (near Okla), and the Mirza had sweetmeats distributed to Brahmans and little boys and released cows meant for slaughter by paying their price in cash to butchers. One great argument in favour of the genuineness of these documents is that their contents accord well with the character of persons who issued them. The conspicuous absence of any *farmans* of Jahangir and Aurangzib are very significant. Jahangir hated popular Hindu idol worship though he admired Vedanta philosophy.

The princely get-up of Mr. Jhaveri's publication and his laudable industry almost silence criticism. However, we cannot but draw the attention of the learned editor to the following facts.

1. The photograph reads sometimes different from the original of *Farmans* which seems to be defective.

2. *Farmans* No. XIV and XV are either forgeries by men innocent of history, or they appear so owing to inaccurate deciphering of the original text.

The royal seal shows that the emperor who issued this *farman* was *the son* of Farrukh Siyar Padshah. And it is perhaps known to the learned editor that Shah Alam II was not the son of Farrukh Siyar but of Alamgir II. Besides Shah Alam II's date of formal accession was 1173 A. H. How then could his seal bear the date 1164 A. H.?

Besides, the *farman*, as the translation of the editor shows, "Acquired the embellishment of indictment on 15th of Jamadi II, of this the tenth year of Our Accession (A. H. 1182, Thursday, 7th October). Even holding that both the seals and the date (1164 A. H.) have not been accurately deciphered this *farman* cannot be regarded as a genuine one because it bears on the back the seal and endorsement of Abul Mansur Khan Safdar Jang, who died ten years before this date.

3. Similar objections arise with regard to the next *farman* (No. XV). The royal seal no doubt gives correct genealogy of Shah Alam II. But the editor says, "The seals and endorsement *on the back are word for word the same as in the prior* (?=next) *farman*, showing that though the *Farmans* for Gokul and Gopalpur were granted in different years (tenth and twelfth regnal years), they were entered in the State Records on one and the same day." What the editor says is absurd; no *Farmans* of Shah Alam II *can bear seals and endorsement of Abul Mansur Khan Safdar Jang.* Evidently these *farmans* are forgeries as their present reading shows.

We should like to draw the attention of the editor to the confusion which has arisen on account of the absence of any page number and also owing to unpardonable carelessness in arranging pages, *e.g.*, in the editor's note on the biographical sketch of Vithaldas, one full page intervenes between the first and second syllable of a word "perform." The English portion of Mr. Jhaveri's *Imperial Farmans* is to be read generally from right to left; but sometimes the reader is forced to go back from left to right for picking up the thread of narrative.

These minor defects apart we have nothing but praise for Mr. Jhaveri's publication which has undoubtedly thrown some new light on history.

INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION—*Proceedings of Meetings, Vol. XIII; pp. 279; Rs. 5-12: Calcutta, Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1932.*

The thirteenth meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held in the historic city of Patna, and the ill-omened No. 13 proved fatal to the Commission which is now defunct.

Nevertheless this meeting was an unqualified success. Several learned papers were read and valuable exhibits came from the Government archives, Indian States, public institutions and private individuals to lend grandeur to the occasion.

Sir Evan Cotton's paper on "The Patna Massacre of 1763" proves conclusively that the inscription on the massacre pillar standing in a corner of the old

* A congratulatory address presented to Kavindra on this occasion by Mahamahopadhyaya Visvanath Nyayapanchanan of Bengal is preserved among his papers. (See Ganganath Jha's introduction to Kavindracharya List, Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. XVII).

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Patna cemetery requires a thorough revision. The Commission wisely resolved to send a copy of this paper to the Government of Bihar and Orissa "for such action as they may consider fit,"—of course to remove a stigma on history. Rao Bahadur R. Krishna Rao's paper, "A Note on the Tanjore Maharajah Serfoji's Saraswati Mahal Library" invites the attention of scholars to a magnificent collection of 30,000 manuscripts lying almost unexplored there. No study on the history and administrative system of the Marathas can claim to be final till the records of Tanjore kings are treated in the same way as the Peshwa Daftars at Poona are being investigated by Mr. G. S. Sardesai. It is high time that students of Indian history, ancient and medieval, should make a laborious search in that library for valuable discovery.

Sardar Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe's paper "Fragments from the Records of Devi Shri Ahalya Bai Holkar" throws a flood of light on the career and character of that lady of blessed memory. After the death of her husband Khande Rao Holkar during the siege of the Jat fort of Kuhmer in 1754 A. D. Devi Ahalya Bai seemed to have been put in command of a division of Holkar's troops in Northern India. Fervent piety and eagerness to visit holy places sometimes made her act contrary to her stern father-in-law's wishes. Malhar Rao Holkar on one occasion writes to her: "Therefore you have not done well in halting at Mathura against orders given to you at the time of your departure... Now this letter is written to you so that you should not stop at Mathura even to drink water." We learn from another letter that Ahalya Bai reduced a fort of the Jat Rajah of Gohad by bombardment. In short Ahalya Bai played an active and conspicuous part in politics and war during the closing years of Malhar Rao Holkar. It was not the Maratha notion of chivalry but the awe of Ahalya Bai's military resources and soldierly ability that made her greedy and unscrupulous neighbours respect her territory. The last paper is from the facile pen of the erudite Secretary of the Commission, Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali who gives a very interesting *resume* of the history of Patna, and her relations with the John Company Bahadur. We particularly recommend Appendix J. "Descriptive List of Historical Manuscripts, Paintings etc..." to every student of the history of medieval and modern India. Liberal-minded individuals and institutions deserve our sincerest thanks for permitting an exhibit of manuscripts, paintings, *farmans* and seals which had till recently been jealously guarded from the public eye with almost religious superstition. Only to mention a few of the exhibits:

1. Rubbings of two temple *Prashastis* of Rajgir and Pawapuri (presented by Mr. P. C. Nahar) commemorating the building of these temples in the reigns of Firuz Shah Tughlaq and Shahjahan respectively—rulers who boasted of demolishing abodes of infidelity.

2. *Farman* of Emperor Jahangir (now in possession of Mr. Ajit Ghosh) to the principal officers of the State issued in the very year of his accession asking them not to make any innovations in the established practice and procedure of administration and refrain from levying certain specified taxes. This corroborates Jahangir's own statement to this effect in his *Tuzuk*.

3. The Upanishads containing the famous Persian translation of 52 Upanishads by Prince Dara Shukoh (now in possession of Mr. Fida Khan, Dacca University).

4. *Mufidul-Inshah* or *Inshah-i-Lakhraj*, an important collection of 60 Persian letters written by a Munshi of Prince Azim-us-shan. This is probably the only copy of the book extant. (Hakim Habibur-Rahaman's collection, Dacca.)

5. *Mubarak Nama* (Hakim Habibur Rahaman's Collection, Dacca).

This is a set of rules in Persian for the regulation of Nizamat affairs, throwing light on the administrative system of Bengal in the last quarter of the 18th century. This is proabably the only copy extant.

6. News sheets (H.E.H. The Nizam's Government, Hyderabad) throwing interesting light on the history of different states in the last quarter of the 18th century.

7. Some letters of instructions from Baji Rao and Balaji Baji Rao (from the Gwalior State). We do not know how the Commission could permit a Letter of Instructions from *Shahu Maharaj of the year 1659* to appear in an historical exhibition. So far as our knowledge goes in the year of the issue of this letter, *i. e.*, *1659* even Shahu's mother was not married to Shambhuji.

8. A very important collection of letters of Baji Rao I Udaji and Anand Rao Pawar of Dhar (Dhar State Records.)

9. First volume of the original court copy, illuminated, and illustrated, of the Persian translation of the Mahabharat by Abdul Qadir (Badayuni) and others. This was completed in 995 A. H. (1578 A. D.) If genuine, apart from its literary merit, it will prove a valuable album of Mughal painting.

10. Collection of letters and *sanads* of Muhammadan period in the possession of "Sharadashram" Yeotmal. Among these there is a letter dated 1671 A.D., from the court of Aurangzib calling upon a brother who had become Muhammadan to give the due share to his Hindu brother out of their common patrimony. This letter, like Aurangzib's *Benares Farman*, only illustrates the fact that Aurangzib sometimes compromised his conscience to meet a political exigency. To the north of the Narmada Aurangzib would give away a whole principality to the renegade son of a loyal Hindu chief even during the lifetime of his father; but to the south of that river perhaps on account of the Maratha menace he acted more cautiously. An inscription in Sanskrit commemorating the installation of an idol in 1702 in the reign of Aurangzib indicates a sad defeat of the militant missionary of Islam in his lifelong war against temples and idols.

We notice with regret that the organizers of the exhibition did not bestow much care in the selection of exhibits. For example, a *sanad* from the collection of Babu Rameshwar Prasad Saxena, Diwan Mahal, Patna City is a *sanad* of an *Altamgha* grant conferred on Rajah Kalyan Singh's family by Mansur Khan Safdar Jang Sipah Salar Vamik Mamalik. Bears the date 1181 A. H. (1767 A. D.) Also Safdar Jang's seal, 1179 A. H. (1765). Either the *sanad* is a forgery or the date must go back by some ten years; because Safdar Jang died in 1754 A.D.

However, this volume under review is a mine of accurate and useful historical facts. Every library ought to possess a copy of it.

K. R. QANUNGO

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LIFE AND EXPERIENCES OF A BENGALI CHEMIST: *By Prafulla Chandra Ray. Chuckervertly, Chatterjee & Co. Ltd., Calcutta. 1932. Rs. 5, pp. X+557.*

Acharyya Prafulla Chandra stands in the foremost ranks of Indian thinkers of today and his life is a model of sincere devotion to India's advancement and the cause of chemical researches. His has not been a cloistered virtue, but a life busy over the test-tube and the world outside the laboratory, and it is a matter for joy that he has now, having passed over three score years and ten, found time to record the events and thoughts of such a career. In this opportune publication he has first narrated the events of his life ;—his family and environment, his early struggles and education, his literary ventures and industrial undertakings, researches in the history of chemistry and travels abroad, his many distinguished students who formed the Indian school of chemistry and the foundation of the University College of Science, his quasi-political activity, social service and famine relief work—all these are dwelt upon in a simple and lively manner. In the second part of the book, Acharyya Ray summarizes his thoughts under various heads, educational, industrial, economic and social ; with some of these we are already familiar ; we are wrong in stressing literacy in our University education at the cost of fitness to cope with the world conditions ; our industries do not prosper because of keen foreign competition and unsympathetic attitude of the foreign rule, and also because we are divided against ourselves ; Bengal is faced with ruin because men from other provinces find here facilities and use them ; it is the caste-system which has caused so much of the misery of the Indian people.

It is not impossible that the reader will disagree with the author on some of the observations made in course of the book. Caste system and literary education have their advocates ; but let us remember that Acharyya Ray writes from experience, his views have not been obscured by mere theorizing, against which as a scientist he has always set himself. His remarks are based on concrete facts which have come under his eye, and the numerous incidents described in the book will be enjoyed in the reading.

This essentially human document reveals a personality sensitive to the life and movements that stirred round ; but it bears an additional value. It is a history of Bengal during the latter half of the nineteenth and the first quarter of the twentieth century ; the individual and national life have both been dealt with here, and the book will be read with appreciation by student of history.

MY EARLY LIFE. *(1869-1914). M. K. Gandhi. Oxford University Press, November, 1932. Re. 1.*

This is an abridged edition of Mahatma Gandhi's autobiography, a memorable account of experiments with truth made by one of the greatest of our contemporaries, abridged for use in Indian schools ; undoubtedly a step in the right direction, and the publishers deserve hearty congratulations for taking it. The story of Mahatmaji's life will be a real help in character-building and its study is much to be commended in those years when man is not crusted over with the growth of conventions. The present edition has been the work of Sj. Mahadeo Desai who was the best man that could be selected for the purpose, and he has had the benefit of Mahatmaji's collaboration. The book has been divided into thirty-nine short chapters, only episodes of permanent interest have been retained, and the style, simple in all Mahatmaji's writings, is here still more so to suit the special class of readers it intends to reach. A wider circle than merely school students will benefit from its perusal. The get-up is all that can be desired.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

A PRIMER OF INDIAN LOGIC: *By Mm. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A. ; published by P. Varadachary & Co., Madras. Pp. xx+lix+364.*

This is an edition of Annambhatta's *Tarkasamgraha*, with an historical introduction and translation and explanation of the text in English. The introduction contains much useful information regarding the origin and development of logic in India. Instead of confering himself to the old Nyaya system, the author brings his historical review right up to the end of the seventeenth century and gives a fairly complete account of the writers of the Nyaya school of Mithila and Bengal.

The text is well-printed in Sanskrit character and each page of text has its transliteration in English on the page opposite.

The exposition which constitutes the third part of the book is based on an English translation of the text, also made by the author, and is written in an easy and attractive style. The glossary of Sanskrit words at the end of the book will be found exceedingly useful.

The author is well known in the world of Indian scholarship and the present volume has fully maintained his reputation. The book is an excellent introduction to the general principles of Nyaya-Vaisesika system.

The printing and get-up of the book, however, leave room for improvement.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

PERSONS AND PERSONALITIES ((*Illustrated*) : *By K. Chandrasekharan, Madras Law Journal Press, Madras. Price Rs. 2, pp. 104.*

"Persons and Personalities" is a little volume of sketches which the author has written in an original manner recording his own impressions of some well-known Madrasis. They are very brief but written in simple and artistic style which the reader finds delightful.

Mr. Chandrasekharan's selection includes the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, and Mr. S. Satyamurthi—the rest being Messrs. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, S. Varadachariar and T. R. Ramchandra Iyer who are lawyers of Madras reputation. A pen portrait of Sir A. Krishnaswamy Iyer, the present Advocate-General of Madras. Dr. S. Rangachari, a Surgeon, Mr. K. S Venkataramani, a story writer and three more sketches of people whose identity the author does not disclose but say that they are his "favourite guest," his "teacher" and his "family friend"—complete the book.

The book is neatly printed on featherweight paper, bound in cloth and contains pencil drawings of people about whom the author writes.

N. A. PERUMAL

CARE OF THE EYES—*Compiled by "Experience," published by J. C. Basak, 363 Upper Chitpur Road, Calcutta. 1st Edition, pp. 118, price 12 annas.*

This book deals with some hygienic rules which,

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if followed, should keep the eyes fit and prevent their common diseases.

We do not know whether the compiler is a medical man or not. Diseases of the eye should be left for treatment in the hands of qualified doctors. This book gives a brief account of some diseases of the eyes and also their treatment.

While recommending the book to our readers as a manual of hygiene, we do not advise that self-treatment should be attempted from the prescriptions in this book. The eye is a very delicate and complex organ and its diseases should be handled only by qualified medical men.

CARE OF THE TEETH OR LAYMAN'S HAND-BOOK OF DENTISTRY: *By Dr. Minoo C. Bilpodiwala. Published by the author from Empire Building, Hornby Road, Fort. Bombay, 142 pages, price Re. 1-8 only.*

The object of this book is to educate the public to adopt habits that can save their teeth from decay, Pyorrhoea and other troubles.

The book is well written and full of sound advice. There are not many books on this subject written for laymen in our country; we recommend this book to our readers.

A. K. MUKERJI

INDIAN JUDGES—*biographical and critical sketches with portraits, pp. viii+510. Published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras Rs. 3.*

This is the first systematic attempt to present the biographies of Indian judges from the professional, as well as the public, point of view. In India we have no Lord Campbells; and we heartily welcome this volume, however short it may fall of the standard of Lord Campbell. The sketches as presented are not only mere records of individual achievements in law, but they throw considerable light on the evolution of Hindu and Muhammadan law under the British administration, and with them the growth of social and political institutions in the country. The sketches clearly show how the Indian judges, as a class, have illumined the obscure, elucidated cardinal principles, reconciled differences and helped in the progressive growth of ancient laws through enlightened interpretation. But one is tempted to join issue with Sir Brojendra Mitra, when he says that their greatest achievement has naturally been in the realm of the personal laws of the Indians. Some years ago, Chief Justice Taft of the United States Supreme Court, in course of the reply to an address by the members of the English Bar, said that he has with profit followed the decision of an Indian judge explaining some obscure point of English law.

But there are some obvious defects. The volume contains sketches of some twenty judges; but on what principle the subjects of the sketches are selected is not clear. We do not find Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, nor Sir Chunder Madhav Ghosh among them. On the other hand, some judges, who are on the Bench, like Sir Shadi Lall, and Shah Din are included. It is always a delicate matter to appraise the judicial work of a living man, more so when he is on the Bench. One would have expected to find the life of Sambhoo Nath Pandit, the first Indian to sit on the High Court Bench.

Then some of the sketches are very sketchy, for example, dealing with the life of the late Mr. Justice Dwarka Nath Mitra, no mention is made of the full Bench case of Guru Govind Shah Mundul Anund Lall, 5 Bengal Law Reports, p. 15, in w he established that the doctrine of spiritual b is the key to the Dayabhaga Hindu law of inheri

There are some misprints, and occasional er For example, at p. 255, Shripad Babaji Thakur said to be the first Indian civilian. The first I Civilian was the late Mr. Satyendra Nath Tagore elder brother of the Poet Rabindra Nath. At p Sir Abdur Rahim's appointment as Deputy L Remembrancer is described as "the first step in ladder of service which led him to the high of a Membership in the Executive Council of Governor at Fort William, Calcutta." Nothing be farther from the truth. At p. 337, the I Association for the Cultivation of Science is menti as the home of Sir J. C. Bose's researches!

The portraits are often out of date, and have been made more attractive with a little c We not only hope to see a second edition of present volume, but want to see additional vol dealing with the lives of other eminent In judges.

PRINCIPLES OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT, Pt —*an introduction to the Science of Economics Sachin Sen, M. A., B. L., published by D. B. T porevala Sons & Co., Bombay. Price Rs. 5-8.*

This is a companion volume to Mr. A. K. G *Introduction to the Science of Politics*, which is Pt. I of the *Principles of the Civil Government*. The aims of the author are modest; and in his ver modesty he has succeeded well where others w more ambitions have failed miserably.

The author has tried and he has succeeded giving an Indian background to many of principles discussed; but sometimes his treatm of a particular subject is too sketchy. For exam in his treatment of the problem of population. author has not discussed the distribution of popu tion according to occupation, or between the towns villages, and the causes of the snail's pace urbaniz in India compared with the European coun Neither has he discussed the distribution acco to age and sex. He has not noticed the fact, adv to by Mill, that an increase in wealth is an in but powerful remedy for checking over-population.

Sometimes, the author in his anxiety to be has produced the effect of a cram-book. Wh is worth describing should be described carefully lucidly, especially in a book meant for students.

In his statistics, the author is out-of-date. is not the only fault; in one place he gives fi for 1919, in another for 1924, and in still an place those for 1914; thus producing a w distorted mental picture. No explanation can found why the author has done this. For exam he gives at pp. 156 *et seq*, the number of distrib of factories all over India in 1919, without t how many of them are seasonal, and how m permanent. At p. 182, while summarizing the W Report, an entirely different set of figures is g Again sometimes figures are wholly wrong; e p. 159, it is said that "in 1922 there were regis 72 joint-stock concerns in India, the total auth capital was about 15 crores." In 1921-22, 700 new companies with a capital of 80 crores registered; in 1922-23 500 new companies w capital of about 35 crores were registered. want of accuracy, and unconscious distorti

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mental picture in a book meant for students is to be discouraged.

We hope the author will thoroughly revise his text and bring his figures up-to-date in his next edition, and make it a really dependable book for the students.

J. M. DATTA

THE OTTAWA AGREEMENT. A Study in Imperial Preference. *By D. Ghosh, M. A. (Cantab), Reader in Economics, University of Bombay. Price Re. 1-8. Pp. 73.*

Of the many notes and pamphlets written on the subject just on the eve of the discussions of the terms of the Ottawa Agreement in the Indian Legislative Assembly in November last, Prof. D. Ghosh's book stands out pre-eminently as an excellent work both in the scientific and unbiassed examination of the principles and effects of the so-called multilateral Imperial Trade Agreement, as also in the lucid analysis and explanation of India's trade figures. Prof. Ghosh rightly points out that these agreements could at most divert the commerce of the world and could not create any expansion. Imperial Preference was a by-product of a movement which was in essence directed by considerations of pure self-interest on the part of Great Britain. The spirit and procedure of the new movement, says Mr. Ghosh, are not entirely in keeping with the so-called high ideal of Imperial unity through Imperial Preference so often adumbrated by Imperial statesmen.

Prof. Ghosh examines in detail the figures of export and import of all classes of commodities both with regard to their nature and volume as well as with reference to the possible scope of gain through India's entering into the ring. The following conclusions are drawn from such a study :

1. The Ottawa Agreements will not contribute to the recovery of world trade. Hence we cannot expect the conditions of world trade to react favourably upon India's foreign trade.

2. Our exports as a whole cannot gain materially from British preference. Britain cannot, however, exclude them from preference without great loss to herself.

3. Preference should not have been asked for on such of our exports in which our total exports to all countries is much greater than their total imports by Great Britain from all countries, since preference cannot contribute to their recovery or prosperity, while denial of preference cannot injure them seriously.

4. Our delegates should not have taken the trouble to secure preference on those of our exports in which the imports of Great Britain are from non-Empire countries mostly, since the value of preference in their case will be whittled down to insignificance by the competition of other Empire countries, while the loss from the denial of preference can be made up in other ways.

5. The question of preference could have arisen only with respect to exports in which total imports of Great Britain are much larger than the total exports of India.

6. The future value of preference in the British market is not much ; since the other markets are developing and absolving our exports much faster.

7. The exchange of mutual preference by India and Britain will lead to some loss of our exports to neutral markets, through increased competition, reduced purchase or retaliation by foreign countries.

8. Our delegates should not have consented to give preference to British imports in articles in which the value of our imports from Britain has been only between 1 and 49 per cent only of our total imports.

9. Probably the United Kingdom would not have strongly insisted upon having preference on imports of articles in which our imports from Britain in recent years have been between 70 to 100 per cent.

10. The question of granting preference could reasonably arise only with reference to imports of articles in which our imports from Britain in recent years have been between 50 and 69 per cent.

11. If the Agreement is ratified in its present form, the Indian consumer will suffer heavy losses both in the present and future.

12. Thus the net gain to our exports from preference will be smaller than the net loss on our imports both today and in future.

13. Further, the United Kingdom is already receiving a number of visible and invisible preferences in India. The latter are not well known, and hence never mentioned in the course of tariff negotiations. But probably they are more valuable than the tariff preferences which Britain receives in the Dominions.

We are entirely in agreement with Prof. Ghosh's findings and we commend his treatise to all serious students of tariff both in the universities as well as in public life.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CURRICULUM OF THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS OF INDIA : *By Thottungal Ninan Jacob. Association Press. Y.M.C.A. 5, Russell Street, Calcutta. pp. 206. Price Re. 1-4.*

The book was submitted by the author in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Philosophy of the Columbia University.

The title of the book indicates its nature. In the introduction the author writes, "Our teachers in the village schools of India have to be helped to a deeper understanding and appreciation of the fundamental principles and philosophy of education, and our children have to be led into the ways of good citizenship and into an intelligent adjustment to the world, physical, social and moral."

The principles and philosophy of education which the author wants to popularize and on the basis of which he intends to reconstruct the curriculum of the elementary schools of India are those advocated by Dewey and Kilpatrick. The Dewey-Kilpatrick theory of education is based on the recognition of the pupil's personality and its connection with local environment and the life of the community and the State as a whole. Its aim is to develop the right attitude towards life and society and is thus opposed to the older methods which lay all emphasis upon proper schooling as understood by the three R's.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part which is sub-divided into four chapters considers the old curriculum and the second part which is subdivided into five chapters is devoted to the exposition of the new curriculum. The defects which the author finds and criticizes in the old curriculum are :. over-emphasis on the three R's. isolation from life outside school ; inadequate provision for the real needs of children ; lack of provision for developing initiative ; too much uniformity ; too little provision for the growth of

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ideals and appreciations; absence of correlation between the subjects; over-emphasis on examinations.

The author intends to remove these defects of the old curriculum by means of the Project method which brings learning and life into closer connection and develops desirable and interesting life activity in which children spontaneously engage.

We appreciate the author's zeal and love for his method. But its successful trial on a large scale in a vast country like India is now well-nigh impossible on account of insufficient state-aid and the difficulty of obtaining the co-operation of parents and guardians. The author has mentioned the great success of the Project method in America. But American society is different from that of India and so also are the circumstances. The Project method can succeed when the State is liberal in grant, the teachers are properly trained and inspired by the noble ideal of nation-building, and parents and guardians as well as the inhabitants of the locality where a school is situated have a changed outlook on life. But our alien and unsympathetic Government is very close-fisted as regards expenditure on educational experiments, and I do not know how many properly trained teachers inspired with noble ideals it would be possible to find to work out the method, because, as the author himself remarks, in the hands of certain teachers the Project method is in danger of growing lax and chaotic. Parents and guardians must also be made to understand the relatedness between life and education and regard with favour the new curriculum which makes use of subject-matter, but does not consist of subject-matter.

There are not many books written by Indians on educational problems and as such the present one is certainly a welcome contribution to the subject. The book is well-written; we commend it to the considerations of our educationists and ministers of education.

P. N. Roy

AN INTRODUCTION TO PNEUMATOLOGY: *James Clark McKerrow, M.B. Longmans, pp. 179, price six shillings.*

Pneumatology is an attempt to study scientifically man as a spiritual being. Just as psychology assumes the character of man as "conscious" and "rational" animal, so does pneumatology assume his character as "religious" animal. The book is certainly not one for the ordinary reading public, but may be of some interest to certain psychologists.

Christopher Ackroyd

TITBITS, TYPICAL-TOPICAL: *By S. C. Mookerjee, U. N. Dhur & Co, 58, Wellington St. and 2 College St., Calcutta. Sixty-one pages, Re. 1.*

The celebrated author of "Sketchy Bits," "Skits and Sketches" "Snapshots" etc., has just produced the above-mentioned book which is quite in harmony with the great experience and knowledge which he so sagaciously applies when a solution of the current problems of the country becomes impossible. When the remedy is past the wit of man to devise, let the whole country read this exhilarating book, as the only solace, as wine is drunk in despair. We have in these pages an unexpected combination of our unconnected ideas,—picketting and pickpocketing, a politician's points and Euclid's point (having position but no magnitude), the establishment of a bullock cart service from Howrah to Delhi, in lieu [illegible] of the Punjab Mail, spirituous and spiritual in[illegible] *pilau* and *kabab*, and a grand solution of [illegible] communal problem which has hitherto baffled an[illegible] The barrister's Khansama says: "But Huzoor [illegible] Bilaitiwalla (England-returned), neither a Hindu, [illegible] a Mahomedan, nor a Christian, nor a Zoroastrian, [illegible] what does Huzoor care whether they are dying [illegible] dead." We agree with the author when he [illegible] "*Kabab*,—masterpiece of the culinary art! delicious [illegible] When the book is finished, the reader gets an[illegible] with Mr. Mookerjee for not running to many p[illegible] more to excite our salivary glands. Mr. Mook[illegible] excels in style. The heterogeneous subjects under [illegible] masterly skill with the English language are de[illegible] ously matched and work well together, pages sparkl[illegible] with wit. This always indicates authorship of [illegible] exalted nature.

Ca[illegible]

URDU LITERATURE: *by T. Grahame Bailey, D.Litt., B. D., M. A., Reader in Hindi and Urdu in the University of London, formerly Missionary of the Church of Scotland, etc. etc. "The Heritage of India" Series, Association Press, Y. M. C. A., 5 Russell Street, Calcutta, 1932: pp. 120, a frontispiece and map, paper-bound, Re. 1-4.*

Dr. Grahame Bailey's is an honoured name in the field of New Indo-Aryan linguistics and literature, and he is one of those few scholars in both Europe and India who have made investigations into the origins of Hindustani and have interested themselves in this problem. It is a matter for general gratification that the Editors of the *Heritage of India* series could obtain the services of Dr. Bailey for this book. Dr. Bailey's work treats the subject with a fresh outlook, and is quite suggestive and full of new information (for the first time made available in English) in the earlier chapters. The basis of the Hindustani speech (*Khari Boli*), of which Urdu is a more developed form, are suggested as being Panjabi rather than the Braj Bhakha form of Western Hindi. This is a new view-point which appears to be the right one, studying the matter from the linguistic side. Dr. Bailey has taken into note the work of Indian scholars on the Urdu language and literature, *e. g.*, M. Husain Azad, [illegible] Ram, Shamsullah Qadri, Dr. Ghulam Mohiuddin Qadri, Ram Babu Saksena, Prof. Hafiz Mahmud Shirani, and others. The earlier literature up to the middle of the 18th century is discussed in greater detail in this little book than elsewhere. The history is carried down to the living writers including Sir Muhammad Iqbal. The poets and other writers are discussed chronologically under several heads (The Beginnings of Urdu Literature—the Religious Period, 1350—1590; The First Literary Period, Urdu in the Deccan, 1590—1730; The First Centre of Urdu Poetry in Delhi, 1700—1830; Urdu Poetry in Lucknow in the 19th century; The Second Delhi Period, and the Four Poets of Rampur; Urdu Prose; the New Age, and Conclusion). Great attention has been paid to individual poets rather than to movements and periods, but this was inevitable owing to the nature and history of Urdu literature itself—movements and tendencies of a revolutionary character having manifested themselves (the process is not yet complete) in recent times only. We have very good history of Urdu literature in Dr. Grahame Bailey's book, and it is the only work of its kind [illegible]

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we can think of; and it is a work which should be in all Indian libraries and libraries of books on India.

THE QUATRAINS OF HALI: *A Verse Translation by C. S. Tute: including the Original Urdu and a Literal English Translation by the late G. E. Ward, M.A., I.C.S. Oxford University Press (1932) pp. 102.*

These 101 Ruba'iyys of the great Urdu poet of the last generation, Maulavi Khwaja Altaf Husain Ansari Panipati (better known by his *takhallus* or pen-name of *Hali*), form some of the finest flowers in the garden of Indian Musalman thought and literature, and deserve perusal by all Indians with a love of culture. They are mostly didactic, but they show a deep insight into men and motives, and are couched in a most felicitous diction which make them stay in the memory (of even those whose store of Hindustani is limited) like proverbs and apophthegms. G. E. Ward brought out his edition in 1904, with a very helpful introduction on Urdu poetry and prosody, and he gave the Urdu text in Roman characters with a literal English translation. The present reviewer has to acknowledge his gratitude to the memory of Ward, for he first made his acquaintance of Hali through this edition over fifteen years ago. The Roman alphabet is certainly an advantage for those who are not familiar with the Perso-Arabic script, and I think Ward's romanized edition of Hali's quatrains helped to popularize Urdu poetry to some extent among those who had a little Hindustani but were not at home in the Perso-Arabic alphabet in which the Urdu form of Hindustani is written. A print of Ward's romanized edition and translation should come out, and that as early as possible: the present edition is only a tolerable substitute. Mr. Tute's version may be a good exercise at versification in English seeking to reproduce in English an exotic rhythm, but with its frequent padding, made necessary because of the exigencies of the metre, and its frequent "free" rendering which at times gives us something rather different from what Hali actually wrote, this verse translation is indeed quite superfluous and at times reads a little artificial beside the line for line literal rendering by Ward which is simple and dignified and through which the poetic quality and simplicity of the original shine out without any effort. Thus, to give the fifth quatrain in the original, and in Ward's version and Mr. Tute's:

(ORIGINAL)

Jab mayusi dilo*n*-pa cha jati hai,
Dushman-se bhi nam tera japwati hai.
Mumkin hai ki sukh-me*n* bhul jae*n* atfal,
Lekin unhe*n* dukh-me*n* ma*n* hi yad ati hai.

"When despair falls thick upon the
hearts of mankind,
It forces Thy name upon the lips even of foes.
It is possible that infants in their joy
forget their mother,
But when they are in pain, she is first
in their thoughts." (Ward)

A healthy child when playing may well forgetful be,
Yet, hurt, seeks with its mother instinctive sanctuary:
So when mankind is helpless, and prey
to dark despair,
The blackest unbeliver turns once
again to Thee." (Tute).

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

RAMMOHUN ROY

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

RAMMOHUN Roy inaugurated the modern age in India. He was born at a time when our country, having lost its link with the inmost truths of its being, struggled under a crushing load of unreason, in abject slavery to circumstance. In social usage, in politics, in the realm of religion and art, we had entered the zone of uncreative habit, of decadent tradition, and ceased to exercise our humanity. In this dark gloom of India's degeneration Rammohun rose up, a luminous star in the firmament of India's history, with prophetic purity of vision, and unconquerable heroism of soul. He shed radiance all over the land; he rescued us from the penury of self-oblivion. Through the dynamic power of his personality, his uncompromising freedom of the spirit, he vitalized our national being with the urgency of creative endeavour, and launched it into the arduous adventure of realization. He is the great path-maker of this century who has removed ponderous obstacles that impeded our progress at every step, and initiated us into the present era of world-wide co-operation of humanity.

Rammohun belongs to the lineage of India's great seers who age after age have appeared in the arena of our history with the message of Eternal Man. India's special genius has been to acknowledge the divine in human affairs, to offer hospitality to all that is imperishable in human civilization, regardless of racial and national divergence. From the early dawn of our history it has been India's privilege and also its problem, as a host, to harmonize the diverse elements of humanity which have inevitably been

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brought to our midst, to synthetize contrasting cultures in the light of a comprehensive ideal. The stupendous structure of our social system with its intricate arrangement of caste testifies to the vigorous attempt made at an early stage of human civilization to deal with the complexity of our problem, to relegate to every class of our peoples, however wide the cleavage between their levels of culture, a place in a cosmopolitan scheme of society. Rammohun's predecessors, Kabir, Nanak, Dadu, and innumerable saints and seers of medieval India, carried on much further India's great attempt to evolve a human adjustment of peoples and races; they broke through barriers of social and religious exclusiveness and brought together India's different communities on the genuine basis of spiritual reality. Now that our out-worn social usages are yielding rapidly to the stress of an urgent call of unity, when rigid enclosures of caste and creed can no more obstruct the freedom of our fellowship, when India's spiritual need of faith and concord between her different peoples has become imperative and seems to have aroused a new stir of consciousness throughout the land, we must not forget that this emancipation of our manhood has been made possible by the indomitable personality of the great unifier, Rammohun Roy. He paved the path for this reassertion of India's inmost truth of being, her belief in the equality of man in the love of the Supreme Person, who ever dwells in the hearts of all men and unites us in the bond of welfare.

Rammohun was the only person in his time, in the whole world of man, to realize completely the significance of the modern age. He knew that the ideal of human civilization does not lie in the isolation of independence, but in the brotherhood of interdependence of individuals as well as of nations in all spheres of thought and activity. He applied this principle of humanity with his extraordinary depth of scholarship and natural gift of intuition, to social, literary and religious affairs, never acknowledging limitations of circumstance, never deviating from his purpose lured by distractions of temporal excitement. His attempt was to establish our peoples on the full consciousness of their own cultural personality, make them comprehend the reality of all th was unique and indestructible in th civilization, and simultaneously, to make th approach other civilizations in the spirit sympathetic co-operation. With this w in his mind he tackled an amazingly w range of social, cultural, and religi problems of our country, and through a l life spent in unflagging service to the ca of India's cultural reassertion, brought b the pure stream of India's philosophy to t futility of our immobile and unproduct national existence. In social ethics he w an uncompromising interpreter of the tru of human relationship, tireless in his crusa against social wrongs and superstiti generous in his co-operation with any r former, both of this country and of outsi who came to our aid in a genuine spirit comradeship. Unsparingly he devoted hi self to the task of rescuing from the debr of India's decadence the true products its civilization, and to make our people buil on them, as the basis, the superstructure of an international culture. Deeply versed Sanskrit, he revived classical studies, a while he imbued the Bengali literature a language with the rich atmosphere of o classical period, he opened its doors wide the spirit of the age, offering access to n words from other languages, and to n ideas. To every sphere of our natio existence he brought the sagacity of comprehensive vision, the spirit of se manifestation of the unique in the light the universal.

Let me hope that in celebrating th centenary we shall take upon ourselves t task of revealing to our own and conte poraneous civilizations the multi-sided a perfectly balanced personality of this gr man. We in this country, however, ove special responsibility, not only of bring to light his varied contributions to t modern age, but of proving our right kinship with him by justifying his life, maintaining in every realm of our natio existence the high standard of truth wh he set before us. Great men have be claimed by humanity by its persecution them and wilful neglect. We evade

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responsibility for those who are immeasurably superior to us by repudiating them. Rammohun suffered martyrdom in his time, and paid the price of his greatness. But out of his sufferings, his power of transmuting them to carry on further beneficent activities for the good of humanity, the modern age has gained an undying urge of life. If we fail him again in this day of our nation-building, if we do not observe perfect equity of human relationship offering uncompromising fight to all forms and conventions, however ancient they may be in usage, which separate man and man, we shall be pitiful in our failure, and shamed for ever in the history of man. Our futility will be in the measure of the greatness of Rammohun Roy.*

* Presidential Address before the Rammohun Roy Centenary (inaugural) meeting at the Senate House, Calcutta, held on February 18, 1933.

THE LAMP OF CLAY

By SITA DEVI

We had to remove to our friend's house at very short notice. They had built a new house in a new suburb of the town. Hitherto, we two had been living much like Bedouin Arabs of the desert. Our establishment was beautifully simple and we could remove from place to place at a moment's notice. My husband used to be transferred from one place to another very frequently, so we had decided not to encumber ourselves needlessly.

But our friend Jogesh Babu and his wife belonged to another order of human beings. They were solid middle-class householders; their house was a home, and not a temporary makeshift business. The house belonged to them as I have said before, and was not a rented one. The house gave evidence in every part of it, to their deep affection and care for it and to their good taste. Even its iron railings and its doors and windows were beautiful. The decorations and furniture showed that the master and mistress had spent much thought and deliberation over them and had not bought them haphazard at a sale.

They had to go away suddenly to their native village on receipt of bad news and left us in charge of the house. They feared lest their beautiful nest should lose its freshness and glory through lack of care.

For the first few days, I felt very ill at ease in the new house. There were very few Bengalis here, only one or two families. On all sides stood corrugated iron sheds or mud hovels for the most part. The inhabitants were mainly Mahomedans. The brick buildings were quite new, and showed that the richer people had very recently established themselves in this quarter. The land was going cheap, so Jogesh Babu had come here as a pioneer and then induced some of his friends to settle down here. It still looked more like an open countryside than a part of Calcutta. Wide stretches of field lay here and there, there were many tanks and water holes and there were thick growth of trees and shrubs everywhere. The people too kept cattle in the courtyard and geese cackled on the roads. Children played about everywhere fearlessly. In short, it looked much more like a village than a metropolis.

There was a small balcony in front of our house. Here I sat on a cane chair and watch the movements of my neighbours. The time passed on pleasantly. At first the neighbours too watched me closely, but very soon they gave up. If a woman does not run away from bold gazes or if she does not shrink within herself for shyness, most men lose interest in looking at her. She is not feminine enough for them. So

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I soon ceased to be an object of curiosity to them.

The thoroughfare in front was called a street, though it was only a lane. By craning my neck forward, I could see part of the main road. There was a goodly row of shops on both sides of the lane. The houses of iron and mud were unpretentious to look at, but the inhabitants within plied a busy trade. One could get everything here. There were sweetmeat shops, foodstuff stores, and tea shops. There were also a hair-cutting saloon, a dyeing and cleaning shop, a garage for taxis, and a tailor's shop. The houses were not much to look at, but the tradespeople tried their best to be modern in their ways. In the sweetmeat shop, there was a small meat safe, though most of the sweets were kept outside on large wooden or brass plates. A few choice sweets were kept in the meat safe. In the tea shop, there were mirrors, gaudy prints and cheap frames, and large glass jars of biscuits and lozenges. There was even a gramophone, which began to wail loudly in the evenings. In the barber's saloon, there were large mirrors, chairs and tables and the barber put on an overall, while working. The dyeing and cleaning shop had a large signboard, but it was kept inside mostly. The washerman pulled it out occasionally. He had recently purchased two old show-cases. The room was so crowded that one could hardly move about within, but the man did not seem to mind it at all. He was immensely proud of his show-cases. The rooms which faced the street were nearly all occupied by tradesmen, but the rooms behind were rented by poor people, who lived there with their families. They were mostly Mahomedans, but they were too poor to allow their womenfolk to stay in purdah. The women walked about freely in the courtyards and by-lanes and called pedlars to purchase cheap cotton prints, and fruits or sweets. But if they had to go farther, they put on dirty *boorkahs*. It was winter and bitterly cold in the morning. As soon as the sun's rays shone on the foot-paths, the women and children too came out to enjoy it, equally with the man. The women squatted on the ground, and talked and walked. They smeared the bodies of the babies with mustard oil, and prepared their rice and pulse for cooking. The cheap dwellings had no water connection, the street hydrant supplied them with water for most purposes. Only the drinking water was carried over from the street pump at the corner. Washing the kitchen utensils was an important affair, it took full one hour. They exchanged confidences and household gossip also during this time. The sun hardly penetrated to their dark abodes, so they stayed out with the children as much as they could, on one pretence or another. The women were plain and common, and ill-clad. Still I found them and their morning round of duties very interesting.

Suddenly one morning I noticed a new female figure on the footpath by the hydrant. Her appearance, her manners, her dress, everything betokened that she was different. Her complexion was dark, her figure slender yet well-rounded. The features were sharp and regular. Her hair was neatly combed and parted in the middle and she was wearing a printed cotton *sari*, and a bodice of the same material. She was cleaning some brass utensils like the other women. Everybody was making way for her, deferentially though she had no greater right over the hydrant than the others.

After she had finished, she entered the washerman's room with the utensils. So I took it for granted that she had come to stay there. Hitherto, the washerman and his servant had been the only residents of the place. I did not know anything more about them than that they washed bundles of clothing in the tank and spread them out on the fields to dry and that they quarrelled loudly with their customers. They also bought food from the tea shop and consumed them, sitting on the footpath. But the appearance of a woman changed every thing. From a shop and a godown, it became a home.

I did not know, how the woman was related to the washerman. But from his behaviour, I understood that the newcomer had a warm place in his heart. As she was a woman, she had taken upon herself the management of the household. But she performed the most trifling work with

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an air, as if thereby she was laying the whole universe under an obligation. The washerman and his servant was busy all the time, trying to please this new presiding deity of the homestead. They buy food for her from the tea shop as well as for themselves, but her portion is served to her on a plate. Even a cup of tea is bought. Hitherto none knew whether the two men cooked for themselves or at some shop. Now every detail of the kitchen and cooking is available. There were only two rooms, the woman had occupied the smaller one, and converted part of it into a kitchen and a store. In the bigger room too, she had arranged things differently. The show-cases, tables, etc., had been pushed against the walls, leaving a clear space in the middle. One could walk about in it now, without knocking against the furniture at every step.

Women cannot bear being alone. Though she talked with the neighbours, she seemed to feel lonely. Suddenly, I found many new inmates, appearing in the washerman's house, two ganders, one parrot, and a litter of puppies. The ganders gave the least trouble as soon as day dawned, they came out of their dwelling places and started out with loud cackles to survey the neighbourhood. All day long they wandered about and stuffed themselves at will and no one troubled about them. In the evening, they returned home with slow, leisurely steps. The parrot needed a bit of care, but it repaid its mistress by singing and talking to her. Besides, its appearance being pretty, it served as a decoration for the house front.

But the pups proved to be veritable nuisances. They first heralded their arrival in a cold wintry night. I doubt whether anyone in the neighbourhood could sleep through their infernal howling. As I came out on the balcony in the morning to have a look around, the first thing that met my sight was the woman, advancing with a huge basket in her arms. Inside the basket were the new born puppies and she was bringing them over to the sunny spot in front of my door. The puppies had no pedigree, that much could be seen. But there was no want of care or affection for that reason on the part of their guardian.

A huge cage of iron had been standing in front of the washerman's rooms for a long time. It was rusty and broken and had perhaps served once for keeping poultry. Now it became the bedroom of the puppies. The night was intensely cold. The chill penetrated to our bones through thick rugs and woolen clothing and through closely shut doors and windows. How could the poor puppies sleep out in such a night? Their kind-hearted mistress had tried her best to protect them with pieces of gunny, but these were far from adequate. They could not sleep, neither did they allow us to sleep.

Next day, the washerman called at our house, with the week's washing. "What made you take in those puppies?" I asked him rather angrily. "Are the people of this quarter to go without sleep?"

"What can I do, Madam?" he replied, very much ashamed. "A servant from that white house has killed the mother of those puppies. They were dying on the street, so she went and brought them in."

My maid eagerly put in here. "Who is she? Any relative? Or is she your wife?"

"Oh, no, she is a sort of cousin," he replied and escaped in a hurry.

Afterwards, I came to know that the woman was not his cousin really. Her mother had taken his uncle for a second husband. Some months ago, this woman too had become a widow. She had no other place to go to, so she had come here.

The puppies were entremely unwilling to stay in a cage. They felt it to be a loss of prestige, and gave vent to their resentment loudly. The old man, who supplied eggs and bread to us, stopped one morning before the washerman's house and asked "Can puppies ever be accommodated in a bird's cage?"

The woman had a sense of humour. "Why not?" she retarded. "If you want, I can accommodate you too."

The old man smiled and went away.

Anyway, the puppies died off, one by one. I used to feel angry at their howls, but I did not want their cries to be stilled by death. I felt sorry for the poor woman. The washerman offered to buy her another

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litter of puppies, but she refused with a shake of her head.

I did not know her name. But I had given her a name, for my own use. It was Doolari, the petted one. She was really like a spoilt child. The two men worked day and night to please her. But she scarcely paid any heed to them. She behaved like an empress, to whom her subjects were paying homage. No one would have taken her for a dependent.

But slowly, I began to realize that Satan had entered the garden of Eden. The washerman's rooms had been silent ones hitherto, but loud noises of quarrels began to issue out of them now. People could be seen standing in a crowd before the rooms in every hour of the day. The sharp voices of a woman could be heard from inside, to which gruff male voices retorted. I never could understand, what they quarrelled about. But I began to feel very much displeased with them. These people did not seem to possess any sense of decorum. What made them quarrel like that ?

Doolari was washing her pots and pans in the morning by the street hydrant. Her face looked sullen and she was not talking with the other women. The washerman's servant came forward and put his hand on Doolari's bucket. The woman did not need it much, as the supply of water was close to her hand, though she had kept the bucket filled with water. She stung the poor man with such sharp words that he ran away in dismay. It was not enough for Doolari, she vented her rage on the unoffending bucket by giving it a smart kick. As the bucket rolled along the footpath the washerman appeared on the spot. He looked alternately at the angry face of the woman and the dismayed face of his servant, then went in with a sarcastic smile on his lips.

Doolari's moods changed every minute. When I next saw her, she was talking cheerfully enough with her friends. She had finished sweeping the rooms and was now busily attacking the refuse heap in front of her rooms. The servant had no shame. He had already forgotten the snubbing he had received. He came forward with a smile and held out his hand for the bro[illegible] If he could help Doolari the tiniest [illegible] it was heaven to him. Doolari smiled [illegible] crooked lips and threw the broom at [illegible] That was enough for the man, he begg[illegible] sweep the footpath with contentment [illegible] large on his face.

Man is always hungry for what he d[illegible] not possess, I thought. He fights for [illegible] and prays for it his whole life. As soon [illegible] it falls into his hands, it begins to lose [illegible] charm. If Doolari had been the wed[illegible] wife of either of these two men, neit[illegible] would have found much in her. She wo[illegible] be uninteresting and cheap. Her smil[illegible] her words would be just ordinary. But [illegible] she belonged to neither of them she was [illegible] coveted treasure to both.

Many beautiful articles of dress came [illegible] the washerman in the way of his trad[illegible] There were many fashionable women in th[illegible] neighbourhood. The man was punctual, [illegible] he got the largest number of customers. U[illegible] to this time, he was content with washing [illegible] things and receiving the money in return. But [illegible] now he began to dress Doolari up in the[illegible] borrowed plumes, thereby paying homage an[illegible] court to her. Doolari had never seen [illegible] much finery before. She dressed up to h[illegible] heart's content. She even seemed a bit grat[illegible] ful. The washerman had caught a bad ch[illegible] through constant exposure in this terrib[illegible] cold. Doolari made him keep to his roo[illegible] forcibly and went to work for him wi[illegible] Sookhan, the servant. After she return[illegible] in the evening, she boiled medicinal herb[illegible] for him and rubbed him down with warm [illegible] She made tea for him at home, as many tim[illegible] as he asked for it.

We had rain for two or three days. [illegible] was impossible to come out on the veranda[illegible] and sit there, so I lost sight of Doolari f[illegible] a while. But hearing a terrible brawling [illegible] the afternoon I had to run to the window [illegible] and peep through the closed shutter. A[illegible] usual, a crowd had gathered before th[illegible] washerman's rooms, and the sound of quarre[illegible] ing came from within. I did not understa[illegible] what the matter was.

Suddenly, Doolari came out, screamin[illegible] excitedly. It was raining, but she ignore[illegible] it and walked out, with a small bundle in h[illegible]

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hand. Needless to say, she was not allowed to go away. The washerman ran after her, and coaxed her into coming back. The crowd slowly melted away.

I sent for my maidservant to know the cause of this turmoil. She must have gathered a lot of information by this time.

As soon as she came in, I asked, "What had happened? Why were they shouting so much?"

"Oh, don't you know, Madam?" the servant woman began in great haste. "That woman is a wicked one, I tell you. She tries to ruin the man that feeds her. It is a mercy that Sookhan is there, else the washerman would have been in a nice fix by this time. You see that big house over there? That belongs to a rich Mahomedan lady. She sent a very rich silk *sari* to the washerman to be ironed, the other day. You would not believe me, Madam, but the hussy really wanted to put it on. If the people of the big house saw such goings on, they would have put the washerman in jail. So Sookhan prevented her. That was why she made such a fuss. She threatened to go away. As if she has many places to go away to."

Doolari must really have been very angry. For some days, she did not touch any of the clothes in the washerman's shop, but went about dressed in the clothes she had first appeared in.

Poor Sookhan's plight was the saddest. He was an old servant, he loved his master, and his master too treated him more as a friend than as a servant. Sookhan too had always put his master's interests above his. But this new fascination had changed all his outlooks. He did not know what to do.

Doolari and the washerman too fell out occasionally. She insulted one of his best customers one day. As soon as the man had gone away, the washerman began to shout at Doolari. He even raised his fist to strike her. Doolari was not a coward, she took up her broomstick in self defence. Sookhan rushed between the enraged combatants and received both the fisticuff and the broomstick on his person. The quarrel came to an end after a while. Next day I found a pair of silver bangles on Doolari's wrists. A sort of peace offering.

A few days passed in peace. Then the fire broke out again. This time it was a serious affair. Not an exchange of hot words alone, but of actual blows. The crowd this time was a bigger and thicker. I too came out on the balcony to see what was happening.

The washerman was shaking Doolari and shouting "You devil, you must tell me the truth at once, or I will kill you."

Doolari retorted with vile abuses. "Let me go at once, you dog," she cried "or I will call the police. Why should I take your filthy money? This ornament belongs to me, I had kept it in my box hitherto."

The washerman began to explain matters to the crowd. He had received payment at two or three houses yesterday. He had kept the money in a drawer of the almirah, but this morning he found it gone. And Doolari was wearing a pair of new silver anklets. Where did she find the money for it?

Doolari again called him a vile name. The washerman sprang at her like a mad man. Doolari would have been seriously hurt, but an unexpected turn of events saved her. Sookhan suddenly attacked his master furiously. The two rivals began to fight like enraged animals.

The neighbours rushed between and parted them. A police constable too appeared on the scene. Matters now began to look grave. The crowd became so great that I could not see the real actors in this drama any longer.

The affair might have ended otherwise, if the constable had not appeared. The shouting died down, but it was due to fear. The crowd, especially the feminine part of it, began to melt away slowly, because they were afraid of being cited as witnesses.

The washerman had cooled down completely. It would not have mattered very much, if he had struck Doolari a few blows. Such things happened every day among them, and Doolari would not have attached undue importance to it. But it was another thing to hand her over to the police. He tried his best now to recant, but the constable shut him up very summarily.

Doolari had flung herself down on the ground and was bewailing her sad lot loudly.

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She recalled all her dead and living relatives, and addressed her lamentation to them. She would never have come to this devil, if she had known what sort of a person he was. She had looked upon him as her own brother. If she went to jail now, she would never again be able to show her face before people. People would not allow her to cross their threshold. She would be an outcast. Why did not she die before coming to this man ?

The constable shouted at her to stop. They must proceed now to the police station, he could not stand there the whole day to listen to their howls. So Doolari had to sit up and wipe her eyes. She began to look round her helplessly, like an ewe lamb, facing butchers. The washerman slowly went and stood by her side.

As the constable was about to step down into the street with Doolari and the washerman, Sookhan rushed forward and barred their way. "Let her go, Sir," he entreated the policeman, "She knows nothing about the money. I stole it."

Everyone was thunderstruck. "What did you do with the money, you ungrateful cur ?" roared the washerman. "Did you buy those ornaments for her ?"

Sookhan looked at Doolari's tear-stained face, then said calmly. "Why should I buy ornaments for her ? I owed much money at the drink shop and they were pestering me. So I paid them."

Shouting and howling broke out again. It was only the presence of the policeman that prevented another fight. At last Doolari was allowed to go scot-free, and the two men were taken along to the police station. Doolari at once hid herself in the small crooked lanes. The washerman's rooms remained locked. It was becoming dark. I went in.

In the morning, I found that the ro had been unlocked and that the two men returned. But they sat still, one on doorstep, another in a corner of the r and showed no sign of beginning their d work. Nobody knew when they had retur

Suddenly, Doolari emerged out of a and came and stood in front of the r "Sookhan, give me my bundle of clot she cried out sharply, "I am going away."

Sookhan did not answer. His m glared at her balefully.

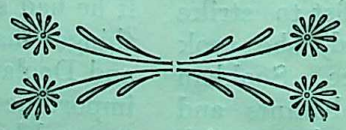
"Do you want to attach them or wh asked Doolari again.

The sting went home this time. T washerman sprang up and seizing her bu threw it on the footpath. Doolari took it and walked on. After having gone a f paces, she came back again and threw d the silver anklets on the steps of the wash man's room. He picked them up.

Doolari proceeded on again and again she came back. This time she took off the silv bangles and threw them at him. She walk out this time, not to return.

Peace unbroken reigns in the washerm house now. But it has become dull a uninteresting. The light has gone out, charm has disappeared. Sookhan works again like a dumb beast of burden. He to spend money to get out of the clutc of law. Every month, some money deducted from his pay towards making g the money he had stolen.

No one would believe that this very pers had tried to kill his master only a few d ago.



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ITINERARY OF THE PERSIAN TOUR

By K. N. CHATTERJI

29th April. Teheran at last—and back to the twentieth century. We have been given quarters in the beautiful garden-palace of Bagh Neyeredowleh in the Khiabane Dosuntapeh.

We have been over three weeks in the journey from Calcutta including the halts at Shiraz and Isfahan. Such a lot of new experiences have been crowded in this short span of time that a fair-sized book could be written on it—indeed many have been written on less.

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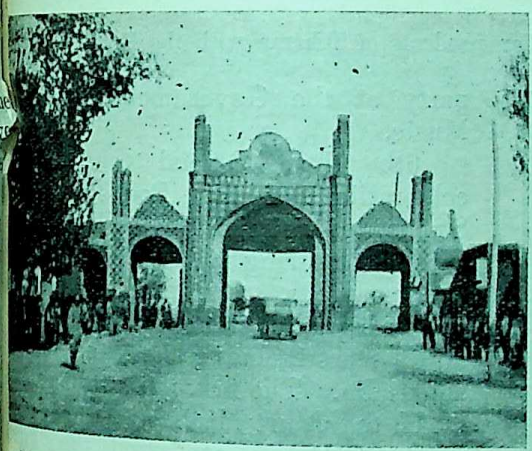


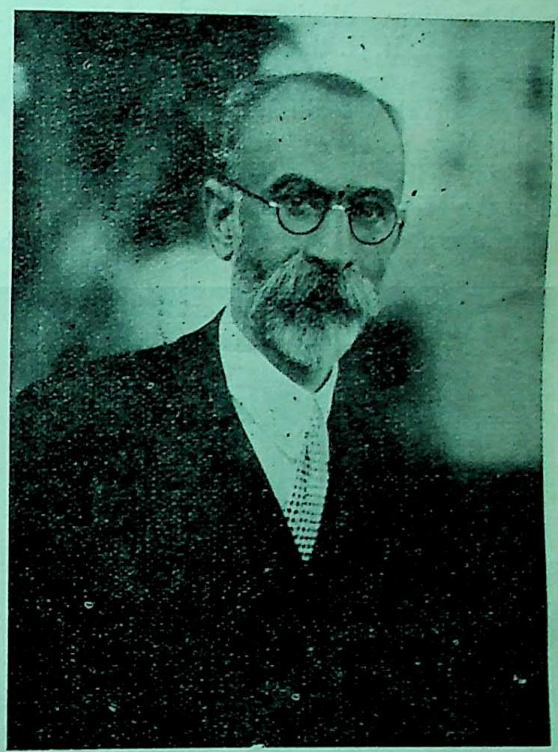
Teheran. A city gate

A short respite of three or four days and then started a crowded procession of official, semi-official, civic and other functions, starting with the private audience given to the Poet by H. M. the Shah. The audience took place in the new palace where H. M. the Shah gave the Poet a very affable and sympathetic hearing of his endeavours. Then followed nineteen major and numberless minor functions besides a number of interviews, private meetings, etc.

We had arrived at the brain-centre of a historic people, inhabiting a country of nearly six hundred and fifty thousand square miles, with a population of about twelve millions, and were now meeting those who with their Royal leader had brought regeneration to the land.

History is being made all over Asia and we were now at one of the main centres.

* * * *



Jenabe Foroughi

Three high officials were our mainstay in these ceremonies and functions : H. H. Foroughi, the Foreign Minister, H. E. the Education Minister and Arbab Kaikhosrow Shahrokh. Under their guidance and help all engagements were fulfilled smoothly but even then the strain was terrific on the Poet. Jenabe Foroughi, the distinguished *litterateur*, was constantly with us.

2nd May.—Private audience given to the Poet by H. M. Riza Shah Pahlavi.

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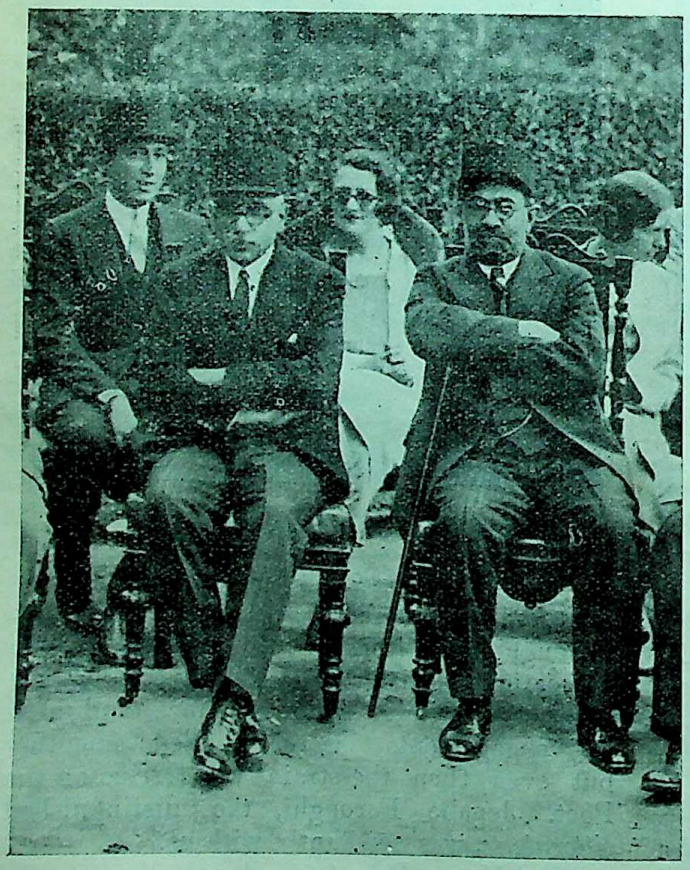
3rd May.—A whole host of visitors including H. E. the Ambassador of Afghanistan, the first Secretary of the Russian Legation, H. E. the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, some members of Parliament, representatives of the Bahai community.

4th May—H. E. the Minister of Education took the Poet and party to the garden-palace of Farahabad. Amongst distinguished callers were H. H. the Prime Minister, Dr. Godard the archaeologist, the wife of H. E. the Education Minister and Mme. Godard, H. H. the Minister of war and some distinguished members of the Medjliss.

5th May.—Poet's "Message to Persia" delivered in the main hall of the Ministry of Education in the afternoon. Later on tea-party at the Government School of Music.

The Indian residents of Teheran with the Poet



H. E. The Education Minister. H. H. The Foreign Minister

6th May.—Official and Public celebration of the Poet's birthday. Stream of visitors from early morning till night bearing valuable gifts, flowers and messages. Congratulatory letters and telegrams simply poured in from all quarters including Europe, America and India. The first letter came from H. H. the Court Minister. The Government of Persia conferred the First Degree Medal in Sciences and Arts on the Poet and a *Farman*. All the ministers, the Embassies and Legations and the various communities were represented.

In the afternoon H. E. the Education Minister gave a garden party in the Poet's honour. In the evening the Poet dined with H. H. the Foreign Minister and some other high officials.

7th May.—Distinguished visitors included H. E. Momtaz, the *Chargé d'Affaires* of Egypt. The Poet called on H. H. the Court Minister and also attended a play given in his honour at the Zoroastrian theatre.

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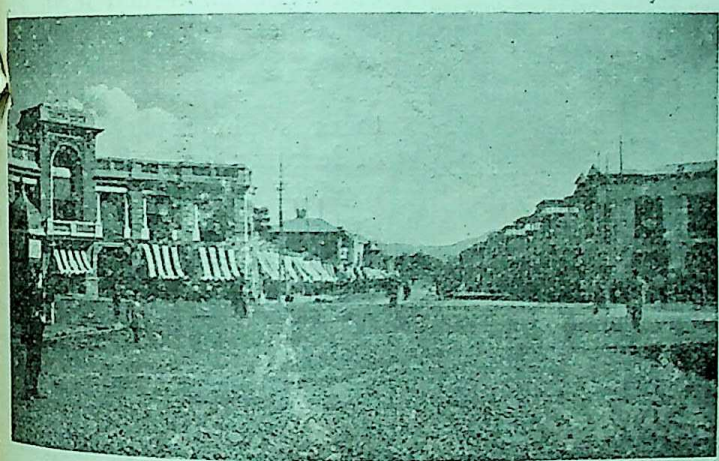
8th May.—H. E. the Minister of Finance called. The *Charge d'Affaires* of Iraq called to deliver a formal invitation to the Poet from H. M. the King of Iraq to visit his kingdom. In the evening there was an official dinner at the Afghan Embassy.

9th May.—Formal visits in the morning. The Poet visited the Zoroastrian School and joined in the ceremony of laying the cornerstone of the new building. At 5 P. M. the Poet gave a public lecture on "the function of Fine Arts in life."

10th May.—The Poet visited two educational institutions, the Lycée of Elmia and the School of Law and Political Science.

The Poet at Jenabe Dashty's, (behind the Poet, handkarchief in pocket)



Teheran. Avenue Shahabad

Mlle. Bersalie Houspian, an young Armenian lady, who has started the first kindergarten school in Persia came with some of her pupils who sang and danced before the Poet. In the afternoon the Press Association gave a tea-party to the Poet.

11th May.—The Poet spent the day at the beautiful German Embassy in the garden suburb of Shimran. Almost all the distinguished German residents of Persia were present. In the evening there was a party at the residence of Jenabe Dashty, a distinguished M.P., where the Poet met the younger intellectuals of Persia.

12th May.—A number of distinguished men of letters called on the Poet. There was an official lunch at the Foreign Minister's residence. The Indian residents of Teheran gave an address and some presents to the Poet. The Armenian Club gave a party to the Poet which was crowded.

13th May.—Jallal-ed-din Teherani, the famous mathematician, called on the Poet and presented an old Persian manuscript to the Poet. The American College of Teheran—the biggest educational institution of this country—gave a tea in honour of the Poet. Arbab Kaikhosrow Shahrokh gave a dinner and entertainment in honour of the Poet.

14th May.—The Egyptian Legation gave a lunch to the Poet. In the afternoon there was a tea-party at the British Legation.

15th May.—Departure from Teheran.

* * * *

What was our experience in Teheran? What lay behind these functions, this celebration of the visit of a Poet, who—world-famous as he is and indelible though his fame in the annals of literature—could hardly give to the Iranians anything that may be

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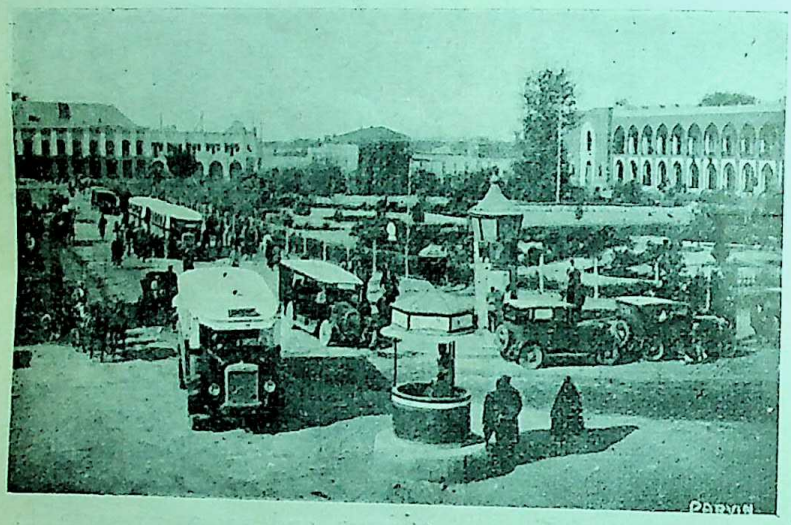
regarded as substantial in the sphere of international politics or finance? The writer of this itinerary is neither competent to assign nor is he desirous of formulating any motives. All he can do is to put forward some views.

Firstly, there is the Aryan movement. There is now a very strong feeling amongst all the intellectuals—and with the lead of H. M. the Shah, amongst all young Iranians—that Iranian means pre-dominantly Aryan.



Teheran. Near the Palace Sepah

This has now completely superceded the Pan-Islamic movement and the pride of the intellectuals and the younger generation in the cultural achievements of Aryan Iran is growing fast. This has awakened a feeling of kinship with Indians and as such intellectual Iran feels proud at the fame of a brother Aryan—the Poet. At the same time it must be made clear that India and the Indians still remain strangers to Persia, and there is as yet a feeling of resentment in the south against the Indians who formed the bulk of the army of occupation during the Great War.

Secondly, there is the tradition of interchange of thought and culture between the Iranians and Indians of the ancient and mediaeval periods. The ancient period, it is true, still remains a mass of folklore and tradition—with occasional bits of historical facts, recently verified—but the mediaeval is still alive, with its periods of glory and of suffering and disaster, singularly com[illegible] to both countries. This has given an id[illegible] to the intellectual *elite* of Iran that b[illegible] countries may be destined to reach a com[illegible] goal in harmony; just as they parted fr[illegible] a common fatherland in the dim anci[illegible] days of old.

Thirdly, there is a feeling of brother[illegible] sympathy. It is true that that feeling [illegible] confined to a few thinkers but this gro[illegible] includes the highest in the land. Iran h[illegible] only recently emerged from th[illegible] toils of foreign dominance—and is not yet quite clear o[illegible] the pitfalls—and as such c[illegible] yet feel sympathetic to a kins[illegible] man who is still in bondage.

Lastly, there is the true oriental tradition of hospitality. Persian hospitality is justly famous and the word *mehman* still has a halo round it in the hearts of all true Iranians. Together with it comes the oriental reverence and love towards philosophers and men of learning and all these put together perhaps explains the tremendous and lavish scale on which the reception was accorded to our Poet.

* * * *

But all this must not give an impression that Iran is still the Iran of ancient and mediaeval times. Young Iran is ruthlessly progressive, and is determined not to let any tradition—social, religious or political—stand in the way to the advancement of their cause. It is true that much that is beautiful, much that is romantic may thus disappear, but even then the price is not too heavy if all the evils and semi-evils of mediaevalism disappear at the same time. Social and religious practices that are obsolete in the light of modern progress, may look beautiful in print and may afford channels for argument by the so-called learned and for the practice of social tyranny and smug self-aggrandizement by the hypothetical higher classes of a people in bondage, but they are rightly regarded as the deadliest narcotics that clog the system and dull the brains of a people, by nations

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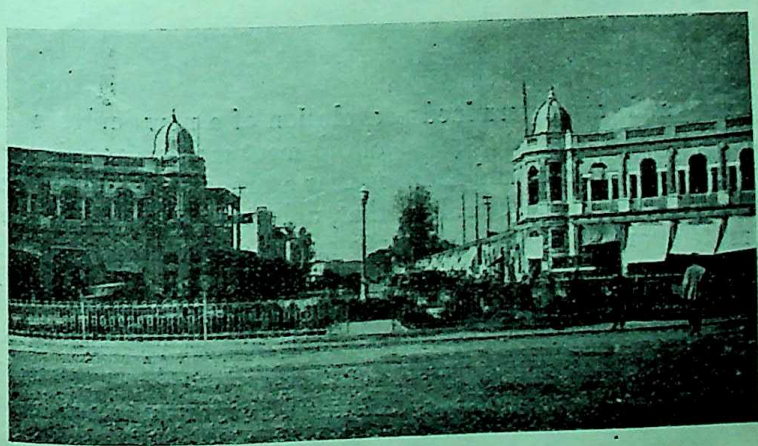
H. M. Riza Shah Pahlavi. H. M. Feisal I of Irak



Teheran. Near the New Palace

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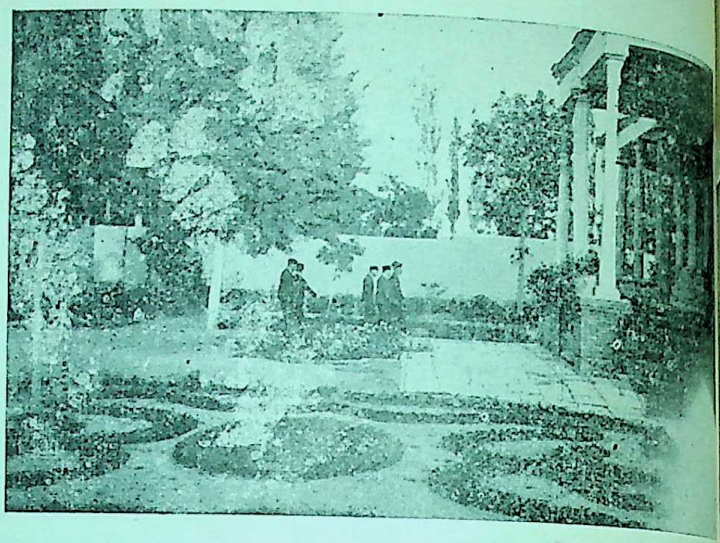

Teheran. Lay-out of a modern residence

Teheran. Posts and Telegraph Building

that have attained liberty and are determined to march in the van of progress.

Titles have mostly disappeared and the powers of the theocracy have been sternly divorced from matters temporal. Social and religious barriers in the way of education, sanitation, civics, medicine, science etc., are being shattered and demolished fast.

The only trouble is that the pace being fast there has been hardly any attempt at the evolution of a new culture adapted from the old to meet modern requirements. The result is that a process of Westernization is going on that, unless it is modified in time, may alter the nation as much as it is altering the city architecture or the dress of the people, which would be a calamity.

New Teheran looks like an offshoot of Europe. Let us hope the New Irani would escape a similar metamorphosis.

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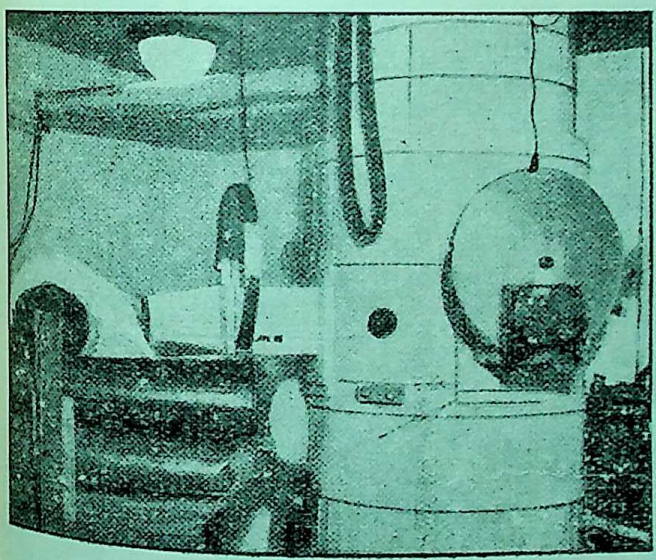
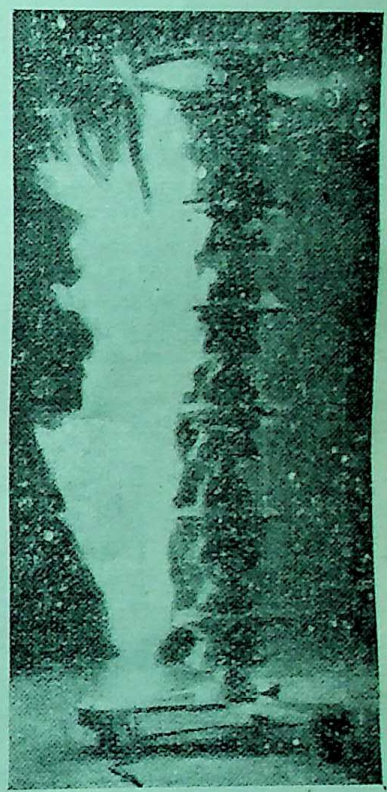
GLEANINGS

Treat Cancer with Biggest X-Ray Tube

Treatment of cancer patients has just begun at the California Institute of Technology, after months of preparation, with the biggest X-Ray tube in the world. Artificial lightning of 1,000,000 volts operates the thirty-foot instrument. This is the highest voltage ever harnessed for medical use, and spectacular displays of sparks are to be seen in the adjoining room where the current is stepped up by two transformers. Radiation from the tube is declared more powerful than the rays that would be obtained from all the radium in the world. The unprecedented voltage gives the rays extremely deep penetration. Rats were subjected to the rays in lengthy tests before the tube was applied to human beings.





Windows in the vertical thirty-foot tube, left, emit X-rays to treat cancer patients. Above, million volt discharge from machine that runs the big tube

Ghost Ship Bombed by Navy Planes

Five direct hits out of thirty bombs dropped was the score unofficially reported when Navy planes attacked the radio-controlled battleship, *Utah*, off the California coast the other day. They used duds filled with water to avoid damaging the radio wonder. Obsolete as a war craft but prized as a target ship, the *Utah* is the latest and largest of several vessels that the Navy has equipped to run without a man abroad. A mile away, it starts, turns, and stops under radio control from the mine-sweeper *Robin*. The striking picture on the next page, taken during the recent air attack shows a bomb just missing the ghost battleship.

—*Popular Science*

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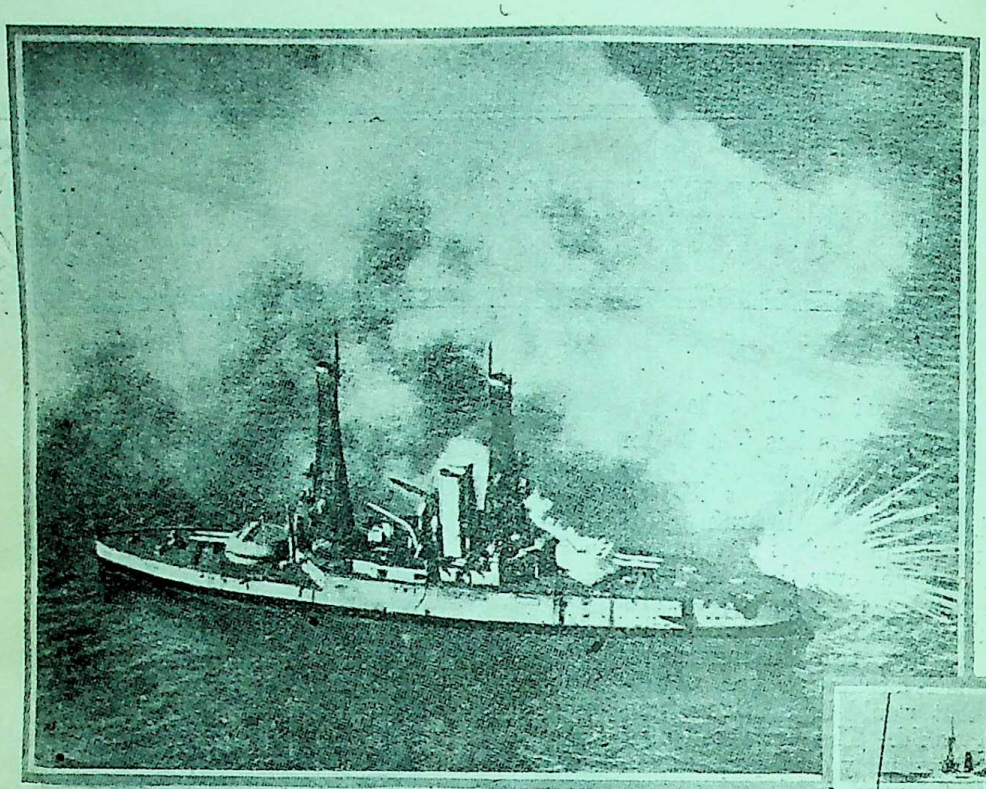
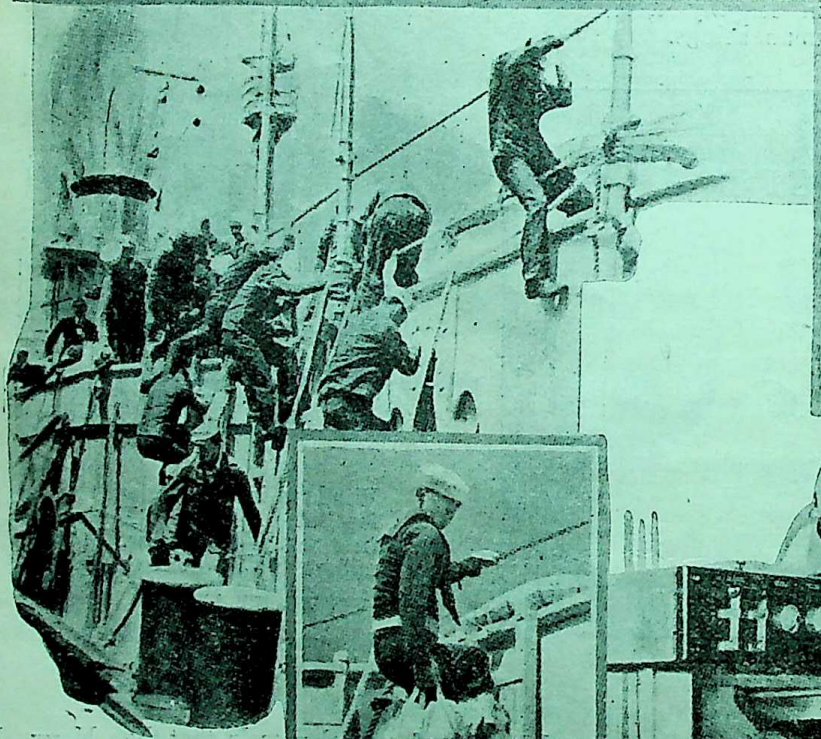
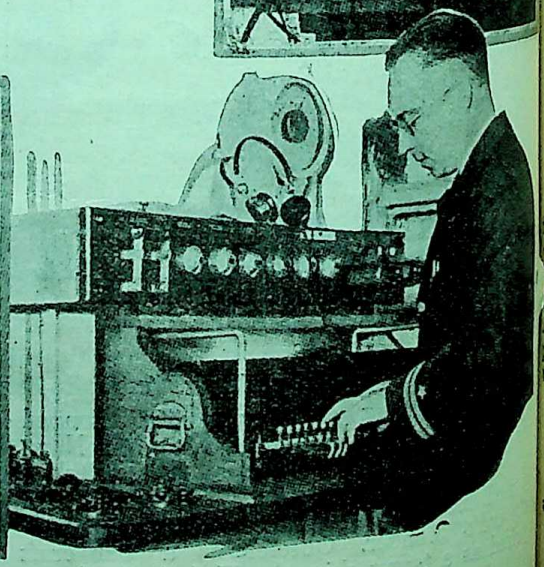


GUIDING GHOST SHIP

In the back- below, is the controlled which is by an officer the *Rabin*. below, moving keys in control room steer distant





SETTING THE UTAH ADRITF

Above, sailors leaving the radio controlled *Utah* before air attack starts. Right, ship's mascot is being lowered to the boat

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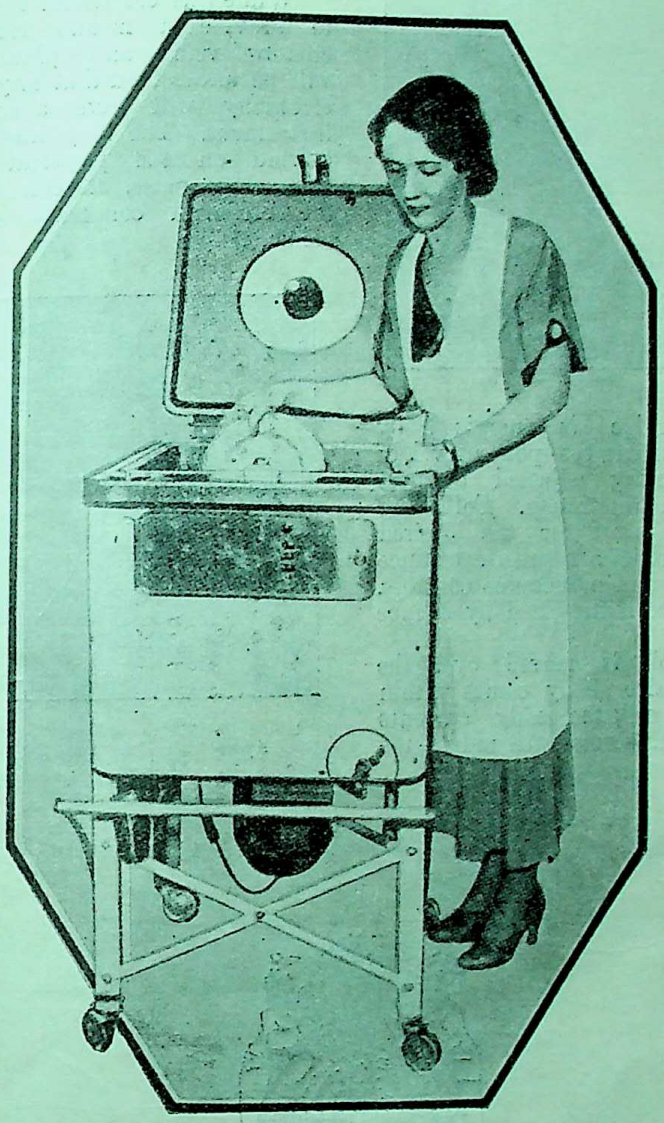
Washes Dishes All By Itself

When dishes are placed in this electric dish-washer, all you need to do is add water and soap powder and then you can go away and leave it to its own operations. It will wash the dishes in soapy water, rinse them off a couple of times in clear water, sterilize them and dry them, and



finally shut itself off when the job is done. All of these things are done without the touch of human hands, which is a good thing as the machine uses water hotter than you could stand. As shown above, the machine is extremely compact. A surprising feature is its simplicity, there being only two movable parts in it.

—*Popular Science*

Science Aids Quest for Gold

It seems a far cry from the ancient burrough and dilapidated pan of the early gold prospector, to the modern electrical apparatus pictured in these columns, yet both represent mile-stones in the perpetual quest for the precious and elusive yellow metal.

This latest development is due to the geophysical firm of William M. Barret, Inc., who designed and constructed the equipment for mining interests. The instrument, which is termed an ore detector, will be used to locate electrically conductive deposits of gold which may occur at depths not exceeding some five to ten feet. Only two men are required to operate the apparatus, which consists of a power unit, a receiver unit, and an exploring coil.

To the left in the close-up of the equipment may be seen the power unit, which comprises a vacuum-tube oscillator and amplifier, while to the right is shown the receiver unit, consisting of an inductance bridge and vacuum-tube

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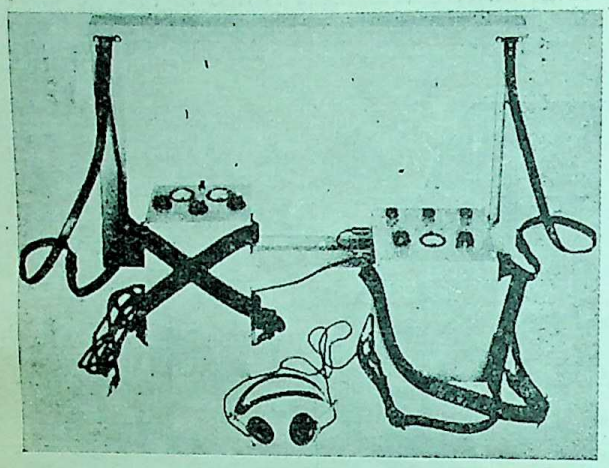
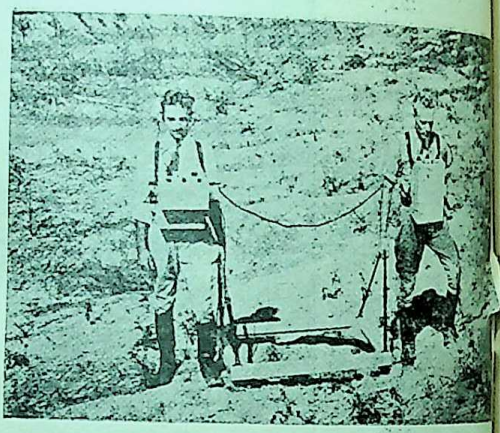
amplifier. The exploring coil appears in the background, and in the foreground are the conventional headphones, which are used as null indicators.



In operation, the bridge is energized by 2000-cycle sinusoidal current, the power level of the oscillator-amplifier being adjusted to meet the requirements of depth penetration. Following this the receiver amplifier is set for the desired gain, and the bridge brought to precise balance by appropriate resistance and inductance controls. The condition of balance is indicated by silence in the headphones.

If the exploring coil is moved over the ground, and a conductive body comes within the magnetic field of the coil, the eddy currents set up in the conductive mass will reduce the effective inductance of the exploring coil, [illegible] serves to unbalance the bridge. This [illegible] will be indicated by the appearance of the [illegible] cycle note in the headphones, the inten[illegible] the sound depending on the degree of [illegible] unbalance. A change in the inductance [illegible] exploring coil of one part in a million [illegible] detected readily in this manner.

While this ore detector was designed pri[illegible] to provide a means for locating re[illegible] shallow veins and placer deposits of [illegible] will be understood that any body which co[illegible] electricity will give a similar reaction wi[illegible] instrument. The magnitude of the respons[illegible] depend on the physical proportions of [illegible] disturbing mass, its conductivity and depth, [illegible] the electrical constants of the surrou[illegible] media.



Scientific Ameri[illegible]

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Muslims and Sanskrit Literature

Muslims did much to introduce Hindu sciences to the West. They translated Sanskrit works into Persian and Arabic. These again being rendered into European languages came within the easy reach of Westerners. After giving a brief survey of these, Mr. M. Z. Siddiqui makes an estimate of the services of the Muslims to Sanskrit in India itself since the time of Akbar in *The Calcutta Review*. He says :

Akbar being led by his personal inclination as well as political consideration, made up his mind to make the important Sanskrit works available for the Muslims, created a translation department, which was housed in the Diwankhana at Fatahpuri, and chose the Mahabharata as the first Indian work to be translated into Persian. He appointed several Pandits as interpreters of the great epic, and Naqib Khan as its translator, and the work proceeded for three days. Then al-Badayuni, the historian, was ordered to join Naqib Khan as translator. One-eighth of the gigantic work was translated into Persian in four months' time. Then it was divided into two parts: one part was to be translated by Naqib Khan in conjunction with Haji Muhammad Sultan and the other by Mulla Sheri. Mulla Faydi was appointed as supervisor of the whole work. When one-third of the huge work was finished Haji Muhammad Sultan was ordered to do the work and to revise the whole of the translation. Thus was finished the Persian translation of the great epic of the Hindus and it was named Razm Nameh. It was then copied, illustrated and published....

Thus, under the supreme guidance of the genius of the great emperor and the strict supervision of the great scholars of his court, with the help of the learned Pandits of the time, were translated from Sanskrit into Persian, by competent scholars like Abdul-Fadl, Faydi, Naqib Khan, Haji Muhammad Sultan, Mulla Ibrahim, and Mulla Abdul-puadir Badayuni: the Mahabharata, the Ramayana, the Bhagavatgita, the Atharvaveda, the Yogavashishta, the Maheshmahananda, the Harivamsa, the Story of the Animals and many other works of the Hindus.

...The Hindus who combined a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit with that of Persian language revised the old translations and also made new ones. Girdhar Das translated the Ramayana, afresh, in 1626 A. D. Debi Das Kaith also claims to have translated it, independently, about the end of the 16th century; a Hindu friend of Dara Shukoh made a fresh translation of the Jogavashishta.

No Persian version of the Vedas, however, was generally available before the middle of the 17th century. The Persian translation of the Atharvaveda, rendered under Akbar, was so bad that it was entirely forgotten just after it was completed. It was the Sufi prince Dara Shukoh, who had initiated the Persian translation of many Sanskrit works, that took up this great task also. He collected the Pandits of Benares and with their help translated the Vedas into Persian and completed the work in 1657. The translation of the Sanskrit books into Persian was however continued till the 19th century.

Simultaneously with translation of the Sanskrit works into Persian, the process of assimilation of the Hindu ideas in Islamic literature also continued. The Naldaman of Faydi, the story of Ram and Sita by Masih Beg, the Miratul-Makhluqut of Abul-Rahman Chisthi, the Tuhfatul-Hind of Mirza Fakhrul Din are only a few of the works of this type.

Of these books the Tuhfatul-Hind was written during the reign of Alamgir, for the use of his grandson, prince Jahandar Shah, at the instance of his tutor Kukaltash Khan. It deals exclusively with Hindu culture. It is divided into seven parts :

a. Preface, on the Hindu script. *b.* Chap. 1 on the Hindu Prosody. *c.* Chap. 2 on the Hindu Rhyme *d.* Chap. 3 on the Hindu Figures of Speech. *e.* Chap. 4 on the Hindu Theory of Love. *f.* Chap. 5 on the Hindu Systom of Music. *g.* Chap. 6 on the Hindu Theory of Sexual Pleasure. *h.* Chap. 7 on the Hindu Theory of Physiognomy.

These Arabic and Persian translations of the Sanskrit works in addition to being a source of information for the Muslims with regard to Indian Sciences, created a taste for them among the early modern European orientalists. Their knowledge and appreciation of the beauties of the Sanskrit literature began with the study of these translations or with their rendering in a European language. The early translation of the Kalila and Dimna into Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, Latin Spanish, Italian, Slavonic, Turkish German, English, Danish, Dutch and French languages, were based on its Arabic rendering by Ibnul-Marquffa. Of its original Sanskrit no notice had been taken by the European scholars before the end of the 18th century....

The first appreciation of Indian philosophy by a great European philosopher, also, was based on the study of the Latin rendering of one of these translations of the Sanskrit works. Schopenhauer who remarked that "In the whole world there is no study so beneficial and so elevating as that of the Upanishads" had studied neither their Sanskrit original nor their translation based on their original text, but the Latin rendering, by Auquetil Du Perron, of the Persian translation of the Upanishads, with which is associated the name of Dara Shukoh, the brother of Alamgir.

—

Sex Equality

According to Dr. Dhirendra Nath Roy the relation between man and woman cannot be exactly as that between man and man without impairing the peace and happiness of society. He develops the idea in *Prabuddha Bharata* as follows

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Sex equality as an idea has acquired its first impetus from the growth of the spirit of equality and has been sustained in the West by the peculiar relationships of the two sexes based upon the principle of rights. Society in the West being an institution more political than moral has made human relationship a mere matter of contract. As Western men and women are both human, they have been used to applying this principle of human relationships among the individuals of the same sex as well as between the opposite sexes. But here politics seems to have been pushed rather too far. It is conceivable that man in society stands in relation to man on a contractual basis to avoid mutual aggression and guarantee mutual security, although it smacks somewhat of a crude life and not of a high civilization. But it seems highly improbable that man stands in relation to woman on the same basis. Man and woman do not meet as equals to discuss their rights, they are drawn together by a natural urge which civilization has sought to refine into a higher sentiment—call it love, if you please.

Each sex is incomplete without the other, each needs the other to make up a social unit. Nature has built them complementary. It is not a question of 'if you do that to me, I do this to you,'...it is not a question at all, for the two must come together, if or no if. And the two come together not as two individuals but as two necessary parts of one irresistible whole. If the one cannot help being together with the other, it is futile, if not absurd on the part of one to talk of equality or inequality to the other. It only aggravates the situation and holds down the natural impulse of man and woman from being refined and sublimated.

Why should there arise any question of equality or inequality of the two sexes when the two are complementary, when the one supplies the inevitable needs of the other? The union of the two is a necessary condition of society. It is, therefore, proper on the part of a healthy society to see that this union is real. But there is no real union where both are self-conscious individuals unwilling to be merged into one.

Real union means self-forgetfulness. This can be possible only when one's centre of thought is the other. That one can entirely forget oneself in the other is proved even by the brute union of the two from natural urge however temporary. When this natural urge is sublimated into an enduring love by civilization the permanent shifting of the centre of thought from one's own self to the beloved becomes also natural. Then the two think of their respective duties and not rights. Then there is no time to think of one's own self, for that is drowned in the thoughts of the other. A truly civilized society is based upon the principle of duties because that is enjoined by love and love alone can truly unite. Society is a mere makeshift where the sense of rights prevails over that of duties, where politics displaces morality.

—

Christianity in the East

In "Studies in Church History" in *The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon* the history of the movement of Christianity towards the East is given as follows:

Missions were first sent from the West to the Far East in the fourteenth century when the Franciscans went to Pekin in 1307 and to the Coast of India in 1321; at the end of the century while Spain sent out Columbus to A in 1192, Portugal sent Vasco de Gama to In 1498; the Portuguese expedition was accom by a band of clergy and monks, charged w care of the settlers and also with the evang of the heathen. To their amazement and they found that there were already Christ the country. Their first impulse was to gre Syrians as long-lost brethren, but it soon ap that there were differences which they were means prepared to overlook; the Syrians ha married clergy, they read the Bible in Syria they had no intention of giving obedience Pope. The Portuguese were soon much more oc with converting their neighbours than with re over them.

In 1542 Francis Xavier arrived in Goa. began life as a brilliant young nobleman a court of Portugal, thence he went to Paris, he became a professor of philosophy; it se that there was a career of great distinction him, but his friend Ignatius Loyola gained for the new order, and he became a Jesuit He was sent out to superintend the missionary of the Church "in the East," and came, thinking other missionaries have done that the Gospel only to be proclaimed, and the whole of India, all the East behind it, would hear and turn be saved.

His career is one of the most interesting in whole history of missionary enterprise. It ten years; in that time he worked for three among the pearl fishers and others on the of Tinnevelly and Malabar, teaching them thro an interpreter, for he could never learn Ta baptizing them in vast numbers, "till his hands tired," organizing them under native and missi ary priests; another three years he spent in Moluccas, carrying on the same work; for fift months he was in India again, disciplining and re ing the churches he had built up, which had fallen complete laxity and confusion. Then came two ye in Japan, where he founded a church that was endure in spite of abandonment and persecution many generations, till the Roman missions of nineteenth century returned; three more months Malabar were fully occupied with the internal trou of the Church; Xavier then sailed for China, was unable to gain admittance to the country, died of fever in a deserted island off the coast body was brought back to Goa, and lies there, object of a great periodical pilgrimage. It was haps well for him that like other pioneers he his work foreshortened.

—

Tolstoy's Beliefs and Practices

Aylmer Maude, the authority on Tolst writes in *The Aryan Path*:

Whenever it came to publishing anything, ever, he met with reproaches and unpleasantness. he had announced that he would take no paym and that all who cared to were free to publish republish his writings as they pleased. His wife, was publishing a collected edition of his works, most anxious, if she could not have the copyri to secure at least the first publication of what

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wrote. He, however, wished that no money from his writings should come to his family, and preferred to give such stories as were suitable for the purpose to the *Posrednik*, a benevolent group devoted to publishing and distributing very cheap and wholesome literature for the people in place of the pennyfulls and grossly superstitious church lives of the saints as were then usually sold at country fairs, and formed almost the sole literary sustenance of the mass of the population.

This cause of discord recurred continually, and Tolstoy once told me that from the time he announced copyright the appearance of each new work of his had caused him distress, though previously it had been a pleasure to complete and publish a new work. Apart from his wife's feeling in the matter, it might fairly be argued that to allow valuabte literary property to be scrambled far naturally tends to occasion friction, strife, and ill-will. And in this case chronic and most bitter strife grew up between the Countess and Tolstoy's chief friend V. G. Chertkov, who had set his heart on obtaining control of Tolstoy's literary output and did eventually secure control of his literary inheritance. So bitter was this strife, and so jealous was the Countess of Chertkov's influence over her husband, that her mind became unbalanced. She developed hysteria, suicidal mania and, the doctor said, paranoia. Be that as it may, though she suffered from delusions on certain subjects she remained quite sane and mentally alert on others. To Tolstoy this strife was so painful that eventually, after some twenty years of it, he found it impossible to remain at Yàsnaya Polyàna, and escaped secretly one dark winter night with no definite plan of where to go or what to do. After a short visit to his sister he fell ill, and died at the wayside station of Astàpovo, little more than a hundred miles from home, a martyr to the rule of conduct he had adopted; and though it may be reasonable to question the validity of some of his opinions, the facts supply conclusive evidence of his complete sincerity and of his readiness to sacrifice all for what he believed to be right.

His posthumous play, *The Light Shines in Darkness*, gives a vivid and a close description of the conditions of his life at home, and of the suffering he endured there.

—

The Bane of a Foreign Medium

One's own vernacular should be his medium of instruction. This is the rule everywhere except in India. A foreign language as medium of instruction is not at all desirable, because its use cripples the intellect of the learner. Those who teach their pupils through a foreign medium feel the pinch the most. Mr. Ramani Mohan Rai says in the course of a paper in *The Teacher's Journal*:

> The present system of imparting instruction through a foreign medium is not only educationally unsound and unpsychological but it is also unnatural. It is something like putting the cart before the horse, a process which is causing what is called intellectual stagnation among the products of the present University. It is known to all that children imbibe the mother-tongue in the home surroundings as soon as they learn to lisp and their knowledge of the mother tongue goes on advancing with their advancing years even before they attain their school-going age. Subsequently when they are sent to school they are found to show greater aptitude for vernacular than for any other subject at a comparatively early age. From my teaching experience in high schools extending over a decade and a half, it appears to me that students upto Class VI find learning pleasant, as they learn everything through their mother-tongue and fare well in almost all subjects without any serious strain. But as soon as they are promoted to Class VII, they, as a rule, are found to score less marks in almost all subjects than in previous examinations. The reason thereof is not far to seek—they for the first time are confronted with the medium difficulty. They are required to learn and express everything through a foreign medium, English. Students hailing from Middle Vernacular Schools who were found to be bright scholars up to Class VI, invariably fare worse in almost all subjects in Class VII, because of the grinding compulsion to learn and express everything through the medium of English. Thus a positive distaste is created in their minds for learning as a result of which they pass for mediocres. Again those students, who were particularly proficient in English up to Class VI, also experience no small difficulty in coping with the progress of the class in Class VII because of the unnatural process of learning and expressing everything through the medium of English. They are required to bestow greater time upon the foreign medium in preparing their lessons and in most cases they pick up but a hazy notion of the subject-matter. They simply swallow things with parrot-like cramming to pour them out in their answer papers in the examination. The result is that a low premium is put upon their critical acumen and intelligent understanding. What they learn hardly becomes the part and parcel of their stock of knowledge. . . .
>
> The present system tends to increase vocabulary but vocabulary is by no means true education. In the opinion of Dr. West, who has dedicated his life to the research of educational problems of the country, the products of the present system are language-less, their knowledge of both English and Bengali being defective. This, no doubt, represents the true state of affairs. The learners in their attempts to study everything through the medium of English naturally neglect their own vernacular and the attempt of understanding the subject-matter through a foreign medium hardly leaves them sufficient time for the study of English as a foreign language. Thus, they are doubly losers, a sad spectacle which can no longer be passed over with indifference. . . .
>
> As a result of the present pernicious system of imparting instruction through a foreign medium, the knowledge of Bengali of the learners has become ridiculously poor. In this connection I would like to cite some concrete instances from my experiences as an examiner of English paper I in the Matriculation of the Calcutta University in which passages in vernacular are set for translation into English. The Bengali sentence "तिनि स्टेशने नामिया किछु जलयोग करिलेन" was found to be translated by a boy in his answer paper as "He halted at the station and *made some water connection*." The translation of the Bengali sentence "तिनि शिशि बोतलेर व्यवसा करितेन" appeared as "He dealt in *dews* and bottles." One candidate translated the Bengali sentences "तिनि स्वीय

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अध्यवसायबले उत्तरकाले धनी हइते पारियाछिलेन" as "He could become a rich man *in the time of answer* by dint of his perseverance." Such candidates passed on the strength of the powerful instrument, memory, by dint of which they could commit to memory some English phrases and idioms the import of which perhaps they did not understand clearly. What do these things portray? They certainly betray the lamentable ignorance and neglect of the vernacular on the part of the candidates and it is high time that we should cry halt to this system which allows candidates to pass inspite of such lamentable neglect of their vernacular.

—

Women on the Uplift of the Harijans

Uplift of the "Harijans," *i.e.*, depressed classes, is the burning question of the day. The thoughtful are exploring every avenue for the uplifting of them. Temple-entry is regarded as the first step in the process. Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer in the Legislative Assembly and Dr. Subbarayan in the Madras Legislative Council proposed to introduce bills to remove the disabilities of the 'Harijans' in this respect. The Government of India withheld sanction to the latter's bill as, they said, it was an all-India question. *Stridharma*, women's organ, writes in this connection :

The refusal of sanction by the Government of India to Dr. Subbarayan's bill for introduction into the local council, comes as a disappointment to many of us in the south in spite of the fact that the referendum of the Guruvayur temple-entry has shown a clear majority in favour of temple-entry to the Harijans. It is a matter of keen regret that our enlightened government in its anxiety to please the conservative section of the Hindus forgets its own responsibility to the poor suppressed and the depressed millions of India. It is quite obvious that the majority of the thinking and the leading minds of India have given their whole-hearted support to temple-entry by Harijans, and the removal of untouchability. Further, it is a matter of great significance and vital importance to the nation that all the women's associations and conferences in India have given their full support to this reform and not a single association of women has so far come forward to oppose this measure.

When the women, the creators of the race and the builders of home and the nation feel the need for such an advancement and actively go about doing propaganda in favour of such a progress the government may rest assured that society is ripe for the change and no revolution will follow. It might be argued that the mass mind is not yet prepared for a radical reform in their habits and customs, but we wish to remind those who are convinced of such arguments that it is the few leaders and reformers and even a single prophet or philosopher in a country that have always successfully agitated for any good humanitarian reforms. The history of slavery in America and in other European countries is a lesson to all of us.

At this great moment in the history of India, nay, in the history of the whole world, we naturally expect any civilized government to stand by the right principles of justice and equality and help the good work of all those Indian reformers who are trying their very best to blot out the great curse of Untouchability from the face of this earth. We thoroughly endorse every word in the utterance of Mahatma Gandhi : "Economic and all other rights of the Harijans will follow temple-entry as night follows dawn."

—

Hindu-Javanese Art

In an interesting article in *Triveni* on Hindu-Javanese art occurs the following :

The vast plain of Prambanam, which extends southward from the foot of the Merapi, one of Java's most active volcanoes, is studded with a group of temples held in great veneration by the people. The most important monument here is again a group of Hindu temples known as Chandi Loro Jongrang, comparable in scale with the Borobudur and Chandi Sewu. "Loro" designates a lady of high birth, say a princess. The princess Loro Jongrang is well-known in Javanese folklore. It is said that to win her hand the Chandi Sewu or "1000 temples," in the vicinity of Prambanam, was built in a night by a suitor in a wager; but the unhappy suitor was however frustrated in his task by an unusually early dawn.

The complex (*i.e.* the whole group) consists of eight temples built on a walled square terrace in the centre, surrounded by two outer walls and a group of 156 smaller shrines spread over the walls in three rows. The three largest of the inner temples are dedicated respectively to Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. These shrines are now in an advanced state of decay, the main temples alone having resisted better the ravages of time. The group is said to have been built by a prince of the name of Daksa about the second half of the ninth century. The largest is the central temple of Siva; "in principle it resembles the *prangs* of Cambodia and the supposed original design of Borobudur, *i.e.*, it consists of a temple occupying the summit of a series of truncated terraced pyramid, square in plan, with stairways in the middle of each of its three sides leading respectively to the main entrance and to those of the side chapels. The temple itself, raised above the upper terrace by a richly decorated plinth, contains a standing image of Siva. The terrace below is surrounded by an even more richly sculptured balustrade, the continuous series of reliefs on the inner side illustrating the earlier part of the *Ramayana* of which the continuation was probably to be found on the corresponding terrrace of the now ruined Brahma shrine on the right; the reliefs of the Vishnu temple illustrate the Krishna cycle."

Obviously these reliefs were intended as Hindu parallels to those of Borobudur. They are "if anything superior to those of Borobudur and certainly more drrmatically conceived, and the aspect of the shrines, despite their rich ornament, is more masculine. It is possible that the complex served as a royal mausoleum as well as a temple." Prambanam becomes us think of Borobudur for comparison because Prambanam and Borobudur are "the twin fruits born by the transplanted tree of Hindu art in Java, twins borne within the same period of cultural awakening and self-realization of the race; and as twins, they show agreements, but each has its own individuality as well, and this has given rise to a contrast between them which irresistibly fixes

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attention." A correct estimate of the Prambanam art would be, in the words of Dr. S. K. Chatterji: "The divine serenity of the art of Borobudur is balanced by the most perfect human feeling of the reliefs at Prambanam—whether of the Krishna-legends round the shrine of Vishnu or of the Rama-legends around the central shrine of Siva, the Loro Jonggrang temple."

—

Romain Rolland on "Jean Christophe"

Romain Rolland has contributed a critique of his own book, *Jean Christophe* in *India and the World*. Of the artistic forms and style used in the book he writes:

I proceed now to expose some considerations of the artistic forms and the style which I specially selected for *Jean Christophe*, for the one and the other hold closely to my conception of the work and its goal. But I propose to discuss it in length in a general essay on my aesthetic conceptions which are not the same as those of the majority of my French contemporaries. Suffice it to say here that the style of *Jean Christophe* (after which one is accustomed to judge my work as a whole) is dictated by the governing idea which inspires all my efforts and those of my comrade, Peguy, during the early days of his fortnightly review, *Cahiers de la Quinzaine*. That rough and virile idea, puritanic to excess like our own selves, was expressed, by way of reaction against the gelatinous and decomposing epoch and surrounding, in the following terms: "Speak straight! Speak without flourish and affectation! Speak to be understood not only by the group of refined folk but by the millions of the simplest and the humblest beings, and have no fear to be understood too much! Speak without shade, without cover, clear and firm, if necessary in heavy style which matters little if only thou could thereby hold firm to the soil. And if it is necessary, to express the thought better, thou must repeat the same words; repeat, clarify and do not hunger after novel expressions! May not a single word be missed, may thy word be action!"

These are principles which I vindicate even today against contemporary aestheticism and I apply them even now in certain books which deal with action and derive their value from action. But that is not the case in all books; and any one who can read will find the fundamental differences in matter, in artistry, in phrasing and in harmony between *Jean Christophe* and my *Enchanted Soul*, not to speak of my works like *Liluli* or *Colas Breugnon (Vide. India and the World*, Sept., 1932,) whose substance itself dictates a quite different handling and combination of rhythm, timbre and symphony.

—

Efficacy of Goat's Milk

The following occurs in *The Mayurbhanj Gazette*:

Britain is drinking more goat's milk. Today it has reached the high figure of 20,000,000 gallons.

Goat's milk is more easily digested than cow's milk. It is richer in butter fat. It is free from tuberculosis germs. Women have found that it will make their skins more beautiful.

They have learnt that a "peachbloom" complexion can be acquired by simply bathing the face, neck, and arms two or three times a day with goat's milk.

Increasing number of small-holders too, are realizing that goats are much cheaper to keep than cows, and that they make good foster-mothers for calves, lambs, colts and pigs.

India which is a very poor country compared to Great Britain should try to consume more goat's milk than heretofore because the goat is really the poor man's cow. In Ayurveda goat's milk is highly eulogized as a preventive and curative of tuberculosis. This view is now strengthened by the fact that goat's milk is richer in fats, vitamins and calcium salts and is always free from the germs of tuberculosis. Now-a-days when there is a growing menace of tuberculosis all over India, it will be advisable for the poor house-holder to keep a few goats in the house, so that he may be assured of a rich supply of milk for the consumption of his family members. Much of the peculiar smell of goat's milk can be remedied if the goats are properly cleaned and washed every day.

—

Theory of Investment

Mr. Surendranath Tagore has devoted the best part of his life to the promotion of Indian insurance. Therefore, what he says on any aspect of insurance business deserves our attention. He writes in *Insurance World* about investment thus:

Let us now see how similar consideration apply to investments involving the lending of money to private individuals or concerns. Other things being equal, whom should the investor prefer—(*a*) one who will use the money for adding to his luxuries or (*b*) one who will use it for increasing his income by improving his property? Obviously the latter, as thereby the loan will help to bring about its own recoupment. Then again, of two equally solvent borrowers who want to increase their income (*a*) one is a tenant of, and therefore has to pay rent to the investor and (*b*) the other is an outsider. Whom in this case should he prefer? Obviously the former, because a double benefit—payment of interest and payment of rent—is derivable from his solvency, which the loan will help to increase.

The investor who is thoroughly alive to his own interest should not only exercise his preferences in the indicated way, but contrive opportunities of coming into touch with borrowers from whom more than one benefit may be expected. Thus, if the owner of a large piece of fallow land sells it in plots, taking the price in instalments at a reasonable rate of interest, and also advances money to the purchasers towards making buildings thereon, he gets a better price for his land, a good rate of interest on his outstanding money, and an increment of value for the unsold portions of the property. This example will show why the investment of money in land development operations is specially suitable for life assurance companies.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Future of the Novel

The Modern Thinker publishes what seems to be one of the last essays written by John Galsworthy. It is entitled "Four Novelists in Profile" and deals with Dumas, Chehov, Stevenson and Hudson. In concluding this essay Glasworthy speaks about the future of the novel:

Another question freequently put to a noveliest is : What is the future of the novel ? No one can answer. The future of the novel does not depend on this or that fashion in technique, or such and such economic developments ; it depends on whether or no accident is going to throw up novelists endowed with one or other, or preferably both, of two qualities neither of which can be defined. These qualities are stature and charm. By the law of averages each decade should provide about the same number of novelists so endowed ; but study of the past will disclose, I think, considerable gaps ; and study of the present will cause some uneasiness in regard to the future. There is something about this age which is inimical to stature. Even individual temperament is being levelled down by publicity, limelight, standardization, specialization and rapid communications. It seems curious, but I think it is true, that the intellectual activity we call cleverness is inimical to stature—and this is a very clever age, and getting cleverer. Charm is not so much endangered, perhaps, but it is in danger enough. For charm is a nooky quality, and the nook is becoming rare. The settled, homespun, or at least home-scented, existence which used to lay its mark on the spirits of men and women, and give a loved or hated background to their thoughts, is daily being "improved" away. Art that can stand up above the waters of life, or that can smile apart, is rooted in deep and quiet things, in private and fervent feelings. And I will leave you to judge how far the times are inclined to let us call our souls our own.

Well, it is because of charm and stature, one or both, that we turn to books a second and third time. And only those books to which we can turn again have any chance of living on. Of the making of books there is no end, of the talking about them still less end, and I will wind up with a remark or two about the talkers, including myself. The permanent reputation of a writer, or of a book, cannot be made by talking about it. During the thirty odd years since I began to write, I have known dozens of books, talked of as if they were going to be the last word in permanence, by now as dead as if they had never been. The unseen motion of time's fan drifts to the winds all that has not the magic stuff "life" in it. An ironical recorder, keeping entry of tongue-and-pen-made reputations and their duration, would have indeed a curious notion of our critical taste. And I will say to myself and all those others who blow the bubble of reputation from mouth to mouth : Back your taste, by all means, but remember that by all the evidence of history it is probably bad !

—

The Paradox of Plenty

Stuart Chase writes in *The New Republic* on the paradox of plenty. In his opinion this state is inherent in the capitalistic order:

We hear much today about the paradox of plenty. How ridiculous, it is said, that millions should be in distress in a nation of such vast material resources ; how criminally absurd that wheat should be burned while little children cry for food.

It is not necessarily either ridiculous or absurd unless we know clearly what kind of economic system we are talking about. Few of us do know clearly and the resulting confusion is colossal. It is my purpose to attack this confusion. If we mean a *functional* economy—such as Russia's or Denmark's—the paradox is ridicnlous ; more, it is unthinkable. An economy dedicated unreservedly to the adequate provisioning of the population cannot, by definition, permit such discrepancies. But, if we mean an acquisitive economy—such as the price-and-credit system of America or England, it is not ridiculous at all ; it is natural, inevitable and to be expected. Indeed, there is no paradox whatsoever involved, except in a highly philosophical and detached sense.

Dire poverty in the midst of plenty is a permanent phenomenon in the system known as capitalism ; it always has been and probably always will be so long as capitalism in its present form endures. Sometimes, to be sure, the suffering involved is more acute than at other times, depending primarily on the curve of the business cycle, but it is always present. Never were there fewer than two millions of unemployed in the late New Era, while conditions in textile towns, soft-coal fields and many agricultural areas pursued their more or less normal course of malnutrition, destitution and degradation. That is the price we pay—right cheerily on the part of most of us—for the blessings of self-help, sturdy individualism and technical "progress." We should long since have become inured to it sufficiently to avoid flinging accusations of "paradox" around when the cycle dips and some what magnifies typical phenomena. In 1920, I walked through a reeking, poverty-stricken Negro slum in Washington, D. C., and an hour later saw a carload of fine watermelons bobbing green in the Potomac's ochre water. They had been dumped from the docks to maintain local prices ; a perfectly legal and eminently business like procedure.

In an acquisitive economy, consistent regard for the human equation is a luxury which no successful business man can indefinitely permit himself. The reward of benevolence is normally bankruptcy. Human beings are important only as consumers—

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profitable consumers—and as hands. Machines can do much, but they cannot, as yet, do everything, and hands are necessary. The fact that the cost of a pair of hands is less, in the long run, if the body behind the hands is safeguarded from accident and excessive fatigue, has nothing to do with benevolence, or justice, but only with cost accounting. We speak here not of men but of systems. Fortunately for humanity, most business men are kindlier than the system in whose coils they writhe.

—

Stalin and Trotsky

In the same paper Mr. Edmund Wilson writes about the contrast between Trotsky and Stalin:

Stalin, Trotsky asserts, cares nothing about all this, the world-vision and world-conscience of Lenin and himself. He has identified himself with an impossible programme of "socialism in one country alone." Now Trotsky will blast the Bolshevik Stalin with the same kind of lofty scorn with which he has dismissed the Tsarist Kolchak: Stalin is uneducated, a philistine, a bureaucrat, a mediocrity, a ridiculously poor Marxist whom Marxism, in freeing him from provincial prejudices, has merely rendered cynical without giving him in place of his former prejudices "a philosophical outlook thoroughly thought out and mentally assimilated." Stalin and his friends had established what was virtually a bureaucratic class; they went to the Nep together, dined at each other's houses, had drinking parties and gossiped about their colleagues—Lenin had winced at the vulgarity of their gossip. And Lenin and he had no place in all this. It was a mere vulgar political machine with not a trace of intellectual dignity.

No doubt the fact that Trotsky was a Jew contributed to his personal isolation and made it easier for Stalin to put him out when Lenin was no longer there to support him. When, in the first days of the Revolution, Trotsky had reminded Lenin of his Jewish origin as a possible objection to his accepting a commissariat, Lenin had told him not to bother about trifles in the midst of a great international revolution. But when Lenin was gone, it was possible for Stalin to arouse anti-Semitic feeling against him. A Jew, he had been able to rise to the height of imagination and moral passion demanded by a great moment; and as in both Trotsky's case and Lenin's, their long years of exile had helped to train them in the international point of view of Marxism, so Trotsky had a special advantage in the capacity of the Jew for adjusting himself to the different habits and mentalites of different peoples and at the same time remaining outside them. But now this very detachment was to work against his career as a statesman. Disraeli, after all, in dominating England, had, for all the detached irony of his novels, to play the game of the English: to work for England's glory and power and to solace himself with her prizes; he had not undertaken to champion a pure international doctrine.

Now when it was a question of dealing with the people, rebellious against the rigours of the dictatorship, and in no mood at the moment to be interested in the theory of permanent revolution, the coarseness and the cunning of the Georgian cobbler's son worked better than the fastidiousness and aloofness of the international Jew. He had always been isolated even among the Bolsheviks: "He isn't one of us," Lenin had told Gorky. "With us, but not of us"—adding, "He is ambitious. There is something of Lassalle in him, something which isn't good." How thick the defences of isolation of Trotsky's egoism must have been that even Lenin should have felt them! "Behind those fierce black eyes," an English observer wrote, "lurks ever the demon of suspicion and distrust, driving him to terrible pitiless acts of cruelty." It was so he had understood maintaining power: he had been too proud to be a politician and in this field had no chance against Stalin.

At any rate, as Lunacharsky felt, "condemned to a certain loneliness," Trotsky finds himself today alone on the island of Prinkipo; after the most astonishing and the most brilliantly successful excursion into action that any Marxist has ever made, he finds himself again what he was between the 1903 Congress and the 1905 revolution, between the 1905 revolution and 1917, an independent Marxist in exile with a small band of devoted followers. One has imagined him pacing the floor at Prinkipo, impatient for his next opportunity of taking the Idea into action. Yet, as he knows, it is not unfitting, not injurious to Trotsky's dignity, that he should be a man without a country on a little island between Asia and Europe; nor is he wasting his time with nothing to do but write books. In these books, all the superb "realistic imagination" with its immense scope in time and space, the ardent prophetic faith which, deriving from the horrible wars, the hideous industrial degradation and the ignoble misgovernment of our time, alone can render them endurable by its hope of "the first truly human culture," blazes out from the shut-in man to illuminate this twilight of society. "How many of us know what Europe is, what, the world labour movement is?" His "History of the Russian Revolution" with its solidity and its subtlety, its extraordinary analysis of mass behaviour, will probably appear when it is complete as one of the most important books of our period. And he has given even to the island of Prinkipo a historic role and a symbolic significance. It stands today for those Marxist principles which, having proved their validity in action, must still keep clear of the politics of nations as they do of those of class.

—

Nicaragua and the United States

The World Tomorrow has the following note on the end of the American occupation of Nicaragua:

In every group of American citizens except the confirmed imperialists there will be rejoicing over the withdrawal of our marines from Nicaragua. With all of its sins, the Hoover Administration will go down in the records as having accomplished in this respect a most worthy change. And everyone will hope that Nicaragua, freed from this outside control and interference, will be able to manage its own affairs democratically, without military dictatorship and in a manner least likely to cause excuses for further interventionist propaganda. It is safe to say that in the event of new outbreaks in that harassed country, not the experience of our intervention but the natives themselves will be blamed; and anti-imperialists may as well be prepared in advance for the argument, sure to be raised at the first sign of

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trouble, that we must send the marines back because the Nicaraguans cannot govern by themselves. It is almost certain, we fear, that the press of the United States will magnify any new upheavals that occur, no matter of how minor a nature, and will totally overlook the record of almost continuous guerilla warfare, the occasional bombings, and the constant tyranny, of our occupation.

One reason for this skeptical fear of press propaganda is the all but universal misrepresentation indulged in by the newspapers, aided and abetted, it must be noted, by the State Department, regarding the history of this adventure. If a reader had no memory capable of going back farther than a year, he would be inclined to think that we were invited into Nicaragua in the first place by a government of Liberals unable to maintain order; that we charitably intervened only out of altruism; and that every element of stability shown in the Central American republic since our presence has been due to the poise and judicial helpfulness of our alien influence. No one would ever believe that we intervened—if our earlier meddling be discounted—six years ago to defend a puppet president whose chief interest was in serving the United States investors in the country against the majority under the Liberals; that we put these Liberals down by sheer military force; that we used the excuse of their loyalty to the cause of Mexico, with whom we were then at odds; that we "negotiated" a peace by appealing to the basest self-seeking of the Moncada faction, which we set up as our favoured regime; that we carried on a warfare against the rebellious Sandinistas whom we falsely labelled "bandits," almost as ruthless as our notorious campaign against the Filipinos a quarter of a century before. It our role has seemed less brutal and selfish in the last two or three years, that is only because a general despair of freedom settled over the population, which, the Sandinistas excepted, reconciled itself ruefully to the situation.

It has been a story of dishonour, one of the black sections of our national career. We are well rid of it, if indeed we can ever feel sure that we are out for good. But it will be prudent to be on guard; for at the first sign of the natural readjustment-pains within the territory which we have so long oppressed, cries will rise to Washington for a renewal of our mailed fist programme.

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The Anglo-Persian Oil Company and the Anglo-Persian Dispute

Mr. Reginald Bridgeman, formerly in the British Diplomatic Service, and now the Secretary of the League against Imperialism, gives an account of the Anglo-Persian oil dispute in *The New World*, the Journal of the No More War Movement:

The action of the Persian Government at the end of November in notifying the Anglo-Persian Oil Company of its decision to cancel the concession originally granted to Mr. W. K. D'Arcy in 1901 is an event of international importance, first of all because it is an act of revolt against the continuance of foreign capitalist exploitation and imperialist domination under which Persia has suffered for many decades, secondly, because the bulk of the oil fuel which is used by the British Navy and to an increasing extent by the Army, not to mention the Air Force, is derived from the oilfields of Persia. Any interference, th with those supplies might have the effect of im ing the fighting forces of the British Empire.

Persia, like China, has been called a semi- country. That is to say, that although no independent, these countries are to a great extent foreign influence and control, and cannot therefo said to enjoy complete national independence.

The first step in Persia's fight against encroachments of British imperialism was the rej by the Mejliss of the Anglo-Persian Agreem 1921, and since that by a series of steps the Pe have succeeded in gradually freeing their co from foreign control. But the influence of th company on Persian affairs had been growing 1920 when a new arrangement was come to be the Persian Government and the company which the right of the latter to exploit the conc was confirmed in return for the payment of £1,20 The Persian Government has been paid 16 per royalty on the total profits of the company, and payments amounted in certain years to more £. 1,000,000, in fact, they represented about 16 per of the total Persian revenue. They were, how payable out of profits and not out of total co When heavy over-production of oil began to place in most of the oil-fields of the world especially in America, competition became keener profits fell.

Net Production of Oil		*Royalty Paid to Persian*
1930	5,500,000 tons	£1,288,312
1931	5,750,000 „	£306,872

The above figures illustrate the sharp fall in when the output of oil; *viz.*, the diminution of Persia assets, was approximately the same.

The Persians feel that they are being robbe their capital resources without a fair equivalent be paid by the company of which the British Gove ment and the Burmah Oil Co. own a huge prop derance of the shares. The Persians have confirmed in their view of the unfairness of th position by a comparison with the terms of concession granted to the Iraq Petroleum Co. by Government of Iraq in 1931, which provides royalties to be paid on the total output of oil a rate of 4/- per ton (gold) with a minimum an royalty of £400,000 on an estimated yield of 2,00 tons.

In deciding to "cancel the D'Arcy concessio account of its "defects and shortcomings an disagreement with Persian interests," the Pe Government wrote that "should the compan prepared contrary to the past to safeguard Pe interests, in accordance with the views of the Pe Government, on the basis of equity and justice, the necessary security for safeguarding those inte the Persian Government will not in principle refu grant a new concession to that company."

This apparently straightforward offer has a strong opposition on the part of the company has led the British Imperial Government to add remonstrance to the Persian Government in terms threatening as to be regarded as an ultimatum. has been followed by the despatch of the cr "Hawkins" to the Persian Gulf. The Persian Go ment in reply to the British Note, have expresse intention of bringing before the League of Nations threats of pressure directed against them by British Government."

The foregoing is a brief history of the case. importance of this case lies in the fact that Per

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an exploited nation whose life-blood is being drained away under an agreement which is no longer in harmony with our times. The British Empire is very largely responsible for this exploitation, which facilitates the maintenance of crushing armaments. The *Evening Standard* wrote on November 30th :—"The affair is important enough in itself, but behind the immediate issue there lies one of wider importance. The Persian action distinctly suggests a belief that Great Britain is so far embarrassed by world events that she will put up with almost any injury or insult for the sake of a quiet life."

The sufferers from imperialism are numbered by hundreds of millions throughout the capitalist world. Millions in Britain itself are in want today because of the disastrous economic effects of British imperialism both in Britain and in countries overseas like Persia, which are being robbed to pay high dividends or to provide cheap fuel for the fighting forces.

Enemies of imperialism must support the Persian people in their resistance to imperialist exploitation by insisting that if a new oil agreement be come to, it shall be satisfactory from the point of view of the masses of the Persian people, giving them a full share in the profits derived from Persian oil, and not merely an agreement secured by the payment of cash to the Shah or a few highly-placed landowners.

—

About Astrology

A propos of the death of Evangeline Adams, American protagonist of astrology, *Scientific American* observes:

Evangline Adams is dead but astrology is not. In fact, this "science" (so-called by its votaries) must have gained impetus because Miss Adams so accurately predicted her own death—at sixty.

Perhaps Evangeline Adams did know when she would die. Not all men of science are yet ready to deny that some human beings have some kind of direct insight into future time—whatever time is. This question is one which the scientist is willing to leave open for future study. What he does deny is that the stars control our lives and that the motions of the planets serve as a guide to the future. Need the reasons for this rejection be argued and laboured before our readers ? We shall not thus insult their intelligence ; while we do not flatter ourselves that we could in the least alter the views of the astrologers. In fact, the astrologers do not read this magazine. If they did it is unlikely that they would be astrologers.

Evangeline Adams whether she derived her findings from the stars or from some other source, or just "derived" them, was able to make remarkable predictions. She had an immense following, mainly among women, and to her disciples she was a great prophet. If astrology is childlike, still on the whole she did more good than harm ; she helped many to find their life work. It is said that the annual income from her numerous forms of service was 50,000 dollars—largely wasted money, no doubt, but people pay that much every minute for other forms of amusement.

Miss Adams sincerely believed astrology was one of the sciences and felt aggrieved that astronomy, the legitimate offspring of astrology (which it surely was) is ashamed of its parent.

When one counts noses, not merely among the intelligentsia, but among all classes, and reckons up the number of persons who are subject to beliefs in superstition and are otherwise intellectually gullible, there is clear evidence that this is not after all the Age of Science, except among a relative few, but is still the Dark Ages.

Is astrology a science or is astronomy a superstition ; and when will the human race grow up ?

—

"Human Pin-Cushion"

A very interesting and peculiar story of tactile and muscular insensibility is published in *Scientific American* :

A human pin-cushion, a New York resident who feels no pain when sharp pins, needles or instruments are thrust into his body, provides medicine's latest enigma.

He is a theatre ticket-taker, musician, ex-vaudeville artist, and chauffeur, who has been studied by Dr. George Van Ness Dearborn, psychiatrist and psychologist at the United States Veterans Hospital in the Bronx. His identity has been withheld by Dr. Dearborn because of professional ethics.

Dr. Dearborn admits that he is unable to understand the unusual circumstances that cause this man to be free from pain. The patient does not remember ever feeling any pain except headache, though he has a good memory. He does remember that his parents and physicians complimented him on his "grit" on various occasions of boyhood accidents, such as breaking his leg and shooting himself and, at another time, burning a finger. But he claims he felt no pain to cry over. For a year-and-a-half he made use of his peculiar faculty in a vaudeville act in which he allowed some man in the audience to come up on the stage and push pins into him. As many as 50 or 60 would be stuck into him as far as their heads at one performance.

Careful psychological and neurological examinations failed to give any scientific explanation for this unusual lack of sensation of pain. The patient himself explains it by saying he concentrates on something else. However, this does not satisfy Dr. Dearborn, who says that the man shows no one of the physical signs of attention concentration.

Dr. Dearborn suggests that it is due to a complicated structural defect, present at birth, in the central cerebral pain-mechanism. It is not due to hysteria or similar nervous condition, Dr. Dearborn and other neurologists are convinced, and Freudism cannot explain it. More definite explanation cannot be made until after the man's death, when his brain and nerve cells can be examined. Meanwhile, Dr. Dearborn has asked fellow-physicians if they can suggest any explanation for this unusual condition or if they have studied any similar cases.

—

Spinoza

The three-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Spinoza fell in November 1932. On this occasion Joseph Chapiro wrote in the *Berliner Tageblatt* :

When Ernest Renan made his classic address in Holland as the spokesman of the French intellectuals, commemorating the two hundredth anniversary of Spinoza's birth, he recalled that a famous philosopher had described the author of *Ethics* as that 'wretch.'

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He did not mention the fact that Malebranche was the philosopher in question, for he was ashamed of his compatriot. But even the great Leibnitz, who was asked by the friends of Spinoza to offer the unpublished posthumous manuscript of the *Ethics* to the library of the Duke of Hanover for 350 guilders, hesitated to comply with their request and expressed the same opinion of Spinoza that Malebranche had, though in milder language. Even Pierre Bayle, whom Voltaire regarded as a model of tolerance and wisdom, joined the chorus of disapprobation.

There was no group of believers, no philosophic school that did not attack Spinoza. The Jews, the Catholics, the Protestants, and even the followers of Descartes cursed his very name and called him an atheist, a renegade, a profaner, a pestilence, an emissary of hell. Nor did these rabid attacks cease with Spinoza's death. His unpublished writings were suppressed and eighty years later, in the mid-eighteenth century, when the battle for tolerance was at its height, a bookseller was haled into court because he had sold a copy of Spinoza's forbidden works.

Persecution did not dim Spinoza's world-wide fame and even his poverty made no difference. He made a miserable living polishing lenses and doing occasional odd jobs until he died at the age of forty-five from the effect of glass dust on his lungs. But he was free in his poverty, and in order to enjoy his freedom he refused a position in the University of Heidelberg, just as he refused the income that Louis XIV offered him. And his fate never led him to fanaticism or intolerance 'I have scrupulously endeavoured,' he wrote at the end of his life, 'not to ridicule human activity, not to complain, not to abominate, but to understand.' He explained everything on the ground of human nature and expressed his ideas without undue gloom and in language that sometimes equals that of the Book of Psalms or the Song of Solomon.

It is in this respect that he is most conspicuously Jewish. Spinoza was so deeply saturated in the Hebrew language and its literature that he could never get away from them. Although he wrote in Latin he thought in Hebrew, and his expressions were neither Latin nor Dutch but Biblical.

In the way he expressed emotion, which is always reflected most clearly in one's language, Spinoza was Jewish through and through. But as a thinker he more nearly resembled the Greeks. Even his love of God was rational, an '*amor dei intellectualis*,' as he himself called it. But isn't this a contradiction in terms? To Spinoza nature and its laws were necessities. One can regard a necessity as wise and even marvellous, but the result is always resignation, never voluntary, self-abnegating love. Of course, Spinoza took such delight in his doctrine of integral intellectualism that no other sensation in the world could yield him so much pleasure.

I have said that Spinoza's habits of mind were Greek because the Greeks discovered reason. But they always identified reason with some utilitarian purpose. Spinoza, on the other hand, raised himself to heroic selflessness and loved reason for its own sake. To Aristotle God meant some kind of purpose, and Plato crowned his vast temple of ideas with the idea of the good. But Spinoza's love of God was purely spiritual and therefore utterly non-utilitarian. To him understanding and will were identical; will could never transcend one's understanding of the subject. And, since determinism is the highest peak of understanding to which we attain, man is not free, he does not depend on his own will, and there can be no such thing as sin *in statu*, but only an atom in the cosmos in which confusion man is swept away. His highest duty is therefore to transcend desire by observing the hierarchical laws of nature.

—

Russian Women

A very important book in German has been published recently on the women of Soviet Russia. A full length review of this book by Arthur Rundt in the *Neue Freie Presse*, Vienna, is reproduced in *The Living Age*:

This extensive monograph on the Russian woman, embracing as it does profound and exclusive knowledge, appears under the most happy circumstances. The author, Dr. Fannina Halle, was born and educated in Russia. Russian peculiarities and Russian popular ways have always been close to her. But she has spent more than twenty years abroad, most of them in Vienna, and during her visits to the new Russia she has studied the position of women under the Soviets, frequently with enthusiasm for the amazing progress that has been made and sometimes with dismay.

Several sentences at the beginning of the book point the long road along which Fannina Halle is going to take the reader. The first quotation is a heroic statement of a Russian Amazon in pre-Christian times: 'If he is an old hero I cut his head off; if he is a young hero I take him prisoner.' From the period when Russia was under the yoke of the Tatars comes this unique teaching: if a woman refuses to obey it is recommended that she be whipped according to the extent of her guilt. There is also the following Russian saying: 'A hen is not a bird; a woman is not a man.' And finally, comes Lenin's modern recommendation: 'Every woman cook must learn to rule the state.'

Dr. Halle has described a cycle of human history covering centuries. She has shown the decline and resurrection of the Russian woman in an organized work of six hundred pages in which history and modern sociology are skilfully woven together. For us West Europeans who have tried to see and understand the new Russia Fannina Halle possesses the inestimable advantage of having known the old Russia out of which the new Russia arose. This is an advantage both to the author and to the reader. For though she fills her book with information the reader is not bored for a minute, since she always enriches him by recalling the old when describing the new. I myself have seen the masculine Russian women of the cities, dressed in trousers and leather jackets, with brief cases under their arms. In the country I have seen peasant women released from domestic cares driving tractors and I have seen women soldiers in the Red Army. Such women have often been described before, but no one ever thought of showing us the antecedents of this new type of woman, the heroic woman of the pre-Christian Russian matriarchy.

When the Byzantines, after a relentless war with the warriors of Prince Ssvatosslav of Kiev, unclothed the dead they found many women who had been fighting shoulder to shoulder with men in men's uniforms. For women in ancient Russia were the social equals of men, they were

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tied down and enjoyed individual initiative in all the important things of life. This position that women occupied in pre-Christian Russian society was based on a heathen belief in women's magic, in their knowledge of the secrets of nature, in their gifts of prophecy and their power to cure sickness. The clearest indication of the power of the matriarchy is revealed in the important position occupied by the *matieraia vdova*, the widowed mother of sons. These women were customarily given unlimited power over their families in ancient Russia.

At the end of the fifteenth century the matriarchal period was followed by a period in which women were subjugated by both Church and State, a period of confinement and punishment. An old manuscript dating back to this time gives special instructions how to beat one's wife. The Russian woman of this period measured her husband's affection by how much he beat her and one of them, who married an Italian, asked her husband with horror whether he loved her because he had not beaten her. Thus Dr. Halle paints a background for the picture that she gives of woman in Soviet Russia. And, being trained in artistic history, she knows how brilliantly her representation will glow when it is set off against such a dark background. A chapter entitled 'A Rival of the New Period,' describes the reformers of Peter the Great and Catherine II, the freeing of the peasants and the first re-emancipation of woman.

Next comes the Soviet woman herself, the new marriage, the new family life, women participating in politics and intellectual matters, the widely misunderstood love, new spheres of feminine activity, woman in the Komsomol, and, of course, a chapter entitled 'The Five-year Plan and Woman.' In a section entitled 'Mother and Child,' Dr. Halle states that the rapid growth of population in modern Russia is not merely the consequence of the natural vitality of a young and healthy nation; it is also 'the first example of a consciously directed public policy.' Can this be true? Does planning extend even as far as that? I was afraid that the author had been too easily persuaded to believe what she had learned from Soviet sources. Certainly the fact of planned population increase is dubious, as well as the exact accuracy of the proud official announcement of an excess of births of three-and-a-half millions.

The theme of the Soviet woman covers children, Soviet schools, and the Komsomol, the great youth organization of the Communist Party. Concerning children who were born under the present social order, the author has something of the greatest significance to say, that 'these children know no yesterday and take for granted all new forms of existence. They cannot believe that yesterday was so different from today, or that Soviet Russia still reflects the life of the past.' Concerning the Komsomol, Dr. Halle frankly states that it is not a homogeneous mass but that it is made up of two groups, the children of the workers, who get every privilege, and the proletarianized children of the former ones'—the bourgeoisie and intellectuals.

The chapter describing the struggle against prostitution tells the reader about the first conference of former prostitutes who are now otherwise employed. This chapter, in the form of a report, is a journalistic feat of great skill written by an observer with keen eyes and ears. Everywhere and always she is eager to see and recognize what is positive, to describe what has actually happened, and to give it significance.

Dr. Halle says of her book that it does not possess 'the kind of perfect objectivity that authors often claim for their books against their own better judgment, since we know that such objectivity would be possible only if a book could be written without any author at all.' She explains that what she describes 'was seen subjectively, in the sense that the author does not believe that impartiality and lack of conviction are identical.' And her own conviction she describes as follows: 'That a creative process of unprecedented dimensions is now under way in the new Russia.'

She also shows respect for the magnitude of the Russian experiment and emotional sympathy for the fate of the Russian woman. She often explicitly acknowledges the great accomplishments that have been achieved up to now, but on certain individual subjects she shows skepticism, realization of tragi-comic elements, and a frank recognition of the grotesque.

In the first four-fifths of her book Fannina Halle describes only positive results. One feels as if it took her that long to realize that a complete account of what has happened requires something more than descriptions of mere results. And one consequence of Russia's radical social reconstruction is that the successes that have been achieved by force must be seen in relation to certain negative features. Here are several negative details of this kind which are small matters but symptomatic.

The author saw ten thousand women workers in the big cooking factory at Stalingrad eating their meals off tables that had white covers and flowers on them. But all the time they were spitting on the floor as they did in the old days. The House of Scholars in Leningrad occupies a made-over imperial palace decorated richly with marble and gold. The scholars who live there are served thin tea without sugar, millet gruel, and cucumber salad on valuable inlaid tables, and every morning a dense crowd is massed outside the wash-rooms and toilets because there are not nearly enough of these rooms to accommodate the people who wish to use them.

In the Anti-Religious Museum Fannina Halle saw men from the country automatically crossing themselves as they passed the icons that are on exhibit there for the edification of the godless, and in an industrial centre where many American specialists were stationed, along with a big staff of translators, a postal clerk asked Dr. Halle, when she gave a telegram to be sent to Vienna, whether there was any such place.

Because this book describes actual experiences respectfully and explicitly it may seem like a work of propaganda, but those who want that kind of propaganda will not care for the skeptical passages. It is not a book of the right or the left for the simple reason that it is given balance by a desire for truth that does not always fit within the framework of any single party programme.

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THE MUSIC SCHOOL AT VISHNUPUR

By S. K. C.

EAST of Benares, we have no town which is worth mentioning as a 'City of Art'—a town replete with noble architectural monuments and with artistic traditions which still linger on, a town in which we find vestiges of a great past and of a great period of art,—excepting Gaya in South Bihar and Vishnupur in Bankura district in West Bengal. Vishnupur is now in decay, no doubt: but its great period is too recent to be completely effaced from the memory of its inhabitants. Two centuries, from the close of the 16th to the close of the 18th, saw the magnificent *floraison* of Bengali art and culture—as a late provincial phase of our pan-Indian medieval art and culture—in and around Vishnupur, in the tract known as Mallabhuma—of which ample architectural remains are found in the fine series of temples numbering over a dozen in the town of Vishnupur itself, temples in brick and stone, with their fine carving specially in terracotta, which is as characteristic of post Muhammadan Bengali architecture. Vishnupur became a seat of Vaishnava religion and literature and Vaishnava art after the conversion of Bir Hambir (reigned 1587-1620) the the ruling prince to Vaishnavism of the Gaudiya or Bengal school. A number of arts and crafts grew up which made Vishnupur famous all over Northern India—weaving of exquisite silk-stuffs with embroideries, carving of conch-shell bangles and other articles making of brass and other metal utensils, and lac; besides perfumed tobacco. These are somehow maintaining a precarious existence, and they serve to give a faint echo of a glorious past when the city was in the heydey of its glory in the 17th century.

The architecture—and art—are a past glory, but in one matter the pre-eminence of Vishnupur in Bengal and in Northern India is still maintained. It is music. In classical Indian music as practised in North India, in the *Dhrupad* and *Khiyal* style of singing, and in playing on the *pakhawaj* drum and stringed instruments Vishnupur musicians have held a most honoured place for the last two hundred years and more. In the very useful little *History of Bishnupur* by written by Mr. Abhayapada Mallik, B. A., B. T., head master in the Vishnupur H. E. School (published 1921), a sketch of the history of music in Vishnupur is given (pp. 110-114). The present tradition goes back to the early decades of the 18th century, when the ruler of Vishnupur, Raghunath Sinha II (1702-1712) brought from Northern India a famous singer Bahadur Ali Khan, or Bahadur Sen, a descendant of the great Tansen of Gwalior, court musician of Akbar and the greatest name in Indian music during the last few centuries, and Pir Baksh, besides other *ustads* or master musicians from Delhi side. Before that from the 14th century onwards, music was cultivated in the Vishnupur city under the patronage of the local kings. Vishnupur lies on the high way to Puri from North India and there was therefore no lack of communication with North Indian culture and advancement, and thus stagnation was avoided. Bahadur Sen and his contemporaries began a tradition of classical music in Vishnupur which is till living. An immediate disciple of Bahadur Sen, Gadadhar Chakravarti became a distinguished singer and his descendants have some of them been the greatest singers of Bengal. Over a dozen of the most famous names in music in the province of Bengal belong to Vishnupur. The pre-eminence of Vishnupur is still maintained by some distinguished families of musicians, notably the Banerji's (to which family belong Mr. Gopeswar Banerji) and the Goswamis. The distinction of Vishnupur in music won for it the sobriquet of *Chhota Delhi* or 'Little Delhi.'

The services of Vishnupur musicians has benefited other parts of Bengal as well. It is a great heritage of which Vishnupur

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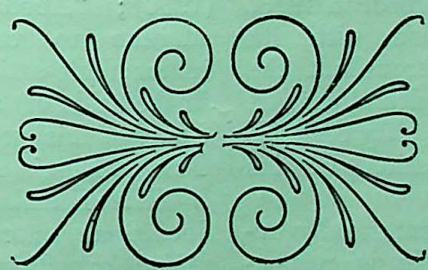
might well be proud. And it is also their duty to preserve this heritage. A school of music if it were to flourish anywhere should flourish at Vishnupur.

For the last half a dozen years a music school has been in existence at Vishnupur. Formerly the great *ustads* or masters used to maintain and teach students in their own houses, but that system is no longer in vogue now. The late Mr. Ram Prasanna Banerji started this school. It has been recognized by a long sequence of District Magistrates and local officers and school inspectors, as also by the municipality of Vishnupur and the District Board of Bankura. The chief source of the income of the school are three paltry monthly contributions from the Bengal Government, the Vishnupur municipality and the Bankura District Board. Recently the grant from the District Board has been held in abeyance, as the authorities cannot now make up their mind whether it is proper for the District Board of Bankura to help Vishnupur, the most important *mufassil* town in the district in maintaining a unique institution, the benefits from which accrue not only to the towns but to the entire district. The withdrawal of the grant will mean the break up of the school, if funds are not forthcoming from other sources : and it is quite clear that in these days of financial distress, other sources are not available.

Music has all along been recognized in India as one of the supreme arts. Recently in one or two Indian Universities a faculty of music has also been started—*viz.*, at the Annamalai University at Chidambaram. The University of Calcutta has recommended the introduction of music as an alternative subject for girl students in its new matriculation syllabus. This has also been done by the Secondary Education Board which controls school education in Rajputana, Ajmere and Central India Agency. A high grade music college has been started at Lucknow with the support from the best classes of people. The music school at Vishnupur should not be allowed to languish and die for want of support when we are really at the threshold of a great musical renaissance. It is a duty—a sacred trust which the people of Vishnupur and Bankura hold from their fathers,—a last remnant of their past glory which is still lingering. We hope that the powers that be in the District Board of Bankura, as well as the higher administrators will support the claims of the music school at Vishnupur, and will enable this unique city of art of Bengal to continue one of its artistic inheritances for the good of the town, the district and the province.



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NICHOLAS ROERICH.

ARTIST, SCIENTIST AND PHILOSOPHER

By COLONEL A. E. MAHON

PROFESSOR Nicholas Roerich founder of the Urusvati Himalayan Research Institute at Naggar, Kulu, has had a varied and distinguished career. In 1896 he was elected a member of the Imperial Archaeological Society of Russia, a distinction conferred only for acknowledged work in archaeology, and he was recently elected Vice-President of the Archaeological Institute of America. In 1903 he was elected a member of the board of the Russian Architectural Society, an unsual honour for an artist and archaeologist.

Educated at the School of Law, University of St. Petersburg, he studied drawing and painting under Mikhail O. Mikeshine, also under Kuindjy at the Academy of Fine Arts, St. Petersburg, and later under Cormon, in Paris.

From 1896 to 1900 he was Professor at the Imperial Archaeological Institute, St. Petersburg; and Assistant Editor of *Art*. From 1906 to 1916 he was Director of the School for the Encouragement of Fine Arts in Russia, and President of the Museum of Russian Art.

America knows this leader of world culture and peace as an artist, scientist and educator. The Roerich Museum in New York was established in his honour in 1923, and it is now, in conjunction with its affiliated institutions, known throughout the world as one of the great cultural centres. Also spread over the globe are fifty societies bearing his name; an indication of his universal influence.

Professor Roerich is internationally recognized as a great painter. He is responsible for ever 3,000 paintings, of which 1000 are in the Roerich Museum; the remainder are to be found in the Louvre; Luxembourg, Victoria and Albert Museum, and in most of the notable museums of the world and famous private collections.

During an expedition to Tibet, Chinese Turkestan and Mongolia, he completed 500 paintings which have been described as "a great saga of the East". He is a wizard in colour and composition. Albert Einstein stated that he had been moved by one of Roerich's landscapes as by nothing else; and Rabindranath Tagore expressed similar sentiments.

For thirty years his work has shown a never abating energy. His paintings show the universality of his mind. Practically every movement from Impressionism to Expressionism has found an echo in his work, and those who have had the good fortune to view his paintings have admitted it to be a tremendous spiritual and intellectual experience.

In addition to his other accomplishments Professor Roerich is also a poet. His poems are described as original and exotic, with an esoteric imagery of their own.

His publications are "Complete Works" (1914); "Adamant", (1924), also published in Japanese; "The Messenger" (1925); "Paths of Blessing," (1925); "Himalaya," (1926); "Joys of Sikkim," (1928); "Altai Himalaya," (1929); "Heart of Asia," (1930); "Flame in Chalice," (1930); "Shambhala," (1930); "Abode of Light," (1931). In addition to the above he has written innumerable articles for various periodicals in the fields of art, science and exploration. Many of his works have been published in France, Russia and America.

The Himalayan Research Institute is an immediate outcome of the Roerich Central Asian expedition, which toured under the leadership of Professor Roerich the countries of the Middle East. The Institute was founded by Profesor Roerich in 1928 as a branch of the Roerich Museum for the purpose of carrying out original investigations in the fields of Archaeology as well as the

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natural sciences, Medicine, Botany, Zoology, Bio-chemistry, Pharmacology, Astro-chemistry, Physics and allied research.

The Institute was a gift made by Professor Roerich to the Roerich Museum and is maintained by voluntary subscriptions as well as from the income derived from the sale of certain of the Professor's books and reproductions of his paintings, which he has generously alloted for this purpose.

His propaganda for peace has penetrated into more than twenty countries. In connection with this he has created a flag, which is known as the Banner of Peace. The idea is that this flag will be flown above museums, cathedrals, libraries, universities and any other centres of culture. This flag would be regarded as international and respected in the same way as the Red Cross is today, both in times of peace as well as war. In this way it will serve not merely as a protection for certain buildings and their contents from the ravages of war, but it will also serve as a constant reminder of things that really matter. The professor hopes that not only the present generation but generations to come, by having this reminder constantly before their eyes, will realize what are the things that matter and that with this knowledge will come the realization of the futility of war, so that the flag may become not merely a protection in war but a preventive against war and a real Banner of Peace.

This banner has already been endorsed by the International Museums Office of the League of Nations. It was also adopted by an International Conference held in Bruges, during September 1931; the object of this conference was to spread the adoption of the Roerich Peace Pact and the Roerich Banner of Peace. Cultural societies whose members total about 400,000 were represented at this conference. At a recent celebration in America, dedicated to this banner, the representatives of 3,000,000 women pledged their support. The suggestion has met with the approval of distinguished statesmen and people in all classes of life all over the world.

For his unceasing work in the interest of peace Professor Roerich has been awarded the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour and created Commander, First Class, of the Swedish Order of the Northern Star.

Today, from his home in the Himalayas, Professor Roerich sends his messages of peace throughout the world. He calls us to see the beauty in life, the beauty in art and culture, for he realizes that by a universal understanding of these things we shall attain universal peace, since culture is the great bridge between men and nations.

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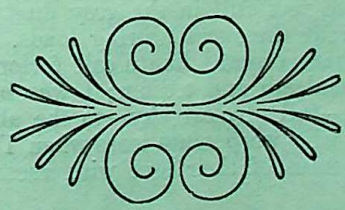

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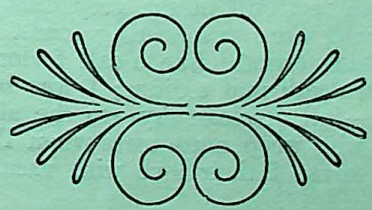

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AT SANTINIKETAN: A TRILOGY OF SONNETS

By CHARLES L. SWAN

Morning : Santiniketan

Go quietly for these are busy here;
The world is brought to them—they work at it.
Faces, closed, calm, bow at the exquisite
Gauzes and traceries they find appear
Where morning and the mind etch on the clear
Violet sky of twilight, where there flit
Shadows of Time upon the infinite
Timelessness—shadows, yet hallowed and dear

Their beings dipped in henna fire, and red,
Ochre, and wild magenta, lawns of sky,
Dew fugues, and twilight frail as silken thread,
Hearts eager as the phrase the *kokil* sings,
They bow at work here, striving quietly
To ornament the world with precious things.

Evening : Uttarayan

I sat a little way apart tonight;
Mahashai rested with his friends. I heard
His voice in the cool porch. Though not a word
Reached me, I felt the gently spreading light
Of friendship where he smiled. A recondite
Serenity has heaven brought matured
Into the open face of earth here. Stirred
By consciousness of it, my heart grew bright.

I had the world with me, the dripping world,
My heart was covered with humility.
Were I not shackled to it, I had hurled
The shamed world from me, but he spurned my choice;
Mahashai reached out for it tenderly
And veiled its frenzy in his tranquil voice.

With Tagore : Konarka

How can a poor man praise the purple morn,
His ragged feet dull in the grey dust roads?
I live among the races bearing loads,
Their tension onward like a call forlorn
Muffled in death and tedium; I was born—
My heart—full of clear sky—to the abodes
Of those who weep mute tears when Time erodes
The structures of their love with vacant scorn.

Mahashai, I love the lines upon your face,
And the grave peace of one who heals: the yearning
Of the prone silence of the village days
For that which, like a head held high, is young
And fervent, silver sonant, and discerning,
You have incorporated in your song.

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NOTES

Languages of India

In the Abstract of Tables giving the main statistics of the Census of the Indian Empire of 1931, published by the Government of India, it is said that "there are some 225 languages, exclusive of dialects, spoken in the Indian Empire, about 150 of which are confined to Assam and Burma." Of the remaining 75, most are minor languages, some being spoken by small aboriginal groups. Only about a dozen Indian languages, possessed of literature of their own, are of any importance. That such is the case is indicated by the fact that in Table X of the Abstract only eleven of these are mentioned by name.

It is to be noted that such a progressive language as Gujarati, with a copious literature, is not included in Table X.

English Speakers in India: A Census Puzzle!

It is said in the Abstract:

> "Speakers (by mother tongue) of languages foreign to India recorded at the Census of 1931 numbered 646,535 the number of English speakers being 319,312."

According to the same Abstract, "the number of Europeans is 168,134 (males 117,336, females 50,798), and Anglo-Indians 138,3 5 (males 71,247, females 67,148)." The mother tongue of *all* Europeans in India is not English. But assuming that English is the mother tongue of all of them and that the mother tongue of *all* Anglo-Indians is also English, we get 168134+138395 or 306529 as the total of English speakers. But it has been said in the same Abstract that the number of English speakers, that is, "speakers (by mother tongue) of" English, is 319312. There is a difference of 12783 between 319312 and 306529. How is this difference to be accounted for? Who are these non-Europeans and non-Anglo-Indians who use English as their mother tongue at home and abroad?

Is the Census of India of 1931 accurate?

Is the Census of 1931 Correct? Where Are the Subarna-baniks?

This is not the first time that the correctness of the Census of 1931 has been called in question in this *Review*. But instead of calling attention to what has already appeared in its pages, let us point out one out of many of its glaring omissions. We refer to the disappearance of the Subarna-banik (or "Gold-dealer") caste from the Bengal Census Report, Part II, Tables, of 1931.

In the Bengal Census Report of 1921, part I, page 359, Mr. W. H. Thomson, I. C. S., Census Superintendent, made the following observations with regard to this caste:

> "The Subarna-baniks, whose name pronounces their occupation to be that of dealers in gold, are in education and perhaps in business ability the most advanced of the mercantile castes of Bengal. Traditionally they were settled in Dacca until the days of Ballal Sen, but they are now far more numerous in Calcutta than elsewhere, and the Western Bengal districts hold more of them than those of the Dacca Division. They were 105,349 in 1901, 109,429 in 1911, and 117,123 in 1921, so that they have increased by 7.0 per cent since 1911 and by 11.2 per cent since 1901."

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If, as is quite probable, this caste increased by 7.0 per cent since 1921 also, their number must have been 125,321 in 1931. But their number is not given in Imperial Table XVII ("Caste, tribe, race, nationality or Muslim social group") of the Bengal 1931 Census Report! But the numbers of the following castes, each less than one hundred, are given in that Table !!

Caste	*Numerical strength*
Dhenuar	44
Ho	26
Kan	66
Kichak	2
Naiya	48

So, though the Census Superintendent and his staff could discover the existence of these small castes, perhaps by using their microscopes, they could not find out the Subarna-baniks, though they exceeded a hundred thousand.

It is not merely from Table XVII of the 1931 Bengal Census Report, cataloguing 141 groups in all, that the Subarna-baniks are absent. They are not to be found in the same Report, part II, Tables, in Table XI, giving occupations by selected castes, nor in Table XIV, showing literacy of selected castes, etc., nor in Table XVIII, showing variation in population of selected tribes, etc.

It is not merely in numerical strength that the Subarna-baniks are superior to many other castes, tribes or social groups whose numbers are given in the 1931 Bengal Census Tables. Not to speak of their business ability and their material prosperity, educationally they are among the most advanced castes in Bengal. In the 1921 Bengal Census Report, Part I, pages 291-2, the number of literates per mille among 58 Bengal castes and groups are given. In that list the Subarna-baniks occupy the fifth place, thus :

Caste	*Literates per mille*
Baidya	662
Agarwala (Calcuttta only)	542
Brahman	484
Kayastha	413
Subarna-banik	383

It cannot be said that the Subarna-baniks are politically or otherwise backward. For, members of that caste are to be found among the Round Tablers, Governors of the Imperial Bank, members of the Bengal Legislative Council, Councillors of the Calcutta Corporation, Knights, PH. D.s of the Calcutta University, etc.

But perhaps in the opinion of the officials of the infallible British Government who prepared the latest Bengal Census Report, the Subarna-baniks have emigrated clean out of Bengal, or been extinct like the dodo of Madagascar.

"The Depressed Classes in Bengal"

The Bengal Government, in their supplementary memorandum sent to the Lothian Committee, forwarded a list of 85 castes as the depressed castes in Bengal, observing, in part :

> "The list of castes to be included in the depressed classes is at present under revision.... The decision of Government regarding these will be arrived at *after ascertaining the views of the castes concerned.*" [Italics ours. Ed., *M. R.*]

On the 16th April 1932, the Government of Bengal informed the Lothian or Franchise Committee by wire of the addition of five more castes to the list. The Depressed Caste member of the Bengal Franchise Committee did not claim all these castes to be depressed ; his list included 86 castes.

A printed circular has been issued to all Union Board Presidents, asking them to prepare the electoral rolls for the coming council elections under the promised new constitution. That circular contains a list of the depressed castes. This list contains the 5 castes added telegraphically to the original list of 85 castes submitted to the Lothian Committee by the Bengal Government.

It is also known that in January last the Bengal Government published a provisional list of the Depressed classes.

At what stage, if ever, did the Bengal Government ascertain the views of the castes concerned, and how was it done? In December last, Raja Bhupendra Narayan Sinha Bahadur of Nashipur, Khan Bahadur Abdul Momin, Mr. B. C. Chatterjee, Mr. J. L.

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Bannerjee, etc., asked certain questions relating to the depressed classes in Bengal in the Bengal Legislative Council. From those questions and the replies and no-replies given to them by the Honourable Alhadj Sir Abdel Kerim Ghuznavi on behalf of the Bengal Government, it did not appear that that Government had consulted the castes concerned till then. Neither the Bengal Government nor the castes concerned (not at any rate their male members) are *pardanashins*. So the consultation could not have taken place behind the *parda*. When and how have the castes then been consulted ?

Languages Spoken in Bengal

According to the census of 1931 the number of speakers of Bengali is 53,468,469. The population of the *administrative* province of Bengal is 51,087,338, most, though not all, of whom are Bengali-speaking. Outside Bengal, Bengalis are to be found mostly in those districts of Assam and Bihar which geographically and linguistically form part of historical Bengal.

According to the census of 1931, in the *administrative* province of Bengal 164 languages are spoken, most of them being the mother tongue of immigrant groups or of aboriginal tribes. Below is given a list of some of these in Bengal whose numbers or enterprise or both mark them out as notable.

Number of Speakers of :	*In Bengal*	*In Calcutta.*
Hindustani	1,891,337	436,123
Naipali	134,147	3,693
Oriya	159,854	38,135
Gujarati	6,594	3,883
Kanarese	109	39
Kashmiri	63	39
Malayalam	305	236
Marathi	3,161	1,031
Panjabi	14,545	9,209
Pashto	4,084	710
Rajasthani (mostly Marwari)	19,574	7,397
Sindhi	504	359
Tamil	5,855	2,554
Telugu	33,125	3,389
Arabic	1,542	764
Armenian	700	517
Chinese	4,643	3,028
Persian	1,116	333
English	48,932	32,393
French	229	154
Italian	286	157
Portuguese	138	84

We have got only the Table volume of the 1931 Bengal Census Report. When we get the Tables of the other Provincial Reports, we shall be in a position to compile a similar list for the other Provinces.

Cosmopolitanism of Calcutta

It appears from the Bengal Census report that at least some 50 languages are spoken is Calcutta proper, the total of their speakers being 1,196,734. Among them Bengali is spoken by 648,451 and Hindustani by 436.123. Among the other cities where Hindustani is mainly spoken, the principal are :

City	*Population*
Delhi	447,442
Lahore	429,747
Lucknow	274,659
Amritsar	264,840
Cawnpore	243,755
Agra	229,764
Benares	205,315
Allahabad	183,914
Patna	159,690

In this list only the population of Delhi exceeds the number of the Hindustani speakers of Calcutta, and that by only 11,310. And in Delhi the number of those whose mother tongue is not Hindustani is certainly more than 11,310. Hence, it may be said without any risk of inaccuracy that in the whole of India Calcutta is the largest and most populous of Hindustani-speaking cities. This speaks much for the enterprise of the inhabitants of Hindustani-speaking areas. The speakers of some of the other languages whose homes are at some distance from Bengal and Calcutta are also very enterprising : *e.g.*, those whose mother tongue is Gujarati, Malayalam, Marathi, Panjabi, Pashto, Rajasthani, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu, Arabic, Chinese, or Persian. It would be superfluous

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to refer to the spirit of enterprise or adventure of Europeans. Separate figures have not been given in the Census Report for Japanese.

Subhas Chandra Bose's Parting Message

According to the "Free Press of India,"

Just when the ship was about to move, an order was served on Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose by a police officer who was keeping watch on him, to the effect that the Government of India had withdrawn the order under Regulation 3 of 1818 under which he was arrested and incarcerated thirteen months ago. The order was to take effect from the midnight of the 22nd and 23rd February, though as a matter of fact Sj. Bose became a free man only twelve hours later, that is, after the midday of February 23.

Though Sj. Bose sails alone, he will have the advantage of a fellow Bengali Dr. Sailen Sen, who would be looking after him during the voyage. The doctor of the steamer examined him before the ship left and comforted him with the thought that he would soon be better.

Dr. G. V.. Deshmukh and Dr. B. V. Sathe, two leading doctors of Bombay. wanted to examine Sj. Bose. but were not allowed to see him.

Sj. Bose will disembark at Venice and then proceed to Leysen in Switzerland, where, it is understood, arrangements have been made for his treatment by an eminent doctor.

It is understood that, in reply to enquiries by the relatives of Sj Bose, the Government of India have telegraphed to them that interviews were subject to the approval of the Government of Bombay.

The Government having refused to allow interviews without police surveillance, Sj. Bose in his turn refused to see three of his nearest relatives. They, however, managed to go into the cabin, exchanged a few words and then bid him farewell.

According to the same news agency, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose made the following statement prior to his sailing for Europe :

On the eve of my departure for Europe I desire to convey my cordial and affectionate thanks to my friends and well-wishers all over the country for the kind interest they have taken in me.

In spite of my prostrate condition the Government, for reasons best known to themselves, did not consider it advisable to release me or allow me freedom of any kind so long as I remained in any part of India. They also did not permit me to meet my aged and sick parents, in spite of the most importunate requests.

Nevertheless I feel that what facilities have reluctantly been allowed by the Government have been the direct result of ceaseless agitation carried on by my friends and well-wishers all over the country and by the nationalist press in particular. To them my sincere gratitude is due.

The public are aware that, though the responsibility for the present condition of my health falls entirely on the Government, they have refused to arrange for my treatment in Europe at Government expense, while they also refused to allow my friends and relatives to take charge of my treatment in India.

In view of the financial troubles through which my relatives have been passing for over a year, due primarily to the incarceration of my elder brother, Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, it would have been impossible for me to accept the offer of the Government. But some of my friends and well-wishers have voluntarily taken upon themselves the responsibility of finding necessary funds for my stay and treatment in Europe and have made it possible for me to go out to Europe in search of health.

It is yet too early for me to say whether I shall be able to recover my former health. But whatever the future may have in store for me, I heartily thank all those who have made it possible for me to leave for Europe.

Acutely sensitive though I am, I have not hesitated to accept the help offered by my friends and well-wishers, because I have always felt that my family is not confined to my blood relations but is co-terminous with my country, and when I have once for all dedicated my humble life to the service of my country, my countrymen have as much right to look after my welfare as my nearest relatives have.

I only hope and pray that God in his infinite mercy, may make me worthy, in the same measure of love and affection that has been showered on me by all sections of the Indian community.

In spite of all restrictions imposed on me till the moment of my sailing, I feel, I am carrying the kindest thoughts, best wishes and the most affectionate sympathy of my countrymen.

I desire, therefore, to assure them in return that their thoughts and prayers will be the most potent factor in helping my recovery (if it is not too late already)—a factor much more efficacious than the best medicines which the best doctors in the world can prescribe.

If arrangements had been made by the Government for Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose to see his old and invalid parents with the permission and in the presence of the local authorities, no attempt would or could have been made by Mr. Bose to run away from custody, nor would or could his parents have attempted to snatch him away from the hands of the police. Neither is it imaginable that he would have entered into a conspiracy with his parents to subvert the British Empire. It is equally unthinkable that Mr. Bose would have incited his parents to rebellion or that they would have incited him to rebellion. Such being the case, it would have been quite a safe and in addition a gracious act for the Government to allow him to see his parents in Cuttack or Puri, as they were too weak to travel to a distant place

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see off their son, who has been suffering from a fell disease contracted in His Majesty's pri-on. It cannot be believed that it was beyond the resources of the State to convey Mr. Bose as a prisoner to Cuttack or Puri and keep him there as a prisoner for a day prior to his departure for Europe.

We observed in our Bengali monthly *Prabasi* some days ago that, as Mr. Bose's illness was due to jail conditions, for which the Government was responsible, it was the duty of the Government to make arrangements for his medical treatment at State expense. It is to be noted that the sufferer himself has now expressed the same opinion.

Along with our other countrymen we earnestly and eagerly desire and pray for Mr. Bose's speedy and complete recovery.

Dodges of Churchill & Co. "Unltd." ?

The European Association have desired that when India is given the promised new constitution, Bengal should not have what the other provinces should have.

It is not unimaginable that this may be a dodge for making the people of Bengal fall down on their knees and humbly pray that they may be favoured with the "boon" which was going to be bestowed on the people of the other provinces.

In the course of the Lords debate relating to India's future constitution, great fears were expressed as to what would happen if India were to get the constitution which Tory imagination magnified into a revolutionary measure. And then the die-hards had to be reassured on behalf of the British cabinet.

We do not think Indians are such fools as to be led by such theatrical devices to form a high estimate of what they are likely to get and to clamour for the same.

Mr. Winston Churchill has been clamouring as if the British Government were going to bring about a revolution in India. He has made himself responsible for the sapient observation that the Indians are a primitive people and should not have a democratic constitution.

Whether Indians are primitive or not, does Mr. Winston Churchill expect that his cries would lead Indians to pray to the British arbiters of their destiny : "O terrestrial gods, pray do not listen to Mr. Churchill, but please, please let us have the great boon which you in your boundless generosity are intending to confer on us" ?

Lastly, there was Sir Henry Pagecroft's motion in the British House of Commons on the 22nd February last to the following effect :

> Whilst keeping in view the ultimate ideal of an all-India federation, in the face of the existing financial conditions and the inadequacy of the proposed safe-guards, the House believes that it is inexpedient at present to transfer responsibility at the Centre.
>
> That the House approves of the Simon Report, subject to temporary reservation of justice and public safety.
>
> That the House urges as a first step, extension of self-government to provinces, and affirms the belief that until self-government has proved to be effective in the provinces which after due experience would be prepared to federate with the States as partners of the emipre, the bestowal of central responsibility is fraught with grave danger to the welfare of 350 million inhabitants of India, as also to the British interests involved, upon which large numbers of British workers depend for their livelihood.

This motion was defeated by 297 votes to 42. These figures and the fact that Lord Eustace Percy moved an amendment to Sir Henry Pagecroft's motion do not impress us with the great generosity of the members of the British Parliament. For, it is perfectly plain that 297 Tories would not have voted for the unknown future constitution of India forged by Sir Samuel Hoare, if it had been a radical or even a tolerably liberal one. Sir Samuel Hoare had told his countrymen already that he was acting in a right conservative spirit. And in the course of the debate on Sir Henry Pagecroft's motion Sir Samuel assured the House of Commons that the Government had not the least intention of abandoning their Indian obligations and taking action which would close India to the Empire. We know what that means.

Our suggestion to the British people is that they or any of them should not try to make India believe that in framing a constitution for India the British Government is going to be overwhelmingly generous, or incautious, or oblivious of the secular interests of Great Britain. Indians in general, with the exception perhaps of the communalist

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Muslims and some depressed class people, do not believe that the British Government, far from being generous, is going even to be just.

Churchill Outbursts

One of Mr. Churchill's outbursts, namely, that, as Indians are a primitive people, they ought not to have democracy, does not require serious and elaborate refutation. In the course of the debate on Sir Henry Page-croft's motion Sir Samuel Hoare asked his countrymen to remember that "Britishers and Indians were not rival nations fighting for supremacy, but representatives of two great civilizations, which, held together, might confer benefit unprecedented in the history of the world and the British Empire."

Sir Samuel Hoare was right in holding that Indians represented a great civilization. But he was wrong in saying that the present struggle did not involve a fight for supremacy. Britishers were struggling to maintain their supremacy in India, which was not their home, and Indians were struggling to win back supremacy in India, which was their native land. Great Britain and India may be held together, if each remained upreme within its own natural territory. And such free and willing co-partnership on equal terms may "confer benefit unprecedented in the history of the world and the British Empire."

Mr. Churchill and other die-hards think that they are very clever statesmen. Statesmen they certainly are not, and perhaps not very clever either. Not to speak of such idealistic things as world freedom, world democracy, justice and self-determination for all peoples, small and great, let us consider what merely Great Britain's narrow self-interest would require.

The present Sino-Japanese situation and the League of Nations' and America's inability to prevent bloody conflicts show that very big wars are still possible and practicable and would continue to be so for an indefinite period. The following telegraphic message from Moscow also shows that we are not on the eve of a pacifist era :

Moscow, Feb. 21.

The necessity of arming the country against the risk of foreign aggression was emph[illegible] the first essential by M. Molotov, President [illegible] Council of Labour and Defence, in a [illegible] speech at the Congress of collective far[illegible] declared that to this end economic interes[illegible] be sacrificed and plans connected with the [illegible] duction of industrial goods for work[illegible] peasants must be suspended so as to make [illegible] for the production of armaments and [illegible] defence of the country. Red armies in the [illegible] and the Far East must keep a vigilant wa[illegible] the frontiers.

'We are not afraid of the threats of [illegible] bearing imperialistic gentlemen,' asserted [illegible] Molotov, who suggested that the internal [illegible] of other countries were in such a pl[illegible] heads of Governments might try to divert [illegible] attention from them by inciting new wars a[illegible] the Soviet. He concluded with a warning to [illegible] who intervened that such an attack would [illegible] tougher undertaking than formerly.

In any great war in the near or di[illegible] future Great Britain with her far-[illegible] empire is quite likely to be involved. [illegible] that war, as in the last great one, she w[illegible] require the willing and liberal help of In[illegible] As Indians have been disillusioned by [illegible] last post-war happenings, willing help [illegible] not likely to be received from In[illegible] unless the country receives an ade[illegible] measure of real and genuine self-rule. [illegible] for liberal and sufficient help in men [illegible] money, financial help cannot be given un[illegible] the country's natural resources are [illegible] developed. That cannot be done unless [illegible] people of the country are masters in th[illegible] own household in matters relating to fina[illegible] currency, tariffs, industry, trade, and rail[illegible] water and air transport, etc. All parts [illegible] the country will not in future give money [illegible] a war unless all parts are given equal rig[illegible] to have military training and enter the ar[illegible] And, apart from the question of receiv[illegible] pecuniary help from all parts of the coun[illegible] the Indian army cannot be sufficiently str[illegible] if soldiers are not drawn from all provinces.

All these considerations go to show th[illegible] in any future great war Britain will not [illegible] sufficient help from India, which is [illegible] excellence *the* British Empire, unless In[illegible] be free.

Britain's connection with India ca[illegible] not be maintained for an indefinite pe[illegible] unless India be free. Prophecy is not [illegible] our line. But it seems probable that In[illegible] will not long remain subject to Britain. [illegible] she cannot be free like the Dominions wit[illegible]

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British Commonwealth of Nations, per-
s her future place will be outside the
ish Empire or the British Commonwealth
Nations—whichever term may be preferred.
d outside the British connection, consi-
ing India's present state of military,
al and aerial preparedness, the winning
maintenance of independence on her part
pears less probable than fresh subjugation
some non-British power. That is not at all
elcome prospect, so far as Indians are
erned.

mitiveness and Democracy

In spite of the fact that, when Mr.
rchill's ancestors were painted savages
ing in the woods, India had many
blics, systems of philosophy, polities,
arts and crafts, etc., and that even during
early years of the East India Company's
there was greater literacy in India than
, let us assume that we are a primitive
le. According to our reading of anthropo-
and sociology, there is no conflict
en primitiveness and democracy. There
lack of examples in history of primitive
les managing their own affairs democra-
lly. On the other hand, during primitive
s imperialists did not rule other primitive
ple living at a distance of six or seven
sand miles from them.

When people are at their wit's end to
ify their irresponsible rule over foreigners,
trot out the argument that the latter
illiterate, primitive, and the like. Why,
there was a time when all men were
mitive, illiterate and so on. Did they in
se days import their rulers from the
net Mars or Venus ?

Mr. Churchill ought to know that even
hin the British Empire the primitive
ple of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands have
e Rule.

ngal and the Future Constitution

The European Association, so far as
ngal or Calcutta is concerned, has more
n two thousand members. But at its
ent meeting in Calcutta less than four
en were present—such is the public
rit of its members. But nevertheless it has great influence over the Government—sometimes it speaks as if it *was* the Government. And sometimes big officials act as if they were a sub-committee of the European Association.

This Association has expressed the opinion that Bengal should not have the sort of provincial autonomy proposed to be given to the Provinces in the new constitution to be. At its annual meeting Mr. Morgan, the chairman, said that they did not believe that the proposed change in the constitution will be beneficial to the Indian or British inhabitants of the country or that in consequence of it the country will be prosperous. From the forecast and outlines of the proposed constitution hitherto received, it does not seem to us, too, that the country will derive any advantage from it, but the British sojourners may remain prosperous.

Mr. Morgan appears to hold that what other provinces may get Bengal ought not to receive. Said he at the annual meeting of his Association :

> Peace within limitations had been secured by special methods, but would that endure if the special methods were abandoned ? Could they hope for a change of heart under a different form of government ? Was it in fact the fault of the form of Government, or was it due to an inherited lack of love of law and order ?

We do not think peace has been secured in Bengal. The servants of Government, high and low, may now feel quite safe. But that is not the whole of peace. When numbers of unarmed people have to bear the brunt of lathi charges or receive shots, that is not peace. But it may be argued that it is their fault if some people have to be cudgelled or shot down. Well and good. But armed dacoities continue to take place in Bengal in increasing numbers. The people who suffer in life and limb and property from these robberies do not invite the robbers. Whosoever may be to blame for such a state of things, it is certainly not peace.

As regards the Bengalis' "inherited lack of love of law and order," *The Leader* of Allahabad, a non-Bengal paper edited by non-Bengalis, has the following to say :

> For years and years Bengal was one of the most law-abiding provinces. Did that show an inherited lack of love of law and order? Why has the position deteriorated? For years it has

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been governed with the aid of special laws of exceptional severity, and yet the problem of 'law and order' has become progressively difficult. Politico-economic causes are at the root of the trouble, and they are intimately connected with the system of Government which has been breeding political extremism. The causes cannot be removed without a change in the system. The highly developed political consciousness of Bengal has been finding it increasingly intolerable. A study of the history of the national movement in the province during the last thirty or forty years ought to make it abundantly clear that the remedy for its political ills is to be found in the grant of free and democratic institutions.

With reference to the European Association's demand that Bengal should not have provincial autonomy of the Sir Samuel Hoare brand, the Governor of Bengal has observed:

> It would certainly be a great misfortune for the province and for all interests connected with it if, when self-government was being conferred upon the other provinces of India, Bengal had to be singled out for special treatment. I trust that the province may be spared that humiliation and the bitter feeling that it would inevitably arouse.

The spirit of His Excellency's observations is commendable. But it is not our impression or forecast that self-government is going to be conferred upon India as a whole or upon any province.

The three sentences in the form of queries which have been quoted above from Mr. Morgan's speech appear to suggest that it is the 'inherited' "love of 'law and order'" which has in all countries, particularly in the British Empire, led to the broadening of the basis of freedom. It is, of course, quite obvious that the "lack of love of 'law and order'," to put it in Mr. Morgan's negative phraseology, which has been in evidence in Bengal and some other parts of India among a small group of people, cannot and ought not to lead independence and freedom. But does Mr. Morgan suggest that Canada, South Africa, Australia and Ireland ought not to have been given the free constitutions which were given to them years ago, because they did not give proofs of "inherited" or self-developed "love of 'law and order'"? If so, then perhaps he is a greater statesman and student of history than any hitherto produced by Great Britain.

Is Anti-Untouchability a Political Movement?

The Zamorin of Calicut is reported to have said some time ago, with reference to the efforts made to have the Guruvayur temple in his State thrown open to the so-called uutouchables, that the anti-untouchability movement is not a religious or socio-religious movement but a political one. Supposing it is a political movement, why should it not be supported? Why should all persons who are not strengthen the movement? But we not think it is a political movement. If were, Government would not have allowed Mahatma Gandhi to conduct it from prison cell. Moreover, it may be presumed from Sir Samuel Hoare's observation that it has diverted men's minds from the civil disobedience movement, that he allowed Mahatmaji to do what he is doing because such an anti-political result was anticipated.

Though we think the anti-untouchability movement is not political, we do not in the least suggest that there can be any social, economic, religious, literary, sanitary or other similar movements which are not even remotely or indirectly political. These different kinds of movements are intimately related.

Years ago, when *The Pioneer* was an Anglo-Indian paper and sometimes had the Bengal on its brain, it once wrote that the downfall of Greece and Rome was due to malaria, and added that some Bengalis dreamed that if malaria were eradicated from Bengal the might become a manly people. Whether the paper wanted to suggest that, therefore, anti-malarial endeavours in Bengal should be treated as seditious, and suppressed, within the province of thought-readers to determine. But what *The Pioneer* wrote shows that sanitation may be rightly considered indirectly political.

Let us take another example.

Appeasing of Hunger Is A Political Movement

Even those who have never uttered or heard the synonym of "politics" uttered in their mother tongue, try to appease their hunger, and many in India succeed in doing so. But do they suspect even in their dreams that by doing so they are consciously take part in a political movement?

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Provided the food taken is nutritious, the appeasement of hunger is followed by nourishment. A well-nourished body enables a man to stand erect and to hold his head high. Physical erectness is connected with and not unoften leads to independence of spirit. And that is undoubtedly a political quality. Hence, those who are against all political movements, should themselves remain hungry and persuade or compel others to remain hungry.

But here a difficulty arises.

Remaining Hungry Is Also a Political Movement

History tells us that some revolutions, for example, the French Revolution, were brought about by hungry people. If political movements are to be eschewed and suppressed, if necessary and possible, revolutions should undoubtedly be suppressed first of all at the very incipient stage. Hence, people should never be allowed to remain hungry.

One now feels that one is between the horns of a dilemma : men must not appease hunger, neither must they remain hungry. Would it be any solution to suggest that they should become immensely rich and gluttonous and lie supine on their backs all day long with their stomachs excessively loaded ? An Association of such men would be a genuine non-political Association.

Right to Pronounce Opinion on Temple Entry Question

As, though we are Hindus, we do not ourselves go to any Hindu temple to worship the images or idols kept there, nor do we think it necessary for others to do so, the worship of the formless Supreme Spirit in spirit and in truth being in our opinion sufficient and practicable for all grown-up persons, it may be contended that we have no business to pronounce any opinion on the question of temple entry for the so-called untouchables. But as we think that whoever believes in any religion is fully entitled to take part in all rites and ceremonies of that religion, we believe we are not precluded from pronouncing an opinion on the subject. We are not Christians, yet when we hear that some Christian Negroes of America are not allowed to enter and worship in some white Christians' churches in that country, we cannot but condemn such exclusiveness. Similarly, we cannot but condemn the exclusion of the so-called untouchable Hindus from Hindu temples.

"Untouchables" Certainly Hindus

Some "caste" Hindus of southern India—we do not know either their number or the cubical contents of their brain-pans, have raised the cry that the so-called untouchables are not Hindus ! What are they then ? They believe in and worship the same gods and goddesses as the "caste" Hindus do, and they believe in the doctrine of *karma* and other similar Hindu doctrines.

Hence they are undoubtedly Hindus. Some of them, no doubt, drink intoxicant liquor. But many "caste" Hindus also have that evil habit. Some of them eat beef. But some "educated" "caste" Hindus also do so. We do not suggest that drinking and taking beef are to be encouraged. What we say is that as orthodox Hinduism requires the giving up of beef and liquor, both the so-called untouchables and the "educated" drinkers and beef-eaters should be made to give up these habits of theirs by orthodox Hindus ; and if they do not give up these habits, both should be prevented from entering the temples.

No Compulsion in Temple Entry Bills

A difference of opinion has arisen between Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya as to the character of the Temple Entry Bills to be considered by the Legislative Assembly. Having read what both the parties have got to say, we are of the opinion that Mahatmaji is right, that the Bills are meant simply to remove a legal obstacle,that they would not involve any compulsion, and that a legal obstacle can be removed only by legislation, not by persuasion alone. Besides the removal of this legal obstacle by legislation everything else relating to temple entry should, of course, be accomplished by means of persuasion.

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Stipends for Study in Germany

It is with pleasure and gratitude that we publish the following circular, which we have received from Dr. Franz Thierfelder, Hon. Secretary, India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie :

On behalf of India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie, we wish to announce that the following stipends in institutions of higher learning in Germany, will be available for Indian scholars (male or female) of outstanding ability, for the academic year of 1933-1934 :

1. Berlin: An Indian physician will have the opportunity of securing practical training in *St. Hedwig's Hospital in Berlin.* He will be taken as a volunteer Assistant. The candidate must be a graduate of a medical college (M.B.) with hospital experience in India. He will receive free board with the hospital staff.

2. Freiberg (Saxony): One stipend at the *Mining University of Freiberg* consisting of free tuition, free lunch in the Student's Mess (Mittagstisch in Mensa Academia). The stipend-holder will have the special opportunity of securing lodging including break-fast and supper for RM 60 (sixty marks) per month.

3. Hamburg: One stipend at the *University of Hamburg,* consisting of free tuition and a pocket-money of RM 30.—(thirty marks) per month. The candidate will be given free private coaching in the German language.

4. Hohenheim (Wurttemberg): One stipend at the *Agricultural University of Hohenheim,* consisting of free tuition and free lodging.

5. Jena: One stipend at the *University of Jena,* entitling the scholar to receive free tuition at the famous *University Institute for Applied Optics and Microscopy* (Institute fur angewandte Optik und wissenschaftliche Mikroskopie) and a pocket-money of RM 30.—(thirty marks) per month. Only the most highly qualified students, possessing qualifications for specializing in this branch of study, should apply.

These stipends are tenable provisionally for two academic semesters only. The first semester begins early in November 1933 ; and the second semester ends in July 1934.

Applicants for these stipends must be graduates of recognized Indian universities, preferably scholars possessing research experience. Applications from non-graduates will be given consideration, only if they have recognized literary or scientific achievements to their credit. Every applicant must possess good health and supply at least two recommendations from professors or Indian public men, about his scholarship and character. *It is desired that the applicant should have fair knowledge of the German language, as all academic work in Germany is carried on through the medium of German.*

No application will be given consideration, unless it is guaranteed for by some prominent professor or an otherwise well-known Indian public man that the applicant is really earnest about his application and will certainly come to Germany before the 1st of September 1933, if a stipend is offered to him.

It is imperative that a stipend-holder should arrive at Munich by the 1st of September and stay in the city *at his own cost* till the academic year begins in November, *devoting these weeks to intensive study of the German language* in the German language courses for foreigners at the University of Munich, where he will be exempted from tuition-fees. It is however presupposed that an applicant for a stipend possesses working knowledge of German. We are forced to take this measure, because a student not having adequate knowledge of German, before beginning his academic work fails to get the benefit of attending the University and often loses six months' time.

We want to make it clear that apart from the stipend, the stipend-holder must be prepared to spend at least RM 100,—per month for the necessary expenses not included in the different stipends.

All applications should reach India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie before the 15th of April 1933. A special committee of experts will select the succesful candidates who will be promptly notified of the decision. Selection of successful candidates will be determined solely by the academic qualifications of applicants. Certificates and testimonials of applicants *will not be returned.*

All applications should be *directly* sent to the following address :

Dr. Franz Thierfelder,
Hon. Secretary,
India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie,
"Maximilianeum,"
Munich,
Germany.

North German Lloyd Company offers a reduction of 10 per cent on the fare for single trip in cabin class or second class for the Indian students of the Deutsche Akademie coming to Germany or returning to India from Germany, provided they travel during the "Off-season," *i.e.,* from Europe during April to July and from Colombo from July to January. Detailed information on this subject can be secured from the representative of North German Lloyd at Colombo, c-o the office of Hanseatic Trading Company, Colombo, Ceylon.

We are glad to report to the public that the University of Konigsberg has created facilities for an Indian student who is willing to teach Hindi at the University. Since the University authorities want the student to take up his work by the 1st of May 1933, the candidate had to be selected from the Indian students already studying in Germany.

In co-operation with the Academy of Fine Arts of Munich we succeeded in granting facilities to an Indian sculptor, Mr. Sudhir R. Khastgir of Dacca, who will begin his studies at the Academy in April next.

Munich, Germany,
February 1933.

Report of the Commission of Enquiry on Traffic in Women and Children in the East

The League of Nations has just issued the report of the Commission of Enquiry on

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Traffic in Women and Children in the East. It contains 530 pages of the size of this Review, and a map showing the itinerary of the Commission. The official summary is appended below.

This enquiry, which continues those undertaken in Europe (includiug the Mediterranean Basin), and in the two Americas, has also been helped by the generosity of the New York Bureau of Social Hygiene, which has met the expenses.

The Commission which went to the East was composed of Mr. Basoom Johnson (United States), Chairman, Mme. Alma Sundquist (Sweden), and M. Karol Pindor (Poland). The Commission left Europe in October, 1930 and returned in March, 1932, after visiting Japan, China, Hong-Kong, Macao, the Philippine Islands, Indo-China, Netherlands East Indies, Straits Settlements, the Federated and non-federated Malay States, Siam, India, Ceylon, Persia, Iraq, the territories of the Levant under French mandate, and Palestine.

The general part of the report, which has been drawn up by M. Pindor, studies the traffic, grouping the victims by races, and examines the position of Western women. It shows that in the Middle and Far East women of ill fame are sought only by Western men as opposed to the Near East, where they are sought also by the natives. It then describes the position of Russian women victims of the international traffic in the Far East. These are exiles and refugees as a result of the events in Russia. Part of these unfortunate women, deprived of every means of livelihood, are lost in the lonely districts of Manchuria, where, in exchange for their upkeep, they practise prosttiution.

More or less large numbers of Chinese victims of the traffic are to be found in all the territories of the Far East to the south of China and in the Middle East as far west as India. The report studies the social conditions that go to help the recruiting of these Chinese women and gives much information on the subterfuges used by the traffickers in various Eastern ports.

The traffic in Japanese women, and also the characteristic aspects of the demand for these women in China and outside China are studied in detail.

The women of the Philippine Islands and the Anamite women in Indo-China do not appear to be victims of the international traffic.

There is a certain movement among Siamese women towards the Federated and non-federated Malay States bordering Siam. The report shows that it is possible to pass the frontier between Siam and the Malays secretly by leaving the train before the frontier and crossing the jungle on foot. Cases of traffic in Malay women are almost non-existent.

Very few Hindu, Persian, Arab or Jewish women are victims of the international traffic.

The report notes an unimportant movement of African women towards Asia.

The report, after reviewing the various countries, submits considerations and suggestions to the Council of the League. It insists on the necessity for international co-operation and suggests the creation of central authorities in each country to receive information concerning the traffic in women and children and exchange this information with each other.

The enquires emphasize the value for states to accede to the 1904 Agreement and the Conventions of 1910 and 1921. They consider that licensed houses form the surest market for international traffickers and their suppression would make it possible to attack the evil at its root.

The enquirers recommend collaboration between the authorities and missions and private organizations. They consider that the further spread of education will help to strengthen the campaign against the traffic.

The Council during its session in January 1933 took note of the report of the Commission of Enquiry and recommended the Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People to make a careful study of it and consider all the practical action it involved.

To obtain additional opinions and information, the Advisory Commission should ask the central authorities, missions and private organizations to make written suggestions.

Information relating to international traffic in Indian women, which is happily almost non-existent, though within India the immoral traffic exists, is to be found on pages 82-83 of the Report. For information about internal traffic relating to the traffic in India, the reader should read pages 329-375. Those who are trying to fight the evil of prostitution should possess a copy of this Report. The price is 16s.

Treatment of Political Prisoners in Amraoti Jail

Nagpur, Feb. 22

The report of the Committee appointed to enquire into alleged ill-treatment of civil disobedience prisoners in Amraoti Jail in April, 1932, has just been published. Of the five non-official members three have signed the report with the Home Member.

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The report says that civil disobedience prisoners were in a state of mutiny on the 21st April, 1932 and on the morning of 22nd April some of the prisoners were kept locked in their barracks and assaulted by warders, while others were not supplied food and water.

The report adds that the incident was a well-planned campaign against civil disobedience prisoners with a view to subjugate them.

It recommends that civil disobedience prisoners should be treated in a different way from ordinary criminals.—Associated Press.

Similar committees of inquiry ought to be appointed to investigate similar complaints with regard to some jails in Bengal. The Bengal Government's omission to do so has not had the effect of allaying public suspicion.

Why Political Prisoners are Not Released

At the close of the third so-called Round Table Conference Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru told the Secretary of State that he (Sir Tej Bahadur) had never known in his thirty years' experience as a public man so much bitterness, so much hostile feeling in Indian homes as he had witnessed during the last few months. He asked him appealingly to revise his policy, "so that you may inspire a spirit of hopefulness in our country, so that people may feel that now the prospect before them is brighter and all the distrust and the misapprehensions in the country may disappear, as your fog and mist sometimes disappears here." Sir Manubhai Mehta, an experienced administrator of Indian States who has not taken any part in the politics of British India, also told Sir Samuel Hoare :

> The iron has entered the soul, and there is bitterness at the very core. It is very well to say that the situation of the country has improved. All I can say, sir, is in the words of Shakespeare's Hamlet, all is not well in the state of Denmark. Something is rotten in the State of India. Therefore my request, sir, is : give them with good grace, give them with open hands—give them freedom and give it quickly.....As long as this spirit of unrest, this bitterness, this antipathy to Government is allowed to remain unremedied in British India, we have a standing menace. Therefore, I appeal to you, sir, to remove that peril by giving solid satisfaction to the people. And I have to request you to do it soon.

These appeals called forth the following reply from Sir Samuel Hoare :

> Last night Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru made an eloquent appeal for a chapter of renewed operation between every section of Indian opinion and ourselves. Lord Chancellor, let me say that there is nothing that I should desire more earnestly, myself. I want to see no empty chairs at the Conference with the Joint Select Committee. I will give to the words Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru uttered last night the full consideration that they demand. He will not expect me this morning to give a definite answer either in the affirmative or in the negative, but I can assure him that I am fully conscious of the expression of goodwill of which we have had evidence in India itself during the last few months and of which we have had many evidences during the course of our deliberations in this conference.

Sir Samuel spent many weeks in giving "full consideration" to Sir Tej Bahadur's words. It was on the 13th February last that the result of this full consideration came to be known. On that day in reply to a question asked by Mr. Thomas Williams in the House of Commons Sir Samuel Hoare stated that

> "There could be no question of Mr. Gandhi or other civil disobedience prisoners being released until the Government had convincing reasons to believe that their release would not be followed by a revival of civil disobedience."

When this reply reached India, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru issued the following statement :

> I read in today's reply Sir Samuel Hoare gave in the House of Commons to a question put by Mr. Thomas Williams about the release of Mahatma Gandhi and other political prisoners.
>
> It is difficult for me to reconcile it with his speech at the last Round Table Conference and more than that with his attitude as would appear from the last paragraph of that speech. It is true he did not give a definite answer either in the affirmative or negative to the appeal I made to him publicly in my speech on the night of December 23 last. But I would like to draw attention also to his statement that he did not want to see empty-chairs at the Conference with the Joint Select Committee.
>
> I notice similar appeals have been made publicly by notable public men in England, both in Parliament and in the press and yet there has been no response at all.
>
> Comparing Sir Samuel Hoare's present statement with the statement made on behalf of the Government in the Legislative Assembly a few days ago it seems to me probable that the difficulty is more at this end than the other. One cannot understand what exactly is meant by saying that there can be no question of Mahatma Gandhi or other civil disobedience prisoners being released until the Government had convincing reasons to believe that their release would not be followed by a revival of civil disobedience. Who is to furnish these convincing reasons ? If the Government feel the Mahatma will now or at any time make a recantation of his faith and furnish a sort of recognisance for good behaviour then I think the Government are not dealing with the problem in

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problem in a political manner and they are applying a standard of conduct to Mahatma Gandhi and his co-adjutors which no one who understands anything of political psychology can apply to political leaders in the situation of Mahatma Gandhi and others.

How long can the Government afford to keep Mahatma Gandhi in detention without trial and ignore public opinion in India, England and other countries? On the one hand, Sir Samuel Hoare expressed in his speech the wish that we should tell every section of Indian opinion that there was an opportunity for their help and the Government needed their help and on the other, he and his agents at Delhi are shutting out all such opportunities by the deplorable lack of imagination and refusal or incapacity to read the signs of times.

I wonder whether Sir Samuel Hoare realizes how much prejudice has the continuation of this policy already caused to the work he has in hand. This is not the way to create a proper atmosphere for the discussion of problems of high import and far-reaching consequences.

Surely it cannot be the object of His Majesty's Government that a constitution, which is being hammered out, must be reserved only for ultra-conservative politicians or those who profess or pretend to be friends of the Government and who may be disheartened by any steps which may give chance to the progressive elements of society. I think the time has come, indeed it has long been overdue, when public opinion, particularly that section of it which is not connected with the Congress, should assert itself both here and in England, and demand the replacement of the present policy by a wiser and saner policy.—Free Press.

In reply to Sir Tej Bahadur's question, "how long can the Government afford to keep Mahatma Gandhi in detention and ignore public opinion in India, England and other countries?", Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh has said: "My plain answer is: So long as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and his confreres continue their present policy."

Mr. Singh's answer is partly but not wholly correct. It is correct to this extent that Government believes that the Indian Liberals would not refuse to co-operate with it in the sense of working *any* constitution that it might frame for India, even if along with the inauguration of that constitution there were in operation the rule of executive discretion in lieu of the reign of law, so far as the followers of the Congress and the advocates or suspected advocates of physical force were concerned; and, therefore, Government's confidence that any constitution can be worked is partly based on the policy and attitude of the Indian Liberals, but not solely on their attitude and policy. There are others on whose attitude Government relies for the working of any constitution whatsoever.

We wish to explain more fully why we consider Mr. Singh's answer only partly correct. Sir Samuel Hoare's 'response' to Sir Tej Bahadur's appeal contained the words, "I want to see no empty chairs at the Conference with the Joint Select Committee." Why did or does any Indian politician understand these words to mean that Sir Samuel wanted the chairs to be filled by Indian Congressmen or Indian Liberals in particular? If he and his Government really at any time wanted "co-operation between every section of Indian opinion and ourselves," Mahatma Gandhi would not have been thrown into prison after he had made a frank offer of friendly co-operation to Lord Willingdon on his return from the second so-called Round Table Conference. The recent official *communique* which tried by the suppression of important parts of the Gandhi-Willingdon correspondance to throw the responsibility for his imprisonment on his shoulders has not stood the test of criticism, it has been found to be utterly unconvincing.

Sir Samuel Hoare wants the "chairs" to be filled by *some* Indians—not necessarily by those Indians who carry most weight with most Indians. He and his Government believe or pretend to believe that the figure-heads who filled the "chairs" at the third so-called Round Table Conference were as good representatives of India as, if not better representatives than, Mahatma Gandhi. As, on account of this official mentality, Government has considered itself to be in a position to do without the co-operation of the Congress, which is admittedly the strongest, the most influential and the biggest organization in the country, why should it feel it essentially necessary to have the co-operation of the Indian Liberals, who do not approach Congressmen in numbers, influence, sacrifice and the like? For filling the chairs at the conference with the Joint Select Committee, Government can get any number of politically non-descript (non-Liberal and non-Congresswala) Hindu Indians, any number of Mussalmans and any number of members of the depressed castes. The die-hards of England are quite capable of proclaiming to the world that all these

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men are truer and better representatives of India than Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri and others.

Therefore, perhaps a more correct and complete answer to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's question than Mr. Singh's would be: "Government can afford to keep Mahatma Gandhi in detention and ignore public opinion in India, England and other countries, so long as Government can find Liberals, Musalmans, 'untouchables,' and political non-descripts to fill the chairs at the so-called conferences held under official auspices."

Let us explain why we think Government will not under present conditions lack men, Muslims for example, to fill the "chairs."

Political Auction

At the London School of Economics and Political Science, Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah is reported to have described the three Round Table Conferences as a "trap" and the result of the Conferences as "nil." He is further reported to have condemned Federation as an "anti-democratic measure calculated to delay the establishment of responsibility."

The Leader's comment on this is:

> It is clear that on the question of the coming reforms he is not among the optimists. He is even frankly sceptical. He seems to be the first prominent Moslem leader to have assumed that attitude—and that adds piquancy to the situation. The Moslem communalists whom Mr. Jinnah led are more than satisfied with the results of the London Conference, but he is disgruntled. Has he ceased to be their leader?

Among the Musalmans the communalists are the more numerous and influential section. We do not know whether Mr. Jinnah has ceased to be their leader. But there continue to be some points of agreement between him and them. He and they both want residuary powers to be vested in the provinces. He is openly and frankly opposed to Federation with the states. The communalist Musalmans also appear to be opposed to it, but they want to obstruct it by a flank movement. At a recent conference of theirs they have assumed a democratic attitude and have practically demanded that the representatives of the States in the Central Federal Legislature should be elected by the people of the States, or in other words, they should not be nominated by the Princes. It is well known that the Princes want to remain autocrats, as they are at present, as far as they can; they do not want to democratize themselves and their administrations. British imperialists, in and outside the cabinet, rely on the help to be received from the Princes and the communal Moslems for successfully fighting and stemming the tide of Indian Nationalism. It is necessary for these British die-hards, therefore, to humour both the Princes and the Moslems.

Therefore, if the Princes remain firm in their autocratic attitude and the Moslems also stick to their newly acquired democratic cry, British imperialists may have to choose between the support of the two. Perhaps a division or two may be brought to pass among the Princes themselves, as there are Hindus, Sikhs, and Moslems among them. The biggest Prince, the Nizam, is a Musalman. Already negotiations have been going on between him and the British Government about the rendition of Berar. Whether anything else also is the subject of negotiation is not known.

However, in the political auction the British Government's favour will go to the highest bidder—the party favoured may be that which pledges itself to pay the price of highest support to the British imperialists. Perhaps the bid of the Moslem communalists *cum* the Moslem princes with the Nizam at their head may be accepted.

The opinion has already been quoted that "the Moslem communalists are more than satisfied with the results of the London Conference." A recent proof of that fact is the following telegram relating to the views of so prominent a Moslem leader as Sir Mahomed Iqbal:

> Bombay, Feb. 20
>
> Sir Mahomed Iqbal, delegate to the Third Round Table Conference, returned today by "Conterverde." He stated that he was completely satisfied at the achievement of the Third Round Table Conference. He declared that the British statesmen who participated in the Conference were very fair-minded and sympathetic, particularly Sir Samuel Hoare. He added that more or less all the problems have been settled regarding the coming constitution.

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Referring to the minorities, he said that one fact that clearly emerged was that a national outlook could not be developed till the minorities felt that their interests were safe-guarded under new constitution. He was also glad that Lord Willingdon was at the helm of affairs, and under his guidance the communal problem had reacted very favourably at the London deliberations.—Free Press.

As the majority of Musalmans—perhaps all Musalmans, are more than satisfied with the promised "reforms," the question may be asked, why some of them took part in the Allahabad Unity Conference. The "why" may not be definitely known and cannot, therefore, be dogmatically stated. But it may be inferred from the turn which events have taken.

The Hindu leaders at the Unity Conference agreed to the Muslim communalist demands as far as they could, in order to secure Moslem support to the Indian Nationalist programme. It was agreed that Sind should be separated, some safe-guards being provided for the Hindu minority and a Muslim-Hindu Committee being appointed to find out ways and means for financing the new Sind province. This was, of course, a mere paper agreement, as the leaders of the Unity Conference had no power to separate Sind from Bombay and do the other things necessary to implement the agreement. Governnment is in a far better position—it can do things by its fiat. When the Hindus had agreed definitely to the separation of Sind, of course on some conditions, Government came into the scene with a higher bid for Moslem support—Sir Samuel Hoare declared that Sind would be separated—unconditionally, of course!

Sheikh Abdul Majid Sindhi had prophetic powers to know beforehand what would happen.

The Unity Conference at Allahabad had agreed to give the Moslems 32 per cent of the seats at the Central Legislature. It was a paper promise made by persons who had no power to deliver the goods. Sir Samuel Hoare made a higher bid for Moslem support. He promised to give them 33⅓ per cent of the seats, and he has the power to deliver the goods. So Moslem support must go to him, the highest bidder, who can deliver the goods.

From these two solid unfragile facts it may not be unfair to infer that probably the Muslim communalists want to ascertain by hard bargaining to what extent the Hindus may agree to yield *on paper*, in order to obtain more from the Government in the form of substantial concessions and preference.

It may be added here incidentally that Moslem communalist opposition to nomination of the States' representatives in the Federal Legislature by the rulers of the States is presumably due to the fact that most of the Princes are Hindus. If the States' representatives were to be elected, Moslem communalists would claim reservation of seats with weightage for their co-religionists in the States, and that would create another opportunity for bargaining and political auctioneering.

"Public Opinion Should Assert Itself"

In the course of his statement relating to Sir Samuel Hoare's reply in the Commons on the question of Mahatma Gandhi's release, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru observes :

> I think the time has come, when public opinion, particularly that section of it which is not connected with the Congress, should assert itself, both here and in England, and demand the replacement of the present policy by a wiser and saner policy.

Here Sir Tej Bahadur speaks of that section of public opinion which is not connected with the Congress. Perhaps it would be more correct to say, "those sections of public opinion which are not connected with the Congress." These sections of public opinion are those of the Indian Liberals, the Indian political non-descripts, the Moslem Indians and some groups of the Hindu depressed castes. These sections of public opinion have to be thoroughly Nationalized before public opinion can assert itself. For, by the process of political auctioneering, many can be bought off whose opinions may be represented or misrepresented as public opinion.

And even when public opinion as a whole has been Nationalized by thoroughly purging it of its sectionalism, it must assert itself not only verbally but actually also.

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For years, Indian public men have generally had justice and logic on their side. Their arguments could not be refuted by their British opponents. But in politics it is not the logic of books which wins the day but the logic of facts. If ever the leaders of all sections of Indians can jointly confront the British people with the logic of facts, then Indian freedom will be won. The great obstacle to such joint endeavour is the existence of so many groups and individuals who can be bought off by the highest bidder.

For a quarter of a century or so, the present writer has occasionally by writing and speech tried to meet all objections to self-rule in India. He thinks he has refuted, on paper and orally, all objections that he heard or read of or could think of, except one. And that objection is, If Indians are fit for self-rule, why are they not self-ruling? It is for all sections of Indian public opinion to supply the answer.

Guarantee of Non-revival of Civil Disobedience

Government want a guarantee of non-revival of civil disobedience before Mahatma Gandhi and other political prisoners can be released. As we have not taken part in the civil disobedience movement, it is not for us to say whether such a guarantee can be given, and if so, under what circumstances it can be done. But some facts are obviously not unknown to Government. Many leading Congressmen and others who are "privates" have obtained release after serving their full term. They have not started civil disobedience again. That may show which way the wind blows. Certain other facts may also be stated. Public men of the Congress school started civil disobedience because they did not find the political status and constitution of India satisfactory. So it stands to reason that, if the coming constitution be to their liking, they will not start civil disobedience or have recourse to any other kind of direct action to gain their object. But as nobody outside the highest Government circles knows what the Indian constitution is going to be, it is unreasonable to expect Congressmen to say beforehand what they will or will not do in future, in ignorance of what is going to happen. It lies with Sir Samuel Hoare and his Government to save selves to prevent or obviate the revival of civil disobedience or any other kind of direct action. The minimum demands of the Congress are well known. Government can easily ensure the non-revival of civil disobedience by meeting these demands. If any bargaining or negotiations be necessary, Mahatma Gandhi and his colleagues may be set free in order that they may confer among themselves and negotiate with the Government. They will not and cannot run away. Government can, if necessary, easily again deprive them of their freedom without charge or trial. But if the object be to humiliate them and make them eat the humble pie, the object will not be, ought not to be, gained. They are not criminals but honourable opponents and should be treated as such. It would be far better to try to keep Mahatma Gandhi in jail till his dying day than to try to make him recant. He will not recant. But supposing the impossible happened and he recanted, it would be unwise to presume that in him was exhausted the political potentiality of India.

Financial Safe-guards

"I am told, on authority so high that I cannot ignore it, that under pressure from the City, the Government is proposing either entirely to remove Federal Finance, or so to hedge in what they call responsibility by conditions that it will mean nothing. This, I am convinced, will be fatal to the Conference, and to the financial connection between Britain and India .....If Indian constitutional progress is wrecked on the opposition of City bond-holders, it will create a feeling of ill-will disastrous to the City in the long run. We have one evil legacy in the aftermath of the Lancashire demand for the cotton excise, which damned the relations between the two countries for a generation; we do not want another."—Sir Stanley Baldwin.

"The truth simply is that safe-guards are dangerous and provocative. When they are needed they fail. Their presence destroys the possibility of conciliation and good feeling."—Professor A. B. Keith.

Caste, Untouchability, and Varnashrama.

The existence or non-existence of any connection between caste and untouchability has been discussed. In our view, an essential

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feature of the caste spirit is exclusiveness. Another essential feature is the consciousness that one's own caste is superior (and in some cases, inferior) to some other caste. Perhaps this feeling of superiority and inferiority existed when the myth originated that the Brahmins sprang from the mouth of Brahma and the Sudras from his feet. This feeling has found its worst manifestation in untouchability. Hence in our opinion there is a connection between caste and untouchability.

We have no quarrel with *Varnashrama*, as the thing does not exist at present. We do not want to fight with dreams, fictions or shadows. There is no man or collection of men with sufficient impartiality and sufficient knowledge of the inner qualities and occupations of others, changing from time to time, to be able to classify them periodically according to their changing *gunas* (qualities) and *karmas* (occupations). And even if there were, how will that man or collection of men make others obey his or its authority ?

Political Bearings of Untouchability

Untouchability has induced a cringing, servile, obsequious mentality in those who have been its victims for generations. Those who are socially obsequious can seldom be politically stalwart and full of the spirit of independence. The depressed castes have had to bow down to so many other castes for centuries that they may be said, figuratively, to have forgotten the erect posture. You cannot build up a sturdy nation of self-respecting citizens with people millions of whom have been enjoined perpetually to crawl. Moreover, those on the other end of the ladder who are social tyrants are themselves predisposed to kotow to superior might. Hence all self-respecting Indians, whatever their religion, who are interested in the birth and growth of political sturdiness in our midst, ought to do their level best to destroy untouchability root and branch.

Ram Mohun Roy Centenary

Ram Mohun Roy died at Bristol on the 27th of September, 1833. It will be a hundred years from that date on the 27th September next. In order to celebrate the centenary of the death of the inaugurator of the modern age in India in an appropriate manner a preliminary meeting was held under the presidentship of Rabindranath Tagore in the Calcutta University Senate House on the 18th February last. At that meeting a comprehensive General Committee, consisting of office-bearers and members chosen from all religious communities, was appointed. The first two resolutions, with the names of their proposers, seconders and supporters, are printed below.

FIRST RESOLUTION.

Resolved that this meeting of the citizens of Calcutta, convened for the purpose of making necessary arrangements for the celebration of the centenary of the death of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, offers its homage to the memory of the Raja, who heralded a new epoch in this country and was the first among the nation-builders of modern India, and calls upon all sections of the people of this country to co-operate in making the celebration a success.

Proposed by—Her Highness the Dowager Maharani Sucharu Devi of Mayurbhanj

Seconded by—Sir Hassan Suhrawardy

Supported by—Mr. Hirendranath Datta, Right Rev. Bishop Pakenham-Walsh, Mr. Krishnakumar Mitra.

SECOND RESOLUTION

Resolved that this meeting is of opinion that steps should be taken to celebrate the centenary of the death of the Raja in a fitting manner in Calcutta and other places in Bengal, and for this purpose a General Committee consisting of ladies and gentlemen whose names appear in Appendix A be formed, with power to add to their number, representatives from different districts in the Province being co-opted later on for an all-Bengal celebration.

Proposed by—The Hon. Mr. Justice Manmathanath Mukerji

Seconded by—Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea

Supported by—Dr. B. C. Ghosh, Dr. D. N. Maitra.

By the third Resolution it was resolved

That this meeting is further of opinion that the centenary of the death of the Raja should be similarly celebrated in other parts of India, and for this purpose the ladies and gentlemen whose names appear in Appendix B be requested to organize an All-India Celebration Committee.

Proposed by—Sir C. V. Raman

Seconded by—Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar

Supported by—Principal Rajani Kanta Guha.

"Harijan"

We cordially welcome into the ranks of Indian journals *Harijan*, the organ of the Servants of Untouchables Society. The first issue bears on its front page the following

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free rendering by Rabindranath Tagore of Satyendranath Datta's poem "Scavenger :"

THE CLEANSER

Why do they shun your touch, my friend, and call you unclean
Whom cleanliness follows at every step, making the earth and air sweet for our dwelling, and ever luring us back from return to the wild ?
You help us, like a mother her child, into freshness, and uphold the truth, that disgust is never for man.
The holy stream of your ministry carries pollutions away and ever remains pure.
Once Lord Shiva had saved the world from a deluge of poison by taking it himself,
And you save it every day from filth with the same divine sufferance.
Come friend, come my hero, give us courage to serve man even while bearing the brand of infamy from him.

Satyendranath Datta's original Bengali poem runs thus :—

मेथर

के बले तोमारे, बन्धु, अस्पृश्य अशुचि ?
शुचिता फिरिछे सदा तोमारि पिछने ;
तुमि आछ, गृहवासे ताई आछे रुचि,
नहिले मानुष बुझि फिरे जेत वने।
शिशुज्ञाने सेवा तुमि करितेछ सवे,
घुचाइछ रात्रिदिन सर्व्व क्लेद ग्लानि !
घृणार नाहिक किछु स्नेहेर मानवे ;—
हे बन्धु ! तुमिई एका जेनेछ से वाणी।
निर्व्विचारे आवर्ज्जना वह अहर्निश,
निर्व्विकार सदा शुचि तुमि गङ्गाजल !
नीलकण्ठ करेछेन पृथ्वीरे निर्व्विष ;
आर तुमि ? तुमि तारे करेछ निर्म्मल।
एस बन्धु, एस वीर, शक्ति दाउ चिते,—
कल्याणेर कर्म्मे करि, लाञ्छना सहिते।

Vested Interests in the Army

The Sind observer writes :

"When a North India man, specially a Panjabi Muslim or Sikh or Jat, says in the Legislative Assembly that the efficiency of the army should not be tampered with ; that it should be recruited from the best fields (which are only the Panjab, the N. W. F. P. and parts of U. P. and Nepal) and that all the other inhabitants of India are non-martial races from whom it is dangerous to recruit soldiers, take him as not speaking from disinterested motives. We do not say that those tracts do not produce capable soldiers that are a strong shield of defence ; but these tracts are not the only places where good soldiers can be found. India can produce plenty of men from the south and the east as well from the north and west, if only British policy has not been to recruit from the ignorant and illiterate classes untouched political sentiments. But now the time come to extend the field of recruitment in of the fact that under Swaraj every p must have the pride and the honour in contributing for the defence of the motherland.

"If you close down recruitment for century from now in the Panjab, you will that the people there are as bad for purposes at the end of that period as any of the south."

Commenting on the pecuniary aspe recruiting soldiers from only a few tracts, Karachi paper says :

"The Panjabis are quite interested parties. Panjab has become rich during the last or four decades on account of the cro rupees spent in that province every ye concentration of armies. Every class or community caters to army requirements in num ways and thus earns money. The Pa soldiers living outside their province do also home several lakhs of rupees every mo Thousands of families in the Panjab have a stake in the army just as British fa have in India. It is this very heavy eco interest, (including the grant of lands to re and disabled sepoys and non-commissioned commissioned officers) that makes the Pa Sikh, Muslim and Jat look with jealousy any attempt to widen the field of recruitment."

While all provinces of India, particu the "non-martial" provinces, contribute to revenues which maintain the army and merly contributed soldiers also, why sh only a few regions derive pecuniary adv tage from recruiting arrangements ?

Even in times past, physique being e the soldier with brains was a greater s than his brainless brother. In modern ti intellect plays a greater part in winning b than formerly.

The Panjabi has not, at any rate, c up to now that he is matchless in brain po compared with the people of the other prov of India. Captain Lalchand, a Panjab military tradition, had the fairness to that at the Dehra Dun military college martial' students are doing as well as others.

But this sort of praise, while it does c to the speaker, cannot be a substitute justice. Fine words butter no pars

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Of the 15 candidates declared successful this year at the competitive examination held in October last for admission to the Dehra Dun military college, only some four seem to belong to 'non-martial' communities. And all the 15 non-commissioned Indian soldiers nominated for admission there by the Commander-in-chief belong to "martial" communities, of course. So, though the communities styled "non-martial" vastly outnumber those classed as "martial," only 4 students have been drawn from the former against 26 from the latter !

At the 11th Andhra Students' Conference a resolution was passed demanding recruitment of soldiers from Andhra-desa. So Andhra students will be interested in the news that

Mr. Tottenham announced that out of four artillery brigades forming part of an Indianized division, one will be allotted to the Madrasis. That is a small mercy, though it is the Madras and Bengal armies of old that conquered large provinces of India for the British without heavy artillery but by strength of hand.

There was a time when men from East Bengal were among the best artillerymen in the British Indian army. And for that very reason they were afterwards excluded from the artillery.

Medical Council Bill

This Bill has been condemned by the Indian medical profession on various grounds. Some of the objections to it will be understood from the speeches of Mr. Ramakrishna Reddi and Raja Krishnamachari in the Assembly. Mr. Reddi said :

The Bill placed the medical graduates in Andhra, Patna and Rangoon Universities and the Licentiates all over India in an inferior position to that of the Licentiates and Apothecaries of Britain. Sir John McGaw and other eminent officials had certified the products of Indian Universities as efficient. Yet the Bill gave statutory recognition to the inferiority-complex of Indians. The crying need was a Council not to protect a few graduates of certain universities but to protect the interests of the medical profession, including the Licentiates. Mr. Reddi suggested the Licentiates being placed in a separate schedule in an All-India Register with equal privileges and immunities with the graduates, but not included for the purposes of reciprocity or international recognition. As for graduates, they should receive real reciprocity and not the one given in the Bill to satisfy the General Medical Council. The Licentiates also should be represented on the Council. If the Government accepted these changes, he was for the Select Committee, otherwise not.

Mr. Reddi's mention of the medical graduates of the Andhra Uuiversity reminds us of the resolution passed at the 11th Andhra Students' Conference on this subject and of our recent visit to the Medical College at Vizagapatam. We were very favourably impressed with all that we saw and heard there.

Raja Krishnamachari said :

He was not carried away by clamour for international status and asked the House not to accept the Bill in its present form, until the self-respect of India abroad was secured. He quoted Doctor Andrew Walter who in his address to the League of Nations had said that continental doctors, however qualified they might be, were not competent to practise in the tropical countries until they had sufficient training there. In the light of that observation, exclusion of Indian Licentiates, who were bred and trained in the Tropics, was unjustified. It had been the experience of India that foreign doctors were costly and not easily approachable for the poor public. The Indian legislatures were helpless in the hands of the bureaucracy, who had a majority over the head of the selected representatives. Concluding, he thought it was not very difficult to make provision to include the States in the scope of the Bill.

Appreciation of Rabindranath Before His Winning the Nobel Prize

The following sentence occurs in Mr. K. C. Sen's article on "The Religion of Man" in the February (1933) number of *The Calcutta Review* :

"Dr. Tagore was not much thought of in his own country until the Nobel Prize was received by him."

This is not true. Rabindranath Tagore received the Nobel Prize in November 1913. He completed his fiftieth year about two years before his receipt of that prize. The occasion of his fiftieth birthday was celebrated with great enthusiasm and *eclat*. We quote a paragraph from the description of the Calcutta celebration in *The Modern Review* for February, 1912, pages 229-30 :

"In the current year of the Bengali era

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Rabindranath Tagore has completed the fiftieth year of his life. The occasion has been seized by Bengal to do honour to her greatest litterateur. On the 28th of January last, under the auspices of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, Bengal's most representative literary society, a meeting was held for the purpose in the Calcutta Town Hall. It was one of the most representative, crowded, and enthusiastic gatherings that have ever filled that historic hall. From childhood to old age, all ages and both sexes were represented there. Representatives of culture and high birth and wealth met there to do honour to the poet. High spirituality was there; science and industry were there; philosophy and forensic ability, poetry and the ancient learning of the land were there; literature had her many votaries there; and the goddesses of music and painting had sent there some of her foremost worshippers. Nor was statesmanship left unrepresented. The mothers and daughters of the race did not lag behind. And there mustered strong in their thousands, the youth of Bengal, her rising hope, with enthusiasm writ large on their shining foreheads."

There was another reception given to the Poet at the hall of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, where the late Hon'ble Justice Sir Gooroo Dass Banerji read a poem composed by himself in honour of Rabindranath. On the occasion of this 50th birthday celebration a local firm of photographers, Messrs. Hop Sing and Co., prepared a photographic study containing the portraits of Shakespeare, Goethe, Tolstoy, Victor Hugo, Robert Burns, Walt Whitman, and Rabindranath Tagore, at the bottom of which was inscribed the late poet Satyendranath Datta's couplet, addressed to Rabindranath :

"जगत्-कविसभाय मोरा तोमार करि गर्व्व;
बाङालो आजि गानेर राजा, बाङालो नहे खर्व्व।"

"We are proud of you in the assembly of world-poets ;
Today the Bengali is the king of songs, the Bengali is not a dwarf."

This photographic group was reproduced in *Prabasi* for Sravan, 1320 B. E.

All this will show that what detractors of Rabindranath's countrymen *may* say is, not that he was not much thought of in his own country until he received the Nobel Prize, but that in their (the detractors') opinion he was thought too much of by his Bengali countrymen.

Railway Budget

Sir Joseph Bhore and Sir Russell G[illegible] have made speeches in the Legis[illegible] Assembly and the Council of State respec[illegible]ly in presenting the Railway Budget, [illegible] all which the facts emerge that the [illegible] figures for 1931-32 show a deficit of [illegible] crores, the revised estimates for 1932-33 [illegible] a deficit of 9½ crores, and the anticip[illegible] deficit for 1933-34 is 7.7 crores. But [illegible]cipations often prove false, and hence [illegible] deficit for 1933-34 may be larger, [illegible] the deficit according to the revi[illegible] estimates for 1932-33 exceeds [illegible] anticipated deficit by about 1¾ crores. [illegible] reason for this increased deficit is that [illegible] enhanced fares and freights did not bri[illegible] in the additional income which the Railw[illegible] member had expected.

The railways have all along been un[illegible] European management and control. Exc[illegible] for the last few months, which cannot mak[illegible] any difference, the Railway Member of th[illegible] Government of India has always been [illegible] European and the Railway Board has be[illegible] manned by Europeans. The other high po[illegible] are almost a monopoly of Europeans. Som[illegible] what lower down in the grades of office, [illegible] great preponderance of European and Ang[illegible] Indian officers is conspicuous. Hence Eu[illegible]pean and Anglo-Indian efficiency in Indi[illegible] railway management is a myth, an explod[illegible] myth, if you like. That being the ca[illegible] Indians ought to have a chance to prove wh[illegible] they are capable of. Even if Europeans ha[illegible] proved efficient in managing Indian railwa[illegible] the right of Indians to manage them in the[illegible] own country could not have been forfeited.

There has been all along excessive expe[illegible]diture in railway construction in India, th[illegible] involving much waste. The administrati[illegible] has been throughout top-heavy in expenditu[illegible] And as in British-ruled India retrenchm[illegible] has always meant the discharge of su[illegible] subordinate employees for the most pa[illegible] each fresh measure of retrenchment has pe[illegible]haps added to the top-heaviness of railw[illegible] management. This state of things requi[illegible] a thorough change. Retrenchment should [illegible] carried out more at the top than at th[illegible] bottom.

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Instead of increasing the third class fares, the railway bosses ought to have done their best to add to the convenience and comforts of the third class passengers, as they are the really paying customers. The treatment received by third class passengers is notorious. Mr. Joshi has pointed out that every third class seat cost Rs. 206 and earned Rs. 241, whereas every first class seat cost Rs. 4000 but earned only Rs. 500. In spite of these facts, the railway management provides one first class seat for every twelve first class passengers as against one third class seat for so many as 400 third class passengers. The insanitary and crowded condition of the third class carriages with their narrow benches requires no description.

The fact that it is cheaper for Bombay to bring coal from South Africa by steamer than to get it from Bengal by railway shows how the railways promote the cause of Indian industries. In fact Indian railway policy has been concerned more with promoting the export from India of raw materials for British and other manufacturers and the distribution of their manufactures all over India than with the development of Indian industries.

For all these reasons even commercial lines in India either do not earn any profits at all during long periods or earn very small dividends. And it is out of the question for strategic lines to be paying.

Bengal Deficit Budget

The revised estimates of Bengal's receipts and expenditure for 1932-33 are : receipts Rs. 9,45,57,000 ; expenditure Rs.10,83,06,000 ; deficit Rs. 1,37,49,000. The estimated figures for 1933-34 are : receipts Rs. 9,48,87,000 ; expenditure Rs. 11,32,24,000 ; deficit Rs. 1,83,37,000. So the deficit in 1933-34 is going to be larger than in 1932-33.

Mr. J. A. Woodhead, the Finance Member, regretted that it was more than unfortunate that, when the revenue position demanded every economy to be made, the promoters of anarchy should have involved the province in additional expenditure amounting to Rs. 122¼ lakhs during the last three years. It certainly is unfortunate and to be regretted. But why was the financial condition of Bengal unsatisfactory when there were no "promoters of anarchy"? High officers of Government are expected to explain why there is any "anarchy" at all under an enlightened system of administration. There may be direct promotion of anarchy as well as indirect and unintentional promotion of anarchy. Both should be dealt with and put an end to.

Mr. Woodhead's budget speech holds out the hope of Bengal getting at least some portion from the revenue from jute. And perhaps she may get an appreciable amount from the income-tax collected from her inhabitants. These are good so far as they go. But it can never be an equitable arrangement which results in the most populous province in India getting a smaller amount for her administration than any other major province. For the sake of comparison, some figures for Bombay and Bengal for the year 1933-34 are given below.

Province	*Population*	*Reciepts*	*Expenditure.*
Bengal	50122550	Rs. 9,48,87,000	Rs. 11,32,24,000
Bombay	22259977	Rs. 14,86,00,000	Rs. 15,21,00,000

With regard to the Bombay budget *The Servant of India* rightly complains that "Bombay budgets have for so long been a series of deficit budgets that the man in the street has ceased to look for any provision in them for the development of nation-building activities." If that is the complaint when a provincial administration can spend 15 crores of rupees for a province which contains a population of 22 millions, how much greater and how much more justifiable must the complaint be in a province of 50 million inhabitants which can spend only 11 crores of rupees, partly by begging or borrowing ?

And it is not that this province, Bengal, is a poor source of revenue. The following paragraph is taken from the Report of the Bengal Retrenchment Committee, published by the Government of Bengal :

"The total revenues of the Government of India in the same year, 1921-22, amounted to Rs. 64,52,66,000, of which Bengal contributed no less than Rs. 23,11,98,000. Its unfortunate position, therefore, was due, not to the natural poverty of the province, but solely to the method of allocating the total revenues

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between the provinces and the Central Government. The difficulties of the Government of Bengal were enhanced by the fact that the sources of revenue assigned to it were inelastic and gave little prospect of expansion in the near future.

In years subsequent to 1921-22 also the Government of India have continued to take very much more from Bengal than from any other single province. The Governor of Bengal said in his last St. Andrews Dinner speech that Bengal was on the down grade. No wonder.

It has been said that Bengal's poor provincial financial position is due to the Permanent Settlement, which has made her Land Revenue comparatively small and inelastic. Assuming, without admitting, that that is the sole or main cause of Bengal's provincial pecuniary difficulties, may not one ask whether it is good logic to say: "The financial position of this province is precarious and weak; let us, therefore, take the largest amount from it for all-India purposes"?

Kashmir and Alwar Affairs

The impression widely prevails that there is misrule in numerous Indian States. The turn which affairs have taken in Kashmir and Alwar gives rise to the questions: 1. Whether there is misrule only in some States ruled by Hindu Princes; 2. Whether in those States only the Musalman subjects who are oppressed; 3. Whether it is in order for these Moslem subjects to attack the persons and property of their Hindu fellow subjects; and, 4. Whether the impression that rebellion and certain reforms or changes in Indian States are concomitants is justifiable or beneficial.

Berar

Negotiations are going on with the Nizam in relation to Berar. Land is transferable property; but, in these post-slavery and anti-slavery days, men are not. That a former Nizam had to *G*ive *C*urzon *B*erar in exchange for a G. C. B. without even ascertaining the opinion of the Beraris, cannot make their re-transfer without their consent justifiable. It has been said, no doubt, that they would be allowed an opportunity to express their opinion. But how and when? And would their opinion be respected, if it ran counter to that of the powers that be?

The Beraris want a separate autonomous province of their own in order that, it is said, all the revenue obtained from Berar may be spent in and on it instead of a portion being, as at present, spent to make the deficits of some poor C. P. districts. The Nizam is not known to be so democratically inclined as to make Berar an autonomous province with democratic institutions. The chances are that, as in the territory now under his rule, so in Berar, if it came under his rule, there would be autocracy with the fat jobs going to his Moslem subjects, who are a small minority, and Moslem outsiders.

As for all the Berar revenues being spent in and for Berar, there is no question of its propriety. But the question is, will the salaries of a Governor, Executive Councillors, Ministers, Secretariat, Director of Public Instruction, Inspector-General of Police, etc., leaving aside the capital expenditure on new buildings—will those salaries leave more money to be spent on the Berar districts than now?

Deprovincialization

In Bengal there are some schools and colleges which are entirely managed and where necessary, financed by the Government Education Department. A desire has been expressed to place these under private committees of management—perhaps to abolish some of them, to reduce the expenditure on these Government institutions, and with the money thus saved improve the condition of the private and aided institutions. This in brief is known in Bengal as deprovincialization.

This formed the main subject of discussion at a public meeting held in Albert Hall under the auspices of the All-Bengal College and University Teachers' Association, presided over by Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee. *Advance* writes:

"At the public meeting presided over by Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee, a point of great

importance was that a by the de College w prospects be worthi ing as opinion appear Finance execute public op do so. In to be a m of the grant may in a statu tion of th spent on the future are symp repose in We sh fears prov even whol Non-o on this po even una generally and Execu are not of Swaraj And, the of unanim one cann statute o When the sity was meant p of highe which is endeavour grant to statutory. advocates a law pass thereby s police and on Islam and Mak communa have a gr

China a

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importance was raised. What he suggested was that any guarantee that the funds released by the deprovincialization of Government Arts College would be utilized in bettering the prospects of colleges and in nothing else would be worthless, constitutionally speaking. Knowing as we do the unanimity of non-official opinion on this subject, Sj. Chatterjee's fears appear to be exaggerated. If the Finance Department in the future prefer to execute a *volte face*, it will rest with the public opinion of the country to allow it to do so. In any case, if a promise is considered to be a *mere* promise, subject to the exigencies of the Budget, the whole of the educational grant may for a term of years be incorporated in a statute, or there may be statutory prohibition of the diversion of funds at present being spent on education to any other purpose in the future. Incidentally, Mr. Chatterjee's fears are symptomatic of the trust that the people repose in Government promises."

We should be very glad indeed if our fears proved to be not only exaggerated but even wholly unfounded.

Non-official opinion may be unanimous on this point. But under the present regime even unanimous non-official opinion is not generally effective so far as the Legislature and Executive of Bengal are concerned. We are not very optimistic about the prospect of Swaraj in the immediate or near future. And, therefore, whatever may be the degree of unanimity of public opinion on the subject, one cannot be sure of the enactment of a statute of the kind suggested by *Advance*. When the annual grant to the Dacca University was made statutory, because it was meant particularly for the encouragement of higher education among Musalmans—which is certainly a worthy object, an endeavour was made to make the annual grant to the Calcutta University similarly statutory. But the attempt failed. If the advocates of deprovincialization try to get a law passed, providing that the savings effected thereby should be spent substantially on the police and jails and the balance spent mostly on Islamic Intermediate Colleges, Madrasa, and Maktabs, leaving something for non-communal institutions, their efforts would have a greater chance of success.

China and Japan

Japan is a comparatively small country densely inhabited by a growing population. Japan wants elbow room, wants wide tracts for emigration, and wants markets for her manufactured goods. U. S. A., Australia, South Africa, etc., would not allow her the facilities she wants. Nearer she had Korea. She conquered it. Nearer also there is Manchuria, which is sparsely inhabited. She has practically annexed it, though it is part of the Chinese republic, which is its sovereign power. Japan also wants Jehol in China.

All this is in tune with the old imperialistic game played so cunningly and unscrupulously by various Western peoples. These peoples, therefore, in League of Nations assembled, cannot effectively interfere. Japan's defiant attitude is the adage, "Physician, heal thyself," in action.

We do not in the least support or extenuate what Japan has been doing. That it is similar to what other imperialists have done is no justification. Japan ought to have gained her objects as to markets and places to emigrate to by peaceful negotiation with China. In that case China should and perhaps would have been reasonable and accommodating.

To us foreigners Manchus and Chinese are all one, are indistinguishable. Nevertheless, if Manchuria had become really independent and had been able to maintain her independence, without hostility to China, her separation from China would not have been unjustifiable. But in reality Japan has forcibly separated Manchuria from China and given that country a nominal and shadowy separate existence actually equivalent to subjection.

The situation would have been somewhat similar to what Japan has done, if some power had annexed Burma, or the Dutch East Indies, or the French Indo-China, at the same time placing some descendants of the former royal families of those countries on their thrones and declaring that they had become independent of Britain, Holland or France. In that case Europeans would have better understood and realized what the game really amounted to.

Bikaner "Public Safety Act"

We have received from the Secretary, Rajputana Branch, Indian States' People's

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Conference, Ajmer, a copy of a pamphlet entitled "Public Safety in Bikaner." It is a reprint of the Bikaner Public Safety Act of 1932, with an introductory note. We wonder what led the ruler of that State to pass such a law. The introductory note runs as follows in part :

> The Public Safety Act of Bikaner came into force from the 4th July last. It should be borne in mind that the Act while surpassing its kindred, the Ordinances of British India, and resembling Martial Law in severity, has no time-limit and that no emergency, much less any continued state of affairs, has ever existed in the state during the long and illustrious regime of Sir Ganga Sinha Bahadur to warrant the promulgation of such drastic measures. It is common knowledge that in the Bikaner State even the ordinary avenues of constitutional agitation are conspicuous by their absence. It is an undeniable fact that no political paper and no independent political body has ever existed nor any political meeting was held in the State at the time the Act was placed on the Statute Book. It passes one's comprehension as to why a stringent piece of legislation of this nature was passed in the utter absence of any sort of public commotion in the State.
>
> But so far as the effects of uncalled-for repression are concerned, they are becoming visible. Within four weeks of the enforcement of the Act, two cases of open revolt against it have occurred there. The significance of such protests in an atmosphere of proverbially helpless submission can only be the turning of the worm.

The Music School at Vishnupur, Bengal

On another page we publish a short article on the school of music at Vishnupur in Bengal. As has been pointed out in it, Vishnupur is an old centre of music in Bengal, and it would be a pity indeed, if the school there were allowed to die for want of funds. We earnestly hope that the authorities of the district would not be guilty of neglect of duty towards one of their greatest glories.

Giving a Passport to Bhikkhu Ottama

The Burmese Bhikkhu, Rev. U. Ottama, was formerly a political worker, too, besides being a religious worker as a monk and suffered imprisonment for his political activities. Owing to serious illness and other causes he has renounced politics. He wants to go to Germany to purchase the house of the late Dr. Paul Dahlke, a German Buddhist, in Berlin, and make it a sort of Buddhist monastery. His visit to Germany is meant for recovering from his illness. We have read his correspondence with Mrs. Bertha Dahlke, Dr. Dahlke's sister, on the subject of the purchase of the house. We are convinced the Bhikkhu wants to go to Germany for a religious purpose and for the improvement of his health. He is ready to give his word of honour and an undertaking that he will not dabble in politics in Europe. Under the circumstances it would be gracious for the Burma Government to give him a passport.

Allahabad High Court Prevents Judicial Slaughters

In the Raiya communal riot case of Mirzapur district, U. P., their lordships Justices Young and Thom of the Allahabad High Court acquitted all the seven accused condemned to death and all the twenty-four others sentenced to transportation for life.

> Shukul was one of the persons who had been condemned to death. He was represented as the moving spirit and the most active member of the riotous mob. He chased the fleeting Mohammedans from streets. He climbed on the roof of the house and not once but several times. He clambered up the tiles and tore some of them in an attempt to make a hole in the roof through which he could shoot some of the Mohammedans. At one time he was said to have been armed with a gun. If evidence against him was reliable, said their Lordships, he was a man of powerful physique, untiring energy, exceptional endurance, possessed of strength and prowess of an athlete and agility of an acrobat. Their Lordships said that when Shukul appeared before them he had practically to be carried by two police constables. He was an old man of seventy years. He was in the last stage of senility and physical decrepitude and unable to stand erect. The Civil Surgeon who examined and X-rayed him gave evidence before their Lordships. He said he was weak and old, unable to run. His muscles were very weak and flabby. He might be able to hobble along for two or three miles and that would take him the better part of the day. Their Lordships found it impossible to understand how Shukul was ever challenged in this case. It must have been clear to the police that it was absolutely impossible for him to have taken part in a riot. They were equally at a loss to understand how he was committed by the trying Magistrate. Further, they were unable to understand how he came to be convicted by the Sessions Judge. Their Lordships said the witnesses had been guilty of grossest perjury and had falsely implicated the accused. They could not be be relied upon as against other accused. All appeals were, therefore, allowed.

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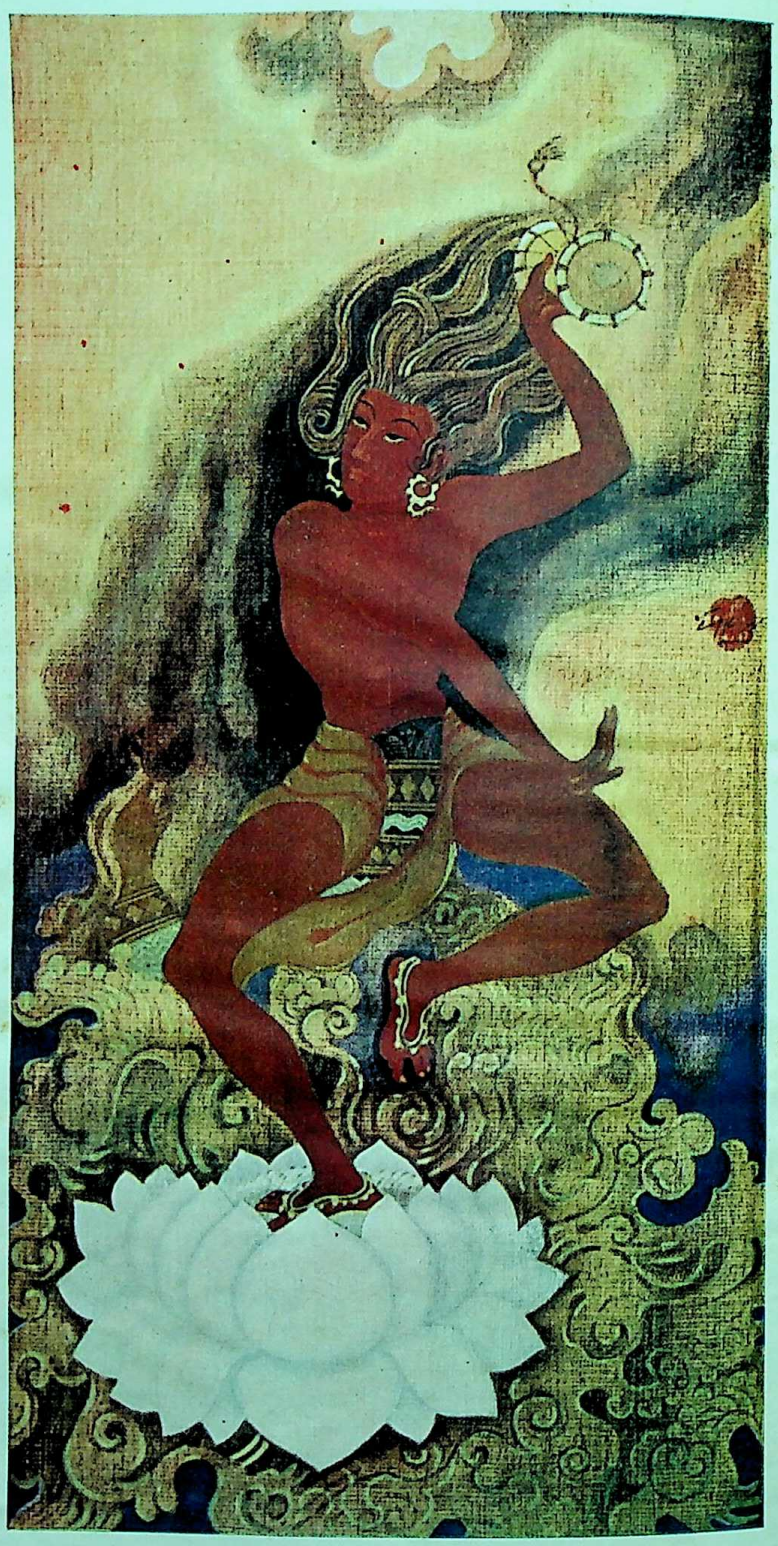

DANCING SIVA
By Dhirendrakrishna Dev-Varman
Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

IN a previous paper in *The Modern Review*, I said that if our good and honoured American Quaker poet, Whittier, were in India today, he would love and be loved Gandhi and Tagore and Charles Andrews and all India, and that he would be deeply sympathetic with India's struggle to win her justly deserved freedom, and to do it by love and self-sacrifice and not by shedding British blood. I am sure exactly the same may be said of Channing.

Channing has been described as the American Luther. If this description is true, as in a sense it is, it should be added that he was the Luther of a religious Reformation far more radical and fundamental, far more ethical and spiritual, and in its very nature destined to spread far more widely over the world, than that led by the German Luther.

I think Channing may be better described as America's Ram Mohun Roy. The same wide intellectual outlook, the same hatred of oppression, the same love of freedom, religious and political, the same passion for progress, for reform, for the betterment of human conditions, the same deep piety and sympathy with all true religion under whatever name, that were conspicuous in the great Indian reformer, were equally conspicuous in the great American. And as the movement for the spiritual rebirth of India and of India's religion, which was begun by Ram Mohun Roy, was one that steadily grows and widens and gives promise of ever richer fruitage in the future, so the movement for the spiritual regeneration of America and of Christianity in which Channing was so important a leader, is one which reveals no sign of abatement, but promises a growth and development which, even if to our childish impatience it seems slow, may well give hope and courage to every believer in God and lover of humanity in America and the world.

The story of William Ellery Channing is one of the most charming in American biography ; only one must look down below the rather plain surface into its radiant heart. It does not have in it much of outward adventure or excitement, but it does tell of an inward life of fascinating activity and energy, of an extraordinarily wide range of interests, of rare simplicity and sincerity, of fresh and bold thinking, of constantly new and daring excursions in search of truth, of deep piety, of keen appreciation of the beauties of nature, of unfailing love of humanity, of bodily weakness and suffering triumphed over by power of will, of joy, of constant growth, of soul-youth becoming more marked with the advance of years, of singular spiritual beauty, of the most heroic loyalty to duty and of the highest moral ideals.

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Channing was born in 1780, the mid-point of the Revolutionary War, and died in 1842. His birth-place was Newport, Rhode Island, the beautiful city by the sea, at that time commercially the rival of New York. He was educated at Harvard College, and spent his mature life as a preacher in Boston.

There were two shadows on Channing's boyhood. One came from the dark and stern Calvinistic theology under the influence of which he was reared. The other was occasioned by the death of his father, when the son was thirteen, leaving the mother and her large family with so little means that they were compelled to experience the hardships of self-denial and poverty.

Never did a young man enter the ministry with purer motives or with a more beautiful and entire consecration. Many of his friends had desired him to choose the profession of the law—his father's calling. But no! Nothing seemed to him half so important as religion. To teach truth, to labour to dissipate ignorance and superstition, to comfort human sorrow, to succour the weak and the tempted, to help dry up the great dark river of sin and suffering that flows through the earth—no other possible work seemed to him comparable in nobleness or worth with this.

His preaching at once attracted attention by its fervour, seriousness and beauty. Almost immediately calls were extended him by two different churches in Boston—the Brattle Street, a strong and wealthy society, and the Federal Street, a society comparatively poor and weak. With his characteristic modesty, he chose the smaller and poorer church; and at once entered that pulpit which was to be his throne of loving, beneficent power all his life, and which through him was to become known over the earth.

Channing's public life may be divided into three periods: the first of thirteen years, from 1802 to 1815, in which he was a quiet pastor and preacher, his time and strength devoted almost wholly to his own church; the second period of about fifteen years, from 1815 to 1830, in which he was the acknowledged leader of that religious movement which resulted in the establishment of Unitarianism in America; and the third period of twelve years, from 1830 to his death in 1842, in which his energies were largely devoted to great philanthropic movements and subjects of social and political reform, such as anti-slavery, peace, temperance, education, beneficences among the poor and the like, which made him as widely known as a philanthropist and social reformer as he had become known as a preacher and religious teacher. Let us look briefly at each of these.

* * * *

As a preacher Channing had few or no natural advantages but certain considerable disadvantages. For one thing, he was small of stature, weighing not more than about a hundred pounds. Persons meeting him for the first time on the street or at his own home, in the days after he became famous, would often involuntarily exclaim, "What! is this the great Dr. Channing?" And yet all witnesses agree that when he arose in the pulpit such was his dignity and the power of his great, calm eyes, and the sweet solemnity of his whole bearing, that he seemed to every one far larger than he was, and persons meeting him for the first time after listening to a discourse from him were very commonly surprised to find, even although he had been before their eyes for an hour that he was not physically a large man.

Emerson declares that Channing was one of the three most eloquent speakers he ever heard.

There seems to have been something impressive about everything that Channing did and said in the pulpit. Hymns which as other men read them were commonplace as they fell from his lips were full of strange power. His prayers were not like other men's prayers; they were audible communings of the human with the divine spirit. He seemed in prayer as one consciously in the presence of and beholding the Invisible. As he prayed the fashion of his countenance was altered. A solemn hush and a deep awe fell upon the congregation, and it seemed as if every word that fell from those pale earnest, trembling lips brought with it a blessing from heaven.

Wherein lay Channing's power over others? What made his words so weighty? It was the man. His speech was great

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because he was great, and because every word came calmly yet with the white heat of a mighty sincerity straight out of his great soul.

At the end of thirteen years of devoted work, given almost exclusively to his own society, in which his church grew strong, and a new house of worship was built to accommodate the growing congregation, an unlooked-for change came into the quiet preacher's life. This brings us to the second period of Channing's life, which may in a sense be called the controversial period.

* * * *

It should be clearly understood that Channing began his ministry as pastor of a supposedly orthodox church, he himself being supposedly orthodox. The change of both pastor and people from orthodoxy to Unitarianism was gradual and almost imperceptible. No one had planned to bring it about; it was the result partly of the naturally independent and progressive character of his own mind, and partly of widespread liberalizing influences which were active in New England at that time and which affected not only Channing and his church but many other ministers and their churches.

Channing's revolt against orthodoxy, indeed, the whole liberal or Unitarian revolt against orthodoxy, was not primarily a protest against the doctrine of the trinity, as has been widely supposed. To be sure, to most minds it involved the trinity; but this was secondary. The reason why it was secondary is plain. The question of the trinity is speculative; it is a question of the intellect; it is not moral. The doctrine of the trinity was rejected by Channing and others on intellectual grounds, on the grounds that it is unreasonable, self-contradictory and unscriptural; but the central, the fundamental protest of Channing and those who with him led the liberal or Unitarian movement, was deeper than intellectual; it was ethical. It was the solemn revolt of what was deepest and holiest in the moral nature of man against the conception of an immoral God, against a God who could do so unspeakably unjust, so morally monstrous a thing as to create a human race of sentient beings, and of his own will elect one part to be happy for ever, and another part, with no fault of their own, and with nothing that they could do to prevent it, to writhe in endless torment.

The first phase of this revolt against Calvinism took the form of what was known as Arminianism. It asserted the freedom of the human will. It denied election and predestination on the part of God, and moral helplessness on the part of man; and proclaimed as its gospel: "Whosoever will, may be saved."

This was a good beginning; but when men had begun to think with independence and to apply rational and moral tests to religion, there could be no stop with Arminianism, or the mere overthrow of the doctrine of election and foreordination; there could be no pause or going back until the whole unreasonable and morally out-rageous theological system of Calvinistic orthodoxy had been overthrown,—with its assertion of a mythical Adam and a mythical fall of the race as the result of a mythical sin in a mythical garden; and mankind "totally depraved," "wholly corrupt in body and soul," "made opposite to all good and wholly inclined to all evil"; and a hell of eternal torment for the whole race as a punishment for Adam's sin unless a ransom could be found; and the necessity for God to come to earth in the form of a man and be crucified as an infinite sacrifice in order to effect such a ransom; and then, as the result of it all, the salvation of such a part of the race as God from all enternity had elected to be saved, and the damnation of all the rest:—I say, when men had begun really to bring religious doctrines for judgment before the bar of reason and conscience, it could be only a question of time when such a system of theology, born in a dark and cruel past, founded so wholly on fiction, so dishonouring to God, and so deeply violating every rational and moral instinct of the human soul, should be wholly discredited and give place to something better.

This was what happened. Calvinism gave way, little by little, to liberal Christianity,—passing by stages not only through Arminianism, but in many minds also through Arianism and Socinianism—forms of semi-Unitarianism—to full Unitarianism at last.

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From 1815 to 1830 the fire of controversy between the old and the new blazed high all over New England. Channing did not love controversy ; yet his heart was warmly with the new thought ; and the new thought was not understood. Of course, its enemies could not be trusted to set it forth in a way acceptable to its adherents. Its friends must come forward to its defence, and let the world know just what it was they stood for. Thus plainly summoned by duty, Channing did not hesitate, but gave to the world what is known as his great Baltimore sermon, defining Unitarianism.

The sermon probably made a greater sensation than any other discourse ever preached in America before or since. From that time on there was no mistaking what the new movement was.

Channing followed his Baltimore sermon at intervals by several others almost equally powerful as defences of the new faith—notably his discourse at the dedication of the Second Unitarian Church of New York City in 1826, on "Unitarian Christianity Most Favorable to Piety."

Thus, although Channing appears for fifteen years of his mid-life as the confessed leader in a great theological controversy, yet he is scarcely less admirable in it all than he has been in the quiet work of his own pulpit and parish before the controversy began,—and this because he carries through all the conflict a spirit so frank, so sincere, so high above all mere petty party feeling, so appreciative of truth and goodness wherever seen, whether among friends or enemies. Theological controversies conducted in the spirit which Channing manifested would not desolate the earth, dry up the streams of religious life, and turn fruitful plains into deserts, as such controversies have so often done. Carried on as he carried them on, they would help men to a bettter understanding of each other, and bring the truth into clearer light for all who care to see.

* * * *

We come now to the third period of Channing's life—that extending from 1830, when his work as a controversialist and as an active minister virtually ends, to his death in 1842. During this period it is true he still continues the loved and honoured pastor of the Federal Street Church in Boston, and the leader of the new Unitarian movement in America ; but he appears now also on a still broader field of activity and influence, *viz.*, that of preacher by tongue but especially by pen, to the whole nation on those great subjects of social and political reform and philanthropy, which had grown more and more dear to his heart as the years had gone on.

When we turn to Channing as a philanthropist and social reformer, we see at once that his most important labour was in the direction of anti-slavery. The work he did in the cause of freedom for the slave was very different from that of Garrison, or Phillips, or most of the recognized anti-slavery leaders. It was a quiet work ; a work done almost entirely through his pen. But it is the judgment of men wiser than I that it was second in importance to no work accomplished in all the trying years that led up to the final emancipation by President Lincoln.

Channing had a singularly powerful hold upon the thoughtful minds of America, both North and South ; and probably no one in this country ever wrote on the slavery question whose words were read so candidly and weighed so seriously by both the friends and the foes of slavery as were his.

Channing's philanthropy reached out in many directions besides that of freedom for the slave. One of the best charities ever inaugurated in this country was the Ministry to the Poor, in Boston. Channing was largely instrumental in establishing that, and carrying it forward to success. No man of his day was more deeply interested in the labouring classes than he.

Questions of education came in also for a large share of his attention. He laboured earnestly for prison reform, and for abolition of capital punishment. The cause of temperance deeply interested him, although in his day the modern temperance reform as we see it now had not come into existence. His writings and addresses against war were powerful and widely influential. Few men in American history have done so much to

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promote the cause of peace as Channing. He interested himself in the subject of poor-houses; female employment societies; bake-houses for the poor; associations for the relief of the aged, the sick and debtors; societies for assisting emigrants; for the reformation of prostitutes; associations for mutual improvement among mechanics, and many other kindred philanthropies.

As he grew older, he became more and more deeply interested in these things. Increasingly he came to look upon Christianity as finding its truest expression in works of practical beneficence; and more and more he distrusted any so-called Christianity that did not aim above everything else to do practical good among men.

Thus with his sympathies for his fellow men constantly widening and his interest in every wise beneficence constantly deepening, he approached the end of his earthly career. He died at the age of 62, in the midst of his usefulness. In spirit he grew younger instead of older. A year or two before his death a friend asked him what time of life he had found the happiest. "About the age of 60," he replied, with a smile. He was just sixty at the time. Never was his mind so full of plans of usefulness as the last year of his life.

He died amidst the mountains of Vermont, whither he had gone in search of that health which he was not to find in this world. His last words were: "I have received many messages from the Spirit."

* * * *

Channing was a great religious reformer—one of the greatest of the modern world. He was also a great social reformer. He was the second because he was the first.

As a religious reformer he aimed at two things.

The first was to purify Christianity from the corruptions which he believed had found their way into it since the days of Christ and His Apostles, to bring it back to the simplicity, the spirituality, the high ethical quality and the social vitality of the teachings of the New Testament. He found the essence, the soul of the religion of Jesus in his two Great Commands of Love to God and Man, his rule for social conduct which we call Golden, his injunction "Love your enemies," his thought of God's Fatherhood and Man's Brotherhood. In these profound theistic, ethical and social teachings Channing saw implied, wrapped up, of necessity, the most far-reaching and vital possible ethical and social reforms.

Channing's second aim as a religious reformer was to introduce reason into religion, and make it a thing not stationary, not always looking to the past for its inspiration and its ideals, but a thing progressive, living, pressing forward, welcoming new light, the friend of science and all modern knowledge.

This order was logical; the broad, noble principles and doctrines of his earlier ministry led naturally and necessarily to the philanthropies and social reforms of his later ministry. To believe truly, really, deeply, in love to men as well as love to God, in love even to enemies, in doing to all men as we would have them do to us, in our relation to all men as brothers—children of a common father—this of necessity means to be on fire with enthusiasm for human welfare, for social uplift, for the salvation of the world from everything that hurts, degrades and destroys, for the bringing in of the reign of love, righteousness and peace—which is the Kingdom of God—upon the earth.

Channing's theology may be described in another way. It may be summed up in three great doctrines, or ideas.

First, the rectitude of the character of God.

Second, the worth of man; and,

Third, soul-liberty, or the sacredness of reason.

His idea of the rectitude of the character of God necessarily banished out of existence all such doctrines as an eternal hell of torments, and an arbitrary election of one part of the race to be saved and another to be damned; because these doctrines are inconsistent with any rectitude of character in God. God could not be a just being, not to say a merciful, if these doctrines were true.

His second idea, of the worth of man, or the dignity of human nature, swept away the old doctrine of total depravity and laid a firm foundation for beneficences, and all works of practical reform, mercy, and charity

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among men. For if every human being, even the lowest, is of so much worth, and has such divine possibilities slumbering within him, how great, how necessary, how inspiring, how morally compelling, becomes the work of instructing the ignorant, reforming the erring, lending a hand to the weak and the tempted, succouring the unfortunate, doing anything and everything in one's power to lift men up, to help them to realize the high, the divine possibilities of their nature.

His third doctrine, of the sacredness of reason and of soul-liberty, put him in sympathy with all truth and all progress and made him the lifelong foe of all slaveries whether of body or soul.

There have been three very great forward movements in Christianity during modern times.

One was the sixteenth century revolt against Rome, known as the Protestant Reformation, of which the most important leaders were Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli,—a movement which broke the tyrannical power of the Roman Catholic Church over Christendom, and thus made religious advance possible.

The second was the rise of Methodism, under the leadership of John and Charles Wesley, which carried Christianity to the common people as it had not been carried before.

The third was the liberal Christian movement, which aimed at the full emancipation of the human soul, and therefore at making Christianity rational, ethical, spiritual, social, and practical.

The precise relation of America and of Channing to the general liberal movement is, that in America the movement has had a particularly large and free development—indeed, quite the largest and freest that it has reached anywhere in the world; and in that development Channing holds the most conspicuous, influential and honoured place.

* * *

Although Channing was an American, his influence has by no means been confined to America. On the contrary, his writings have gone into nearly or quite all civilized lands, and gone by reason of their recognized worth, their sympathy with freedom, their daring, their spiritual beauty and charm, th breadth of religious vision, their mora uplifting power.

As indicating how early his th attracted wide public attention in Eng I may state that some years before his de a collection of his sermons and essays w published in London. Both Scotland a Ireland followed with separate editions their own. Later, at the centennial of birth (in 1880), a notable shilling edition nearly his complete works, in one volu was published in England. To avoid risk his undertaking, the publisher invited s scriptions beforehand from all pers interested, promising to go forward and is the proposed cheap edition, if 10,000 cop were subscribed for. Many said he had s his number unreasonably high; there was preacher anywhere in the world wh sermons could be sold to the number 10,000, thirty or forty years after his dea To the surprise of everybody, not only the required number subscribed for, but subscriptions almost immediately ran up 20,000; and if reports circulated at the ti are to be credited, nearly 100,000 w finally sold.

Channing's thought attracted partic attention in France, Germany, Holla Sweden, Italy and Hungary. There is evidence that his writings early had a w reading among the educated classes in Rus The unanimity with which the greatest m of all lands, sects, parties, and religions b bowed in loving honour to Channing's m is one of the notable phenomena of the ligious world in the past one hundred years

All four of our most eminent Ameri poets, Bryant, Longfellow, Whittier, Lowell, besides not a few others of less m have embalmed his name in their verse.

Nor are the tributes to his greatness have come from beyond the sea less empha Channing visited England, and went to Wordsworth. Years afterward the would point with emotion to the chair which he had sat, and say, "There sat Channing." Rev. Sydney Smith, the dis guished English wit and divine, once w to a friend: "I preached a good sermon

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morning, as good and great as any of Dr. Channing's. In fact, it was Dr. Channing's."

Dean Stanley, on his last visit to America, was especially desirous to visit Channing's grave. And in an address delivered after his return to England, on "The Historical Aspect of the American Churches," he speaks of Channing in the warmest terms, declaring his to be "one of the few names of the new world which have acquired not only an American but a European splendour."

That gifted and noble preacher of the Church of England, Frederick W. Robertson, writes in his memoirs :

> A religious lady found a volume of Dr. Channing's on my table, a few days ago, and was horror-struck. I told her that if she and I ever got to heaven, we should find Dr. Channing revolving round the central light in an orbit immeasurably nearer than ours, almost invisible to us, and lost in a blaze of glory.

Baron Bunsen, the eminent German scholar and statesman, in his great work, *God in History*, selects from the Protestant Christian Church of the whole world five men who, in his judgment, stand pre-eminent above the rest. Channing is one of the number.

In France, Ernest Renan wrote a notable essay on Channing. Jules Simon, President of the French Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, said of Channing : "Time cannot weaken the force of his apostolic teachings, which deserve the attention of all nations." Nor is his praise confined to Protestants. The eminent Roman Catholic scholar, M. Lavollée, wrote a book of warm appreciation of Channing, whose literary ability was so high as to cause it to be "crowned" by the Academy.

* * * *

I am able to give some testimonies regarding Channing's influence in the Orient which seem worthy of notice.

Channing's works early found their way to India, where they seem to have attracted much attention among eminent religious thinkers and leaders. This was natural and indeed inevitable because of their harmony with the thought of Ram Mohun Roy, Debendranath Tagore, Keshub Chunder Sen, Protap Chunder Mozoomdar and all the leaders of the Brahmo Samaj. I may be mistaken but I am of the opinion that Channing has been more read in India and with higher appreciation than any other American religious writer with the single exception of Emerson.

The Reverend Charles H. A. Dall, who for thirty years was an American Unitarian minister in India, co-operating with the Brahmo Samaj, reported that he put in circulation many hundred copies—indeed, I think not fewer than a thousand copies—of Channing's complete works, besides many copies of his life. In my travels in India, I found many traces of these fruitful volumes, that sowed the seed of a form of Christianity which India welcomes as she welcomes no other. I remember that after an address which I had delivered at the Brahmo Samaj in Madras, in Southern India, a man came to me from the audience, introduced himself, and told me he had walked a hundred and sixty miles hoping to get from me a copy of Channing. Years before he had obtained from Mr. Dall a volume of Channing's works. This he had read and re-read, and loaned and continued to loan, until the book was entirely worn out. And now he was deeply desirous of obtaining another copy. Could I furnish him with one ?

In the Khasi Hills, in the north-east of India, there is a group of some eight or ten Unitarian Churches. The first Unitarian seed planted there was from a volume of Channing which had been lent by a Brahmo Samaj teacher, who possessed it and prized it very highly, to Mr. Singh, a Khasi young man who was a surveyor in the employ of the Government. This young Khasi surveyor had been educated in a Calvinist Methodist mission, and was very much esteemed and valued by the missionaries as a leader among their young people. But the hard and dark and, as it seemed to him, unreasonable doctrines of Calvinism, had never satisfied him. Something in his better nature had always revolted against them. When the volume of Channing came into his hands, it seemed to him like a message from heaven. It brought light and joy. Here was a Christianity that commended itself at once to his reason, to his moral nature, to all that was highest and best in him. This is not the time or place to tell the story of the

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development of that interesting Unitarian movement in the far-away Khasi Hills, from its first beginning to what it is now; but it is inspiring to know that primarily it is the result of seed sown more than half a century after his death by the great and honoured American Unitarian leader.

Soon after the conversion to Unitarianism of Mr. Singh by the writings of Channing, word came to Dr. Brook Herford (at that time minister of Channing's Church, in Boston) of the attraction to the Unitarian faith of a Mohammedan barrister of some distinction in Central India, named Akbar Masih. It soon developed that this experience also was the result of a volume of Channing put in circulation by Mr. Dall. Dr. Herford maintained a correspondence with Mr. Masih for some years, furnishing him small sums of money for printing and other forms of religious activity. I had the privilege of visiting him in the city of Allahabad, where I found that, while he had made no effort to organize Unitarian Churches, yet, as a result of his preaching, writing, private activity, and circulation of Channing's works, he had brought considerable numbers of Mohammedans in that section of India, some of them men of influence, into knowledge of and warm sympathy with liberal Christian thought. While Trinitarian Christianity had no power whatever to reach Moslems, their minds being absolutely sealed against it, he found that Unitarian Christianity as taught by Channing had in it much to command their attention and win their respect and favour.

* * * *

In my own experiences, not only in India, but in Japan, China and Syria, I found much to confirm the testimony of Mr. Masih. One experience was striking and significant.

On returning from one of my visits to India, I travelled through Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, and happened to be in Jerusalem at the time when Père Hyacinthe Loyson, the distinguished reformed Roman Catholic preacher of Paris, who for many years drew such crowds of listeners to Notre Dame Cathedral, was making a somewhat extensive visit in Jerusalem and Palestine. Père Hyacinthe, learning that I was in Jerusalem, sent for me for an interview, to tell me of his recent remarkable experiences with the Mohammedans of Morocco, Tripoli, Tunis, Egypt and Syria, and to send by me a message to the Unitarians of America and England. For two years he had been travelling through the cities of all Northern Africa and Syria, and holding "conferences," as he called them, with the leading educated Mohammedans of those cities, with a view to breaking down prejudices and creating closer and more sympathetic relations between Mohammedans and Christians. The thing that had impressed him everywhere, he declared, was that the only form of Christianity that could get any interested and sympathetic hearing among Mohammedans was Unitarianism, or, as he liked to call it, "the religion of Channing." He was amazed to find that Channing was so well known among educated Mohammedans. Not a few of Channing's writings had been translated into Arabic and widely circulated; and everywhere they had attracted great attention and won favour by their breadth and lofty spirituality. "Channing," he affirmed, "is the one great Christian prophet of the modern world who has a message for Islam,—the one Christian prophet to whom Mohammedans will listen." "Tell the Unitarians of America and of England," said Père Hyacinthe to me over and over with great earnestness, "to send Channing's gospel to the Moslems. It will receive a warm welcome, and do untold good." Again and again he declared: "My extensive experience shows that the religion of Channing is the one and only form of Christianity to which the Moslem world will open its mind and heart, or which can give it the spiritual quickening which its best minds are reaching out after."

From all these testimonies (and multitudes of others little if any less striking might easily be obtained), it seems to be clear that Channing has taken his permanent place, not simply as a great American, not simply as the leader of an advanced Christian movement, however important, but as something larger, as a world-prophet, as a world-teacher, as an influence for the spiritual liberation and uplift of humanity, that can neither die nor be confined to any one nation, race, or age.

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NEGLECT OF MONUMENTS

By K. P. JAYASWAL

NEGLECT of monuments is a crime to future generations. I am mentioning here a few monuments which cry for attention from the public and authorities for their preservation from further neglect and decay. Let those who have been responsible for their present deplorable condition be put to shame before the bar of public judgment.

Rupnath Proclamation of Asoka

The proclamation of Asoka at Rupnath has suffered terribly from neglect. It has been allowed to be so worn out in recent years that it has become almost unreadable. The record is inscribed on a smooth surface of a boulder now lying without any cover with the lettering facing the open sky. It has evidently fallen off from its original position. It has been used as a convenient piece for sitting upon and resting at the *Mela* time without realizing that there is a *bijak* (inscription) on it. 'Rupnath' is the name of a Siva located in a small temple at the foot of a waterfall in the Kaimur range, situated at a distance of about two or three miles from Bahuriband in the *tahsil* of Sihora, district Jubbulpore, C. P. Bahuriband is an ancient town to which *Tigawan* is a suburb, (spelt by writers on art as *Tigowa*) where there are remains of thirty-six pre-Guptan and Guptan temples in stone. There is a good unmetalled road branching off from the main road below the Bahuriband Dak Bungalow, by the foot of a range, leading to Rupnath where an annual *mela* is held for several days and other festivals are celebrated.

There is no distinguishing mark to indicate in the mass of rocks where the inscribed rock is. No one without knowing beforehand the particular stone-piece can easily find out the inscription. So much so, that Rai Bahadur Hira Lal with whom I visited the place last December, having heard that the Deputy Commissioner had gone back without discovering the rock, took the precaution of taking a guide from Bahuriband, who had recently seen the inscription. Rai Bahadur Hira Lal had visited the place about a decade back and has given a *facsimile* of the inscription in his gazetteer on Jubbulpore where it is a beautiful, distinct record. But now not even a line is its former self. We were both horrified to find it in its present condition. It lies neglected, exposed to the attack of rains and ill-treatment by man. A record which had lasted fairly well for some 2,175 years has been subjected to a rapid process of obliteration when the public revenue provides for a highly-paid staff and organization to look after ancient monuments. I enter this protest publicly.

Probably the local officers would have done much more and taken effective measures, had the care of monuments been in the hands of the Local Governments and not the Government of India.

Gupta Temples at Deo-Barnark

Deo-Barnark is a village in the district of Shahabad. Its ancient name is Varunika. The place is known to epigraphists on account of an inscription registering the grant of a village made to the Temple of the Sun there by the Emperor Baladitya and confirmed by Jivita Gupta. *'Deo-Barnark'* preserves the name of the sun-god (*Arka*) of Varunika. The temple with the image of the sun is still standing. Its *sikhara* was made up of two storeys standing on Hindu arches of overlapping construction (edge-to-edge voussoirs). This main temple was surrounded by a number of small temples on a common platform. All these temples were described by General Sir Alexander Cunningham in 1880-1881 (*Reports*, Vol. XVI., p. 64), and he numbered the buildings and a mound as A to H. The Archaeological Survey of India never put a single brick on the temples to preserve

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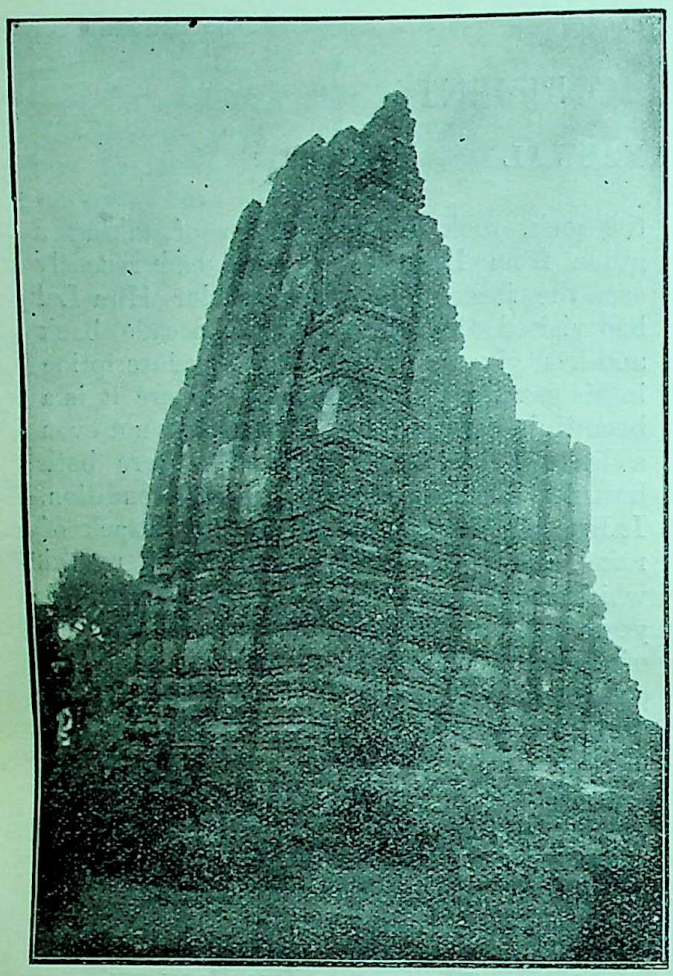

Back View of Deo-Barnark Temple A
It contains Vishnu and Suryya sculptures

them. The present condition of Temple A (the largest) will be gathered from the photograph I am reproducing here. I am also showing the condition of Temple B, and a smaller temple still in full form, by a photograph. Temples C, E, F, and G of Cunningham have totally disappeared. The standing remains can still be rescued from gradual decay and unpardonable neglect. Non-Hindu remains are treated differently by the Archæological Department, *e.g.*, lakhs have been spent on Taxila, because there they discover Persian, Greek, and Kushan remains. But a few thousands will not be spared for these Gupta temples. Gupta temples in brick are very few in the whole country. To Buddhist and other sites the purse readily opens, but to Hindu remains the Archæological Department is more often as cold as a step-mother.

Nalanda

The stucco figures of the late G period which have been exposed by excavations at Nalanda have been crumb on account of exposure. They had reta their form fully preserved under the d for all these ages. But since their expo they have been disappearing; once plaster is gone, the figure dissolves for e A European official gentleman with wh recently visited the remains remarked in the last seven years many of the fig from niches at the big stupa (Baladit have disappeared. The Archaeological D partment being under the Imperial Gove ment, it is not possible to exert any effec control, and local opinion is powerless. stuccoes in the niches could have been ea conserved by putting glass pane wind over them. What is the good of bringing light these objects of art and only expo them to destruction and dissolution w time had refused to perform up till now?

The Nachna Temples

Temples at Nachna, a village in the S of Ajaygarh, have suffered a disgraceful tr ment. It had a temple called Parvati Te which was the oldest in the so-called G period. Its date is about 300 A.D. Ge Cunningham described it and said that s a temple he had never seen in his life. F of its outer walls were made in imitation natural rocks, artificial little caves in walls had wild animals sculptured in noblest Hindu plastic art. The late Mr. B Banerji was the second archaeologist visited it (*Western Circle Report, 1919*, p It was a two-storied building in reside style dedicated to Parvati. Its connoted *parvata* (mountain), the ori home of the goddess. Now, when I it in December last I found it comp dismantled. I give a photograph s ing its present condition. What a va lism! A subject of Ajaygarh (one Tiv was allowed to pull down the walls and r with the materials the adjacent temp the Chaturmmukh Siva-Bhairava. Both t temples were twins. The Siva temp in Sikhara style. It is the oldest Sik

Deo-Barnar still reta

emple in st to the Siva le. Yet i paired, for dition had was no rea egarded m pilled down ecommenda pair of t ep. 1919, p een taken dividual wa to destroy deed which t for over 1,0 truction at t owing to

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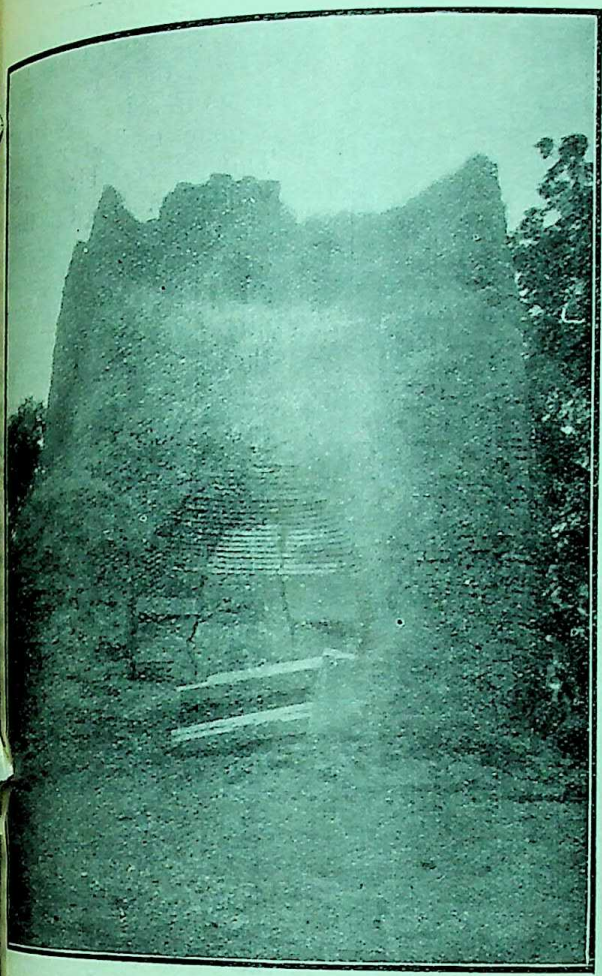

Deo-Barnark Temple B in ruins. In front, a temple still retaining its original shape and worth preserving

Parvati Temple at Nachna
A recent photograph

temple in stone existing in India. The repairs to the Siva temple are as ugly as possible. Yet it was a good thing that it was repaired, for Mr. Banerji found that its condition had become dangerous. But there was no reason why the temple which was regarded more valuable should have been pulled down for it. Mr. Banerji sent an official recommendation to the Ajaygarh State for the repair of the two temples (*West. Cir. Arch. Rep.* 1919, p. 53). No action seems to have been taken by the State, and a private individual was, on the other hand, permitted to destroy the Parvati temple—an impious deed which time itself had refused to perform for over 1,600 years. It had escaped destruction at the hands of the Musalman rulers owing to its secluded position. But Hindus themselves have completed its ruin which it had escaped in the past ages.

The sculptures are lying in a mass and are disappearing. The beautiful door is still standing, only awaiting annihilation at the hand of neglect. The ruins are overgrown with jungles. What remains of the beautiful monument is still worth preserving. Is there no agency and no power to rescue the remnant ? The Nachna temples are the monuments raised by the Vakatakas. Their memorials deserve preservation at the hands of their countrymen. The sculptures themselves are worth their weight in gold.

The Bhumara Temple

All tales of vandalism retire to the background when one sees the Bhumara temple. It was discovered in 1920 by the late Mr. R. D. Banerji. No inscription was found by him. In December last I found many inscribed bricks in the remains of the brick-wall of the

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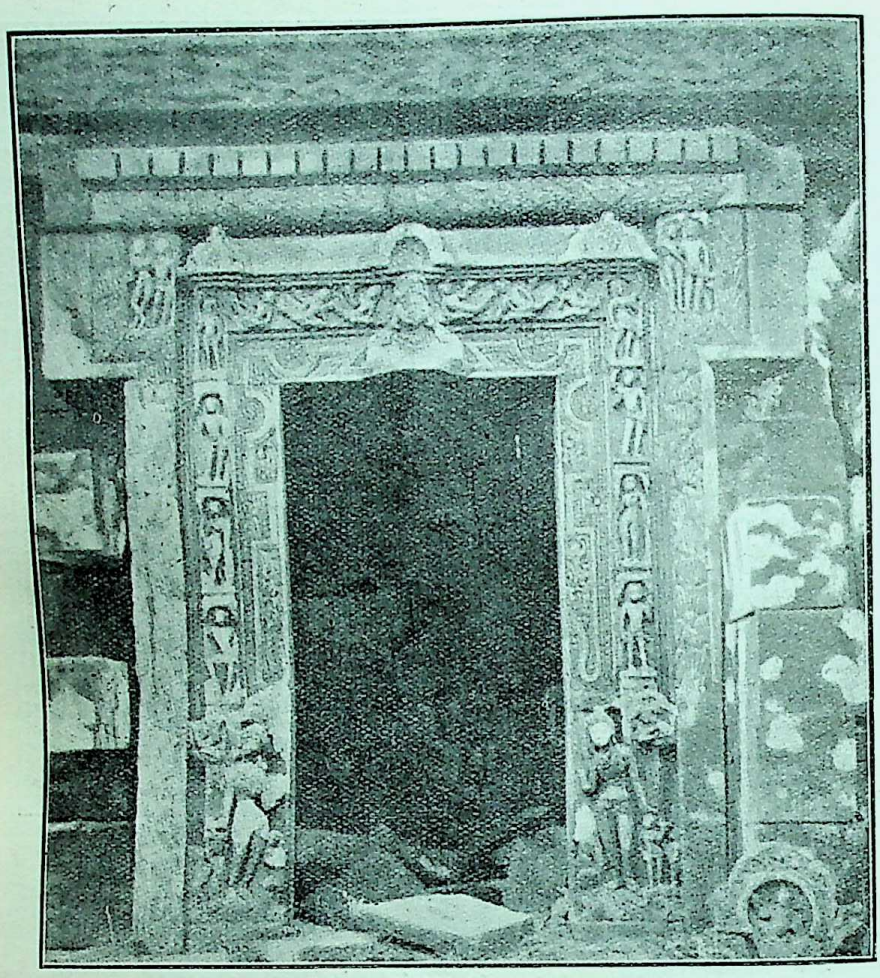

Doorway of Garbhagriha. Siva Temple at Bhumara

temple enclosure, two of which are now deposited in the Patna Museum. They are in characters of about 200 A. D. The temple, when discovered, was still standing with a superb masculine door with sculptures, the value of which will be seen from the photograph reproduced (*Arch. Memoir*, No. 16, pl. III.) That gate has now been removed with the result that the remainder devoid of strength is a tottering mass threatening to fall down and to destroy the bust of Siva inside to pieces. Parts of the old remains thus taken down have been removed to the Indian Museum and parts are lying in a stable and outside at Ucha-hara, capital of Nagod. The present President of the Council of Nagod State (Lal Sahib Sriman Bhargavendra Singh) has preserved these remains from being employed in a new building. He has also kindly promised to conserve the remaining structure. Its splendour is gone beyond rescue. The whole blame of vandalism is to the discredit of a former officer of the State who allowed the destruction of a standing monument the value of which will one day be pronounced greater than yet realized.

THE DATIYA PALACE

The Datiya palace built by Maharaja Bir-singh Dev, a contemporary of Akbar and Jahangir and the builder of the famous Orchha palace and the Jhansi fortress, is one of the noble pieces of Hindu architecture of the Revivalist Period of the Bundelas. Its picture has decorated all the text-books of Indian Architecture. Mr. Havell has given it as the frontispiece of one of his classical works on the subject. That Datiya palace, inherited by one of the descendants of Bir Singh Dev, the Maharaja of Datiya, is on the way to decay. Pinnacles are disappearing, *chhajjas* are coming down, *jalis* are crumbling and remain unreplaced, and walls become dotard. His Highness lives within a few yards of this illustrious building. Yet the building is crumbling. I give here a photograph of the main edifice which shows its condition better, owing to its *ensemble* appearance, than what is actually found at close quarters.

Bir Singh Dev was a great Sanskritist. He got the law-book *Viramitrodaya* composed which is a ruling authority in the Benares school of Hindu law. He performed the *Asvamedha* in his time. He had a book written on Hindu coronation and its sacred rites, and a book on Hindu politics.

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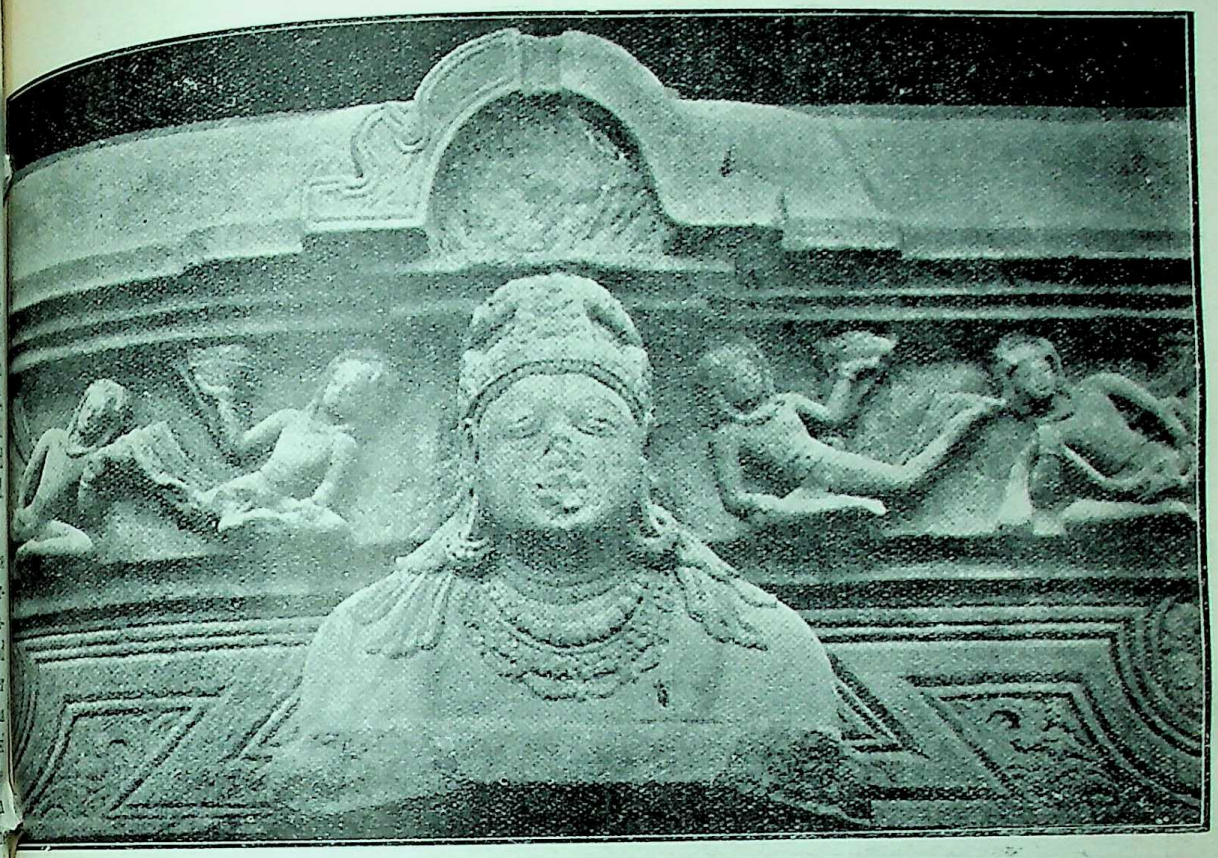

Bust of Siva on Lintel of Doorway. Siva Temple of Bhumara

Hindu canons he constructed the Datiya palace, which in essentials is a Rajput reproduction of the type of a famous building we have at Mahaballipuram. Both are outcome of the same text of the Silpa Sastra. The building is a national treasure. It is a particular treasure to its modern owner, being a sacred heirloom to him. But it is not so treated. Comparatively a small sum would suffice for its repairs. Public opinion ought to compel the Diwan and the administration of the Datiya State to undertake the repairs.

The Orchha Palace

The Orchha palace, eight miles from Jhansi, is one of the most beautiful and successful residential palaces. The Mughal palaces are wholly unsuccessful as dwellings. Standing at the junction of two rivers, one of which (the Kali Sindh) is noted for its beautiful scenery, the palace is a marvel of proportions. It is huge, yet beautiful. The sandal-wood bed with the structure for the mosquito-curtain on which slept the great revivalist Hindu king, Bir Singh Dev, is still existing *in situ*, thanks to the pious care of the Maharajas of Orchha, his descendants. The whole of the Orchha town was deserted, the capital was removed to Tikangarh. All houses are empty and open. The palace is likewise deserted. The decorative domes (called *Marhi*) have begun to crumble, and though the edifice is not yet subject to so serious a process of decay as the Datiya palace, the neglect is almost the same, with the difference that the Orchha palace is kept clean and habitable. Enamel is all gone. The bare building might yet be kept intact with ordinary repairs.

Opposite the palace there stands a most pleasing temple with round tapering *sikharas*. It is the temple of Chaturbhuja which deserves to be illustrated in books on art. Its gate and interior are amazing structures. The gate is a rival of the Fatehpur-Sikri gate. The interior of the '*mandap*' in front of the main *sikhari-garbha-griha* is a huge hall

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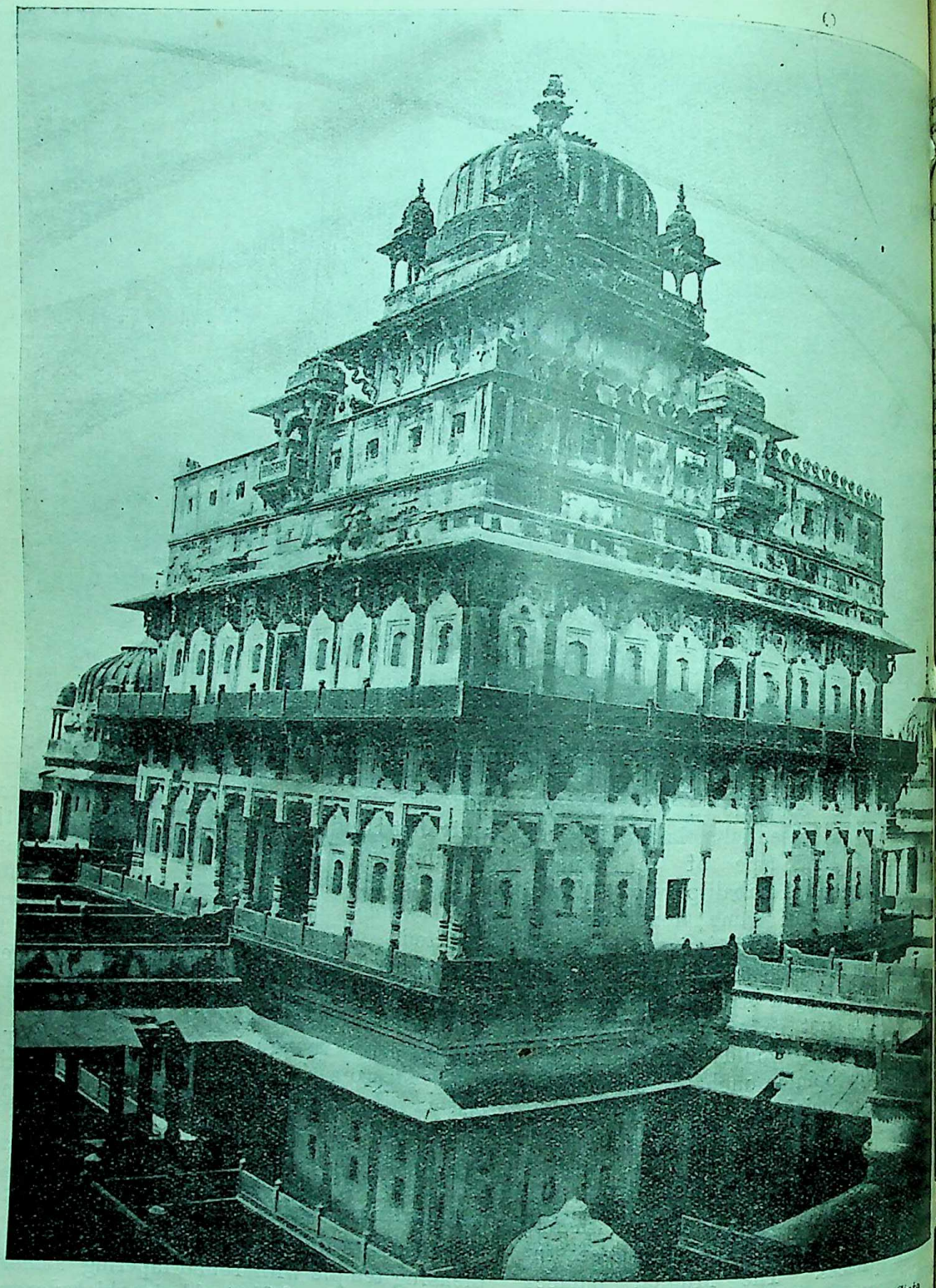

A Palace of the Revivalist School of Hindu Architecture : at present neglected by a Hindu State

in intersected arches. You feel inside as if you are under the roof a Mughal mosque. With the load of stone *sikharas*, the ogive arches have badly cracked, showing that what was good enough for a mosque d was not the right support for stone *sikha* *Chaturbhuja-ji* is the family deity of Orchha family, and that motive alone w

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probably be sufficient to ensure necessary care. But the palace stands in need of the help of public interest and public voice.

Contrast with the Digh and Chhatarpur Palaces and Monuments in Gwalior State

It is a pleasant thing to refer to the Digh palaces. Fergusson truly described them as a *fairy creation* (ii. 181). They have been kept up in perfect condition by the Maharajas of Bharatpur—well-furnished, well attended and with the old waterwork devices—"the most beautiful fountains and parterres" (Fergusson)—in full working order, although the Maharaja does not live there. Raja Suraj-Mall vied with Mughal architecture and produced in sandstone things more beautiful than the Delhi and Agra palaces, his sandstone showing real art, marble after all being a veneer. All the palaces at Digh except one are in sandstone. This exception—the marble palace—is a trophy removed bodily from the Mughal capital to Digh. The roof of one of the wide halls has become shaky, and has been propped up by ugly and bare brick pillars. This was done by some regency administration. I hope this eyesore will be removed.

The small and poor State of Chhatarpur has maintained every Bundela palace of the late dynasty in perfect order.

In this respect no State, British or Indian, can come up to the standard attained and kept up by the State of Gwalior. It has looked after every monument with laudable care.

WITH THE HERO OF WOOSUNG FORTS

By Professor Dr. DHIRENDRA N. ROY
University of the Philippines

It was last November. One morning I happened to read in a Manila daily that the Commander Chen Ming-Chu of the famous Ninteenth Route Army would arrive that day at Manila on his way to Europe. We were quite eager to meet this worthy young Chinese who, a year ago, with a small army at his command, so bravely fought the powerful Japanese army at Shanghai and successfully defended the Shanghai Nanking railway. But the German boat in which he was travelling stopped at Manila only for a short time and left the harbour without giving many of his local admirers the chance to see him.

A few days later I read again in the morning papers that another Chinese general was coming to Manila on a good-will visit and would stay in the island for a few weeks to study the conditions of his countrymen here. I read in the papers about his arrival and the great reception which the local Chinese accorded him at the pier. About a day or two later,—I do not exactly remember—I found one afternoon as I opened the door of my office room in the university a visiting card lying on the floor by the door. I picked it up with curiosity. Who could imagine how surprised I was when I read the name, Brigadier-General C. H. Oong! I was extremely sorry I was not in my office when this great general came to see me.

But soon I seized the opportunity to meet him when he came to address the university students. As he did not know English he spoke in Chinese which was translated for the audience by the Chinese Vice-Consul. At the end of the meeting a Chinese student introduced me to him and while we were warmly shaking hands he told the Chinese student to tell me that he regretted he did not know English. I was, however, kept in mind and received an invitation to a dinner

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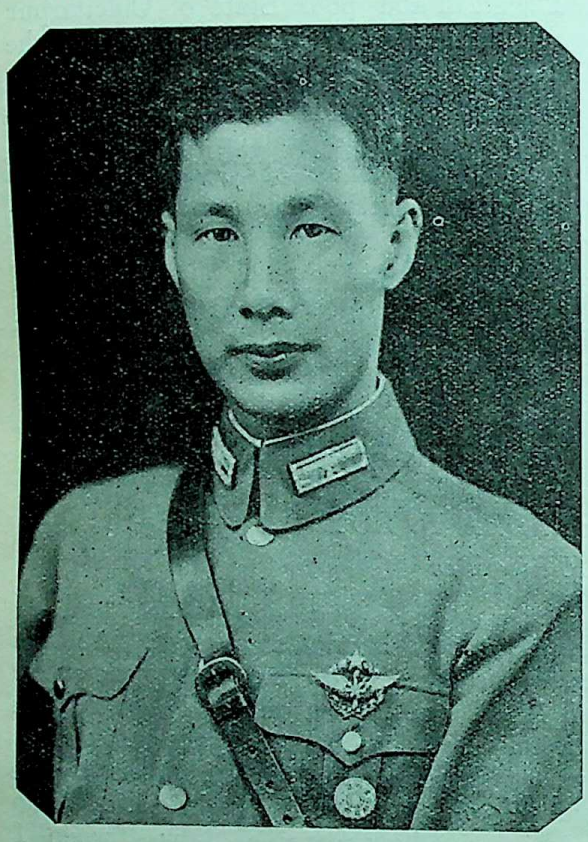
party in which most of the local prominent Chinese were to be present to meet the general and hear his message. It was indeed an honour for a non-Chinese to have the privilege of being invited on such an occasion. The camera man was ready with his flash-light at that late evening hour and we were photographed before we went to sit at the dinner table. I was surprised when the toast-master called upon me, after the long message of the Brigadier-General was



Brigadier-General C. H. Oong

delivered, to speak to his countrymen whatever message I had from India. Frankly speaking I was not the least prepared for the task and indeed I felt somewhat nervous lest in sympathizing with the present Chinese movements I was going to be ultra-critical of Japan. I remembered the much-advertised statement of Sir Hari Singh Gour, one of our nationalist leaders. A few months ago he stopped at Manila on his way back from Japan and China to India. The Manila newspapers published interviews with him and in one of them he was quoted to have made some criticism of China in relation her present crisis with Japan, a critic which extremely displeased the Chin community. One prominent Chinese Manila sincerely told me that Sir Hari Si was but too well-fed by the Japanese when was in Japan and did not know what he talking. His statement as quoted was re unfortunate and unfair. Fortunately, Hari Singh Gour later, before his departu changed his view-point and began to sympathetic toward China.

I was nervous when I began to sp because I wanted to avoid any such lap But I openly explained my mental st saying that we Indians hesitated to speak anything on this Sino-Japanese imbrog We consider it very unfortunate under existing relationship between the East a the West. We certainly like China to w her case just as we like any oppressed coun to win. But we like her to win without active support of any of the Western nati for we have reasons to fear from pa experience that any such support mi ultimately prove very costly to China a even to the East as a whole. If China w her case against Japan with the help some Western nation, she may tempora raise her position to some importance, she would, I am afraid, hardly win self-respect and self-confidence which Jap did by defeating Russia. She would c tinue to pay tribute, and more so t before, to the power of the West, while th would be no nation in Asia to challenge false prestige and unbridled arrogance. do not want China to lose, for that m mean the destruction of her hoary civilizat which is the only other civilization be our own that has stood the test of time for more than forty centuries kept fourth of the whole humanity above barbarism of the West. We do not China to lose, for we shudder to think Japan then might become with her imp alistic greed whetted by conquest and, especially, by the conquest of such wonderfully rich country. We should this sad event settled without humiliatio either nation. We have great respect China. She has shown even greater vi

than our civilizati the crue She, wit civilizati Manchus world th and Muh in the througho lowest o life as u cius and lofty m standing be patier sive,—in those w as highl made the We in th tradition which w seeking It seem concepti ation, opinion fatal for the civi rebarbar barbaris by circu her self of her p used to all hum necessit Will Ch tion by of life ideal be accepts the high militaris tion. H We in I because difficult China instil h resistan

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than our country to maintain her wonderful civilization, and cultural individuality against the cruel attack of power-mad nations. She, with the extraordinary force of her civilization, tamed the wild Mongols and the Manchus. She is the only country in the world that has assimilated millions of Jews and Muhammadans. She is the only country in the world that has regarded militarism throughout its long cultural history as the lowest of human occupations. Her ideal of life as upheld by Lao-Tze, Confucius, Mencius and other great thinkers of old shows a lofty moral vision and a profound understanding of human nature. It is an ideal to be patient, peaceful, tolerant, and unaggressive,—in a word, far above the ideal of those who shamelessly advertise themselves as highly civilized. It is an ideal that has made them too good for the modern world. We in the Orient with our sacred ideal and tradition, are now in contact with forces which with their opposite principles are seeking either to destroy or enslave us. It seems no longer safe to hold that noble conception of life. It only invites humiliation, insult, and oppression. In my opinion Japan is only an incident in all the fatal forebodings which threaten to overtake the civilizations of the East. Will China rebarbarize herself to face the present barbarism? We know that she is surrounded by circumstances which require of her, for her self-preservation, a rapid militarization of her people. The military profession, which used to be considered by her as the lowest of all human professions, is through sheer necessity now being regarded as good for all. Will China be able to save her noble civilization by giving herself up to this awful ideal of life? Will not submission to such an ideal be virtually rejecting her own? If she accepts the cult of militarism she has to reject the high ideal of her civilization, if she rejects militarism she may have to lose her civilization. How is she going to solve this dilemma? We in India are exceedingly interested in it, because our problem is in no sense less difficult than China's. Any success that China may make in solving the problem will instil hope into the heart of India. China's resistance to foreign ideal and civilization is a great encouragement to India, for, she like China is also struggling to save her great civilization. We sincerely want China to win, but not certainly by losing her civilization. Probably China, with her hoary wisdom, will not lack in resources to solve her problem.

And why do I not like Japan to lose if it means China's victory with the help of some Western nation? Japan with her newly acquired power, through a systematic imitation of the West, serves as the best example for us to answer the West in all its extravagant claim to civilization. Japan has shown that an Oriental people can civilize itself, if it so chooses, in the manner of the West, and become as powerful as any dangerous nation of the world. But it does not make the world better. It makes the world situations rather worse by turning one more peaceful people power-mad and dangerously aggressive. If Japan is ever defeated by any Western power while the other Oriental countries remain to be as they are or a little better, but not so powerful as to challenge any foreign aggression, there will be practically nothing left for us in the Orient to help us raise our head before the blustering bullies of the West. We point to the hollowness of its extravagant claim by citing the example of Japan that the so-called civilization of the West tends only to make people dangerous by emphasizing animal virtues in man. We take courage to repudiate the display of the Western Power as we see that Japan does so with perfect self-confidence. Will not the hope of reasserting ourselves be shattered if some Western Power somehow succeed through the instrumentality of China, in bending low the high head of Japan? What source of encouragement would be left for the unfortunate peoples of the East to free themselves from the organized tyranny of the West? This is also an equally important problem which we can hardly afford to overlook.

Both China and Japan are great inspirations to India. China inspires her to love and preserve her own great civilization. Japan inspires her to a hope of salvation. But on the whole, I must admit that our greatest sympathy goes to China, for she is a highly civilized country and is so good that others

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take advantage of her goodness and seek to oppress and humiliate her without the least qualms of conscience. China must find a way to reassert herself or there is little hope for the real spirit of civilization to survive.

My speech was partly translated to the Chinese General. He looked at me several times and then told his interpreter to tell me how he wished he could speak out to me his feeling. As I had to leave the party shortly after my speech, I went to bid him good-bye. He called his interpreter and told him that he would like to invite me at his own place. We fixed the date on the following Sunday at 8 A. M., when we would breakfast together at the Great Eastern Hotel, where he was very splendidly accommodated by the Chinese community.

Exactly at eight I arrived at the hotel and found him waiting for me alone in his richly furnished room. He immediately rang for his secretary to stand as the interpreter. He was trying to tell me all he could within the time at his disposal, for he was supposed to attend a meeting an hour later. This is what I gathered in course of the short interview :

The Chinese General Chao-huan Oong was born in 1892 at Canton, China. While studying in a Chinese university he noticed that his country had been subjected to countless humiliations by foreign nations because of its military weakness. He found Japan, on the other hand, very highly respected because she happened to be a good fighter. So he felt his country's immediate need and acquired an interest in military training. He entered the Chinese army in which he showed such marked abilities that in a short time he was raised to the high position of brigadier-general. He went to Japan in 1924 to learn the secret of Japanese army organization and entered as student in the Military Academy at Tokyo. Having graduated from there he went to France to receive training in aviation and studied the science for a year at Ecole de Morane. From France he went to Germany and made a thorough study of the German army system. Then he travelled throughout Europe to study the military conditions and finally returned to China in the spring of 1931.

Immediately he entered active service as brigadier-general to the National Guard Army at Nanking. Within a month he was summoned to the Ninteenth Route Army when it was at Kiangsi fighting the communists. In the winter of 1932 his army was summoned to the Shanghai-Nanking railway line to save it from the attack of the Japanese army. When war with Japan broke out at Shanghai, for the first time, at 11 P. M. January 28th, General Oong's formation, the 156th brigade, was at that historic Chapei, the first point of the Japanese invasion. There they gave the enemy a stubborn resistance. But compared with the Japanese army they were far behind in military equipment. The Japanese used armoured cars in all their charges forward, the Chinese resisted them only with grenades. The Japanese resorted to aerial bombardment using heavy incendiary bombs to meet which the Chinese did not have even sufficient anti-aircraft guns. So when the Japanese aerial forces began to throw bombs over the famous Commercial Press Buildings and the National Oriental Library, the age-long centres of Chinese culture, the Chinese soldiers found it impossible to save them. But it excited their hatred to its highest pitch, increasing their military strength and determination for greater and more persistent resistance. They were so bent upon revenge that they soon resorted to a strong offensive. The Japanese began to negotiate for peace and a temporary truce was arrived at. But alas ! it was arrived at after Chapei was reduced to a flat piece of land. The only consolation for General Oong was that his army did its best.

Meanwhile, General Oong was relieved at Chapei by another brigade and ordered to defend the Woosung Forts. For, the Japanese army having failed to take Chapei, turned its attack upon Woosung. The battle round Woosung lasted about a month. It was a most severe action in which the Japanese army took to aerial and naval bombardment. General Oong found no other means of defence than digging trenches and putting up barricades to avoid such bombardment. It was only a defence, for, under the circumstances any offensive was unthinkable. The Chinese had only rifles and machine-guns to defend their strategic points. So they sought to get near the enemy to engage them in a hand to

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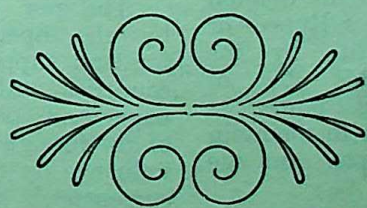
hand fight and make them renounce their shell bombardment. The Japanese army had till then failed to take Woosung and was waiting for reinforcements. This was a great discouragement to the Chinese forces, for they were outnumbered by the enemies. The Japanese army soon succeeded in destroying the central line of defence and began charging forward to occupy the land. The Chinese forces still continued to resist. But how long ! Repeated reinforcements of the Japanese army finally forced the Chinese to retreat. While the other Chinese troops were gradually retreating, General Oong still kept his regiments to hold the ground and was in fact unwilling to retreat. But the representatives of the people urged him "to waste no more men but to keep the force for the future." General Oong interpreted this retreat as not admitting defeat but just a necessary step taken to prepare for greater and longer resistance.

The young general was all in a hurry, for already it was past nine and he must leave us. Without going further into his last adventure he turned to my speech in the Chinese party. With a quiet but confident smile he assured me that he understood my view-point, that he thoroughly realized the gravity of the problem of our great ancient civilizations. He admitted that the problems of China and India were similar in many respects. Then he said with a firm and emphatic voice that, in his opinion, the solution of our problems should be this : 'Our civilization is our eternal end, foreign civilization is to be used as means to that end ; experience has shown that we have to use the means of the foreigners to extricate ourselves from all humiliating entanglements.' It was, indeed, a good statement, but I felt like asking him if there was no danger of the means finally becoming the end. There was, however, no time for interruption.

Next he turned to the subject of India. He said the Chinese people were naturally in great sympathy with the Indian movement and had been carefully watching its progress. He mentioned the name of Mahatma Gandhi with a deep feeling of respect and fervently began to state how the Chinese people had always revered him as the greatest man of the age. Then he revealed to me his plan of soon going to India after his Philippine tour. He eagerly asked me several times, "Would I be able to see Mahatma Gandhi ? You know how I respect him. Would he kindly see me ?" His inquiry was so pressing that it seemed he wanted to know if I could help him to see our revered Mahatma. I told him I could write to some Indian leader about it if he would give me the time when he might be expected in India. He paused for a minute and then said, "I shall let you know later." With this he departed leaving me with his secretary and two other companions one of whom was a specialist in aviation and the other a chief naval officer, both accompanying him in his itinerary.

In the meantime, fresh news arrived from China that the Japanese army in the north had suddenly again invaded Chinese territory and taken possession of Shanhaikwan and Jehol. The Chinese General could no longer think of staying abroad and now he is back in China to reappear in the field of action for the redemption of his country.



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ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF GOLD EXODUS

By U. N. GHOSAL, B.SC. (ECON.), LONDON.

SINCE the last quarter of 1931 a new chapter has been introduced into India's gold history. India is traditionally an importer of gold which she prefers to receive in exchange for her favourable balance of trade. Thus, while the net gold imports to this country during the three quarters of the last century were about Rs. 200 crores, they mounted to Rs. 557.20 crores in course of the 31 years of this century. It is a peculiarity of this vast treasure that it refuses to do its monetary function as the basis of currency and finds refuge in hoards. Currency experts have thus nick-named India as a veritable "sink for gold." Nevertheless, this tendency should be viewed with some indulgence. The credit organization of this country is too inadequate for its needs. Gold hoards, in these circumstances, serve as a sort of personal "banking reserve" to every hoarder who can draw upon them in emergencies. The rapid gold surrender by India, which has swelled to such high figures as about Rs. 115 crores in course of a year-and-a-half thus appears to raise important issues.

POSITION OF THE INDIAN CURRENCY

It is a commonplace to explain the causes of the gold exodus by alluding to the breakdown of the Gold Standard in Great Britain. The relationship is *prima facie* plain. We have, in India, evolved, since the closure of the mints in 1893, a system of currency which might be best described as the Sterling Exchange Standard. As the name shows, it implies the command of the Rupee over a fixed amount of the Pound Sterling for external purposes. The essentials of the system are thus, in the first place, the existence of two forms of currency: one for internal purposes, *viz.*, the Rupee, and another for external purposes, *viz.*, the Pound; and, in the second place, a mechanism to maintain a definite relationship between the internal and external currencies, which was fixed by statute, in 1927, at Re. 1=1*s.* 6*d.* The mechanism to work the system consists of the large reserves which the Government must keep in London and in India to sell Sterling for Rupees or Rupees for Sterling, as demanded by the exigencies of our foreign trade. This offer of internal and external purchasing power at a fixed rate enabled the Government to maintain a definite parity between the Rupee and the Sterling.

CAUSES OF GOLD EXODUS

So long as Britain was on the Gold Standard the Rupee was equivalent to a definite amount of gold through the medium of the Sterling. When Britain had to abandon gold, the convertibility between gold and Sterling ceased, which, in essence, constituted the Gold Standard. This refusal at once over-valued gold in terms of Sterling as well as the Rupee, and made it profitable to sell gold in exchange for the current purchasing power. Nevertheless, it is one thing to dishoard and quite another to export. There has always been a well-marked difference between the Rupee value and the Sterling value of gold. You get lesser Rupees than Pounds for the same amount of gold. This difference to be had by a mere process of transference, provided the bullion dealers with a strong incentive to scramble as much gold as possible and deport it abroad. It is doubtful, further, if a considerable section of the sellers should have parted with its gold in the absence of an unprecendented economic compulsion. In fact, from the early part of 1931 gold sales had already begun. It has been estimated that from 5,000 to 6,000 tolas of fine gold were daily offered, at this time, for sale in Bombay. Apparently, a large volume of this came out of hoards to meet the exigencies of the times. The premium on gold provided at once a powerful stimulus to increase the sales which, otherwise, would not have attained its present proportion.

THE DETERMINATION OF THE PAPER EXCHANGE

As the depreciation of the Sterling constitutes the sole element of profit from the gold sales, measurable at any time by the fall in the Foreign Exchange in terms of gold currencies, it might be interesting to point out the main forces that determine the Foreign Exchange under the new conditions. Why, to take an example, did the gold parity of £1=$4.86 drop to about $ 3.38 during the first four months of the paper regime in Great Britain and, later on, why did it gradually rise to $. 3.60-70, and maintain this level for a considerable time?

The new parity is, proximately established by the operation of the simple law of demand for, and supply of, respective currencies of the countries either on gold and paper, or, on paper and paper. In normal times the character of the foreign trade exercises almost the sole influence on the demand and supply of respective currencies, and the chief result is a stable exchange. In periods of uncertainty, however, as at present, the psychological factors, like popular confidence, political stability, speculation, etc.

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an overwhelming influence. The drop the pound sterling, in the first period $ 4.86 to $ 3.38 indicated a considerable of confidence in Britain's future. Again, gradual rise in the second period, demonstrated the partial recovery of the lost confidence followed by an inflow of capital. Lastly, wide fluctuations on some occasions resulted mostly from the activities of the speculators.

In the long run, Foreign Exchanges between gold and paper or between paper countries themselves, must be the reflex of their relative price levels. Thus, for instance, if paper prices remain steady while the gold prices rise, the Paper Exchange would improve in terms of gold; or, alternatively, if gold prices remain stable while paper prices rise, the latter's exchange value in terms of gold would be more unfavourable. The same principle applies to non-gold countries themselves. Their Foreign exchanges would be determined by the relative purchasing power of their currencies at home and abroad. It follows therefore that the stability of exchanges under the present conditions can be maintained, among the Paper Group, by a common policy of internal price stabilization.

Possible Checks to Gold Out-flow

The above doctrine, commonly known as the doctrine of Purchasing Power Parity, will help to explain how possible checks may operate to stop the gold out-flow. The gold exports are paid for in Rupees—a process which implies currency expansion. Normally this would raise Indian prices and Exchange, reducing thereby the profits from the gold sales, and checking possibly to the same extent, the gold exports. There are, however, two obstacles to this way. The external value of the Rupee, in the first place, is dependent on Sterling prices, which prevent any effect of a rise in Rupee prices to work out its results ; and, in the second place, in the absence of any demand for the new money there cannot be any rise of Indian prices,—a situation created, primarily, by the economic depression. A necessary check to gold exports, on the other hand, may more easily be brought about by a rise of gold prices, if, in the meantime, the Sterling Exchange is let free to adjust itself, which, as we know, it is not. It follows, therefore, that an immediate stop in gold exports is unlikely unless the Sterling were to be sterling were to be stabilized at a higher parity with gold or both France and the U. S. A. were, for some catastraphic reason, to be put off the Gold Standard.

Immediate consequences

An analysis of the immediate consequences must legitimately view the incidence of gold exports on the actions of (*i*), the Government, (*ii*), the sellers of gold who consist mostly of cultivators, land-owners and professional classes, and (*iii*), the business community in general.

To the Government the gold release has, in a word, provided the solution of its depressing financial problem, as a comparison of the Exchange and Budgetary position, prior to 1932 and afterwards, will explain.

In the summer of 1931, India had witnessed a heavy flight of capital, due mainly to diverse forms of instability, which had the same effect on the Exchange as an excess of imports over exports. Add to this the rapid decline of a favourable balance of merchandise trade in 1931. To meet, therefore, the excessive demand for Sterling and to maintain the 18 *d.* ratio at the same time, Government had to sell huge quantities of Reverse Councils, *i. e.*, claims on the Secretary of State for Sterling in London in exchange for the money supplied in India. This process, however, could not go on indefinitely. It meant the depletion of India's gold reserves with the Secretary of State ; for, he had to meet the Sterling claims out of these reserves. It made, next, the payment of Home Charges (Payments for 'Services' and other debts) a matter of increasing difficulty. The payment of these dues, it must be remembered, is facilitated in normal times, by India's favourable balance of trade which, to repeat, the dwindling exports and the flight of capital had effaced. Lastly, it contracted the volume of currency by an amount equivalent to the sale of Reverse Councils, with a consequential fall of prices in an already difficult period of falling price level.

Two alternatives were thus open to Government. It had either to abandon the 18 *d.* ratio, or default in meeting its obligations. The former course seemed the more likely, and many had pronounced the verdict that the 18 *d.* ratio was "as dead as mutton." Thanks to the abandonment of the Gold Standard the efflux of gold released a set of forces which cleared the Government from its financial tangle. It romoved, in the first place, the strain on the Rupee-Sterling Exchange and made the maintenance of the 18 *d.* (Sterling) ratio an easy matter. Gold now began to be exported as a commodity, though the merchandise exports had been increasingly dwindling as will be evident from the following figures.

Merchandise Exports.
(In crores of rupees)

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance of Trade
1930	253·25	183·26	69·99
1931	165·91	134·84	31·07
1932	138·18	133·38	4·80

The diminishing merchandise exports were more than compensated by treasure exports, as will be seen from below.

Treasure Exports.
(In crores of Rupees)

	Balance of Treasure	Total Balance (Treasure & Merchandise)
1930	—26·82	43·17
1931	26·50	57·57
1932	74·04	78·84

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It is thus apparent that though the favourable balance of merchandise trade had declined in 1932 to such low figures as Rs. 4·80 crores, the exports of treasure had made the total favourable balance to swell as high as Rs. 78·84 crores. This solved then, in the second place, the remittance problem of the government equally well. Lastly, the era of falling prices was now replaced by plentiful money which poured, in the absence of better in-resting facilities, into state loans. Government could now procure funds for the mere asking. The improvement in the finances of the Central Government today, it is thus clear, is the logical corollary to gold exports.

Effect on Gold Sellers

How have the gold sellers been affected ? It has been pointed out above that most of the sellers are sellers by necessity and not by preference. A predominant element of gold exports, in other words, is composed of "distress gold." To maintain, as Sir Robert Johnson, The Deputy Master and Comptroller of the Royal Mint in Britain, has maintained in his annual report, that "there is no sign of any considerable melting down of native jewellery" because most of the gold exports are in the form of refined bullion bars, is only to overlook the fact that large quantities of gold are sent in for refinement to the Bombay mint by private persons. The preponderance of distress gold is also roughly distinguishable from the effect of gold sales on prices.

The flight of "distress gold" is neither an unmixed evil nor good. It evokes anxiety because the "banking resources" of the seller go out of his reach once for all. His lowly conditions do not permit him to put by a small fraction of his sale proceeds to meet a future contingency. Nevertheless, he takes the advantage of a higher price which, at all events, is a better bargain than a more dubious one (by mortgage) with the money-lender. The position of the average Indian is always very gloomy, rendered more gloomy by the present depression, but its solution does not lie in an endeavour to save a few trinkets of his gold, which in any case cannot be saved. The solution lies, as anyone who has the interest of this country at his heart knows, in a reasonable development of India's productive resources and credit organization.

Effect on the Business Community.

To the business community—apart from the bullion dealers—gold exodus has produced very little difference. The easy money of 1932, due to currency expansion of a crore of Rupees (made possible by the gold exports), led to no business revival, neither in the export trade nor in the internal trade. The reason is plain. You can expand the currency, but you cannot always increase its demand or its circulation. Monetary action fails to work out its logical results if economic forces are rigid or [illegible] responsive. Tariffs and economic crisis [illegible] vicious circle, check our exports, while [illegible] a complex of economic and political [illegible] heighten the tendency towards the [illegible] movement. What must we do then? Evi[illegible] an initiative to counteract this tendency [illegible] come from the Government and its agencies [illegible] creating such conditions as would increa[illegible] demand for money. Nor will this be diffi[illegible] realization, in the economic sphere, which [illegible] in a country like India, vast opportuni[illegible] useful expenditure, particularly in diverse [illegible] of public works. The subject demands [illegible] conceived plans and a division of work on [illegible] a permanent economic body could offer [illegible] guidance.

Ultimate Consequences

Indian opinion, generally, has viewed [illegible] considerable apprehension the steady surre[illegible] of India's gold. The arguments in suppo[illegible] this anxiety are not, however, always the [illegible] To some, gold is a veritable symbol of we[illegible] To lose it is to lose national stability. So[illegible] view, if pushed to extreme lengths, defea[illegible] own ends. For the more gold is withheld [illegible] its proper use the greater are its chances [illegible] final divorce from money, an event, not alt[illegible] unlikely in the present circumstances. Sho[illegible] it happen, the value of gold would be pulled d[illegible] almost to the level of that of silver. To o[illegible] the dishoarding of gold is repellant because, as [illegible] conceive it, you exchange mere paper for g[illegible] The danger lies of course not in paper b[illegible] its future depreciation. Much depends the[illegible] on the policy of the currency authority if this [illegible] should materialize or not. Lastly, there is a s[illegible] group, and this constitutes the majority, w[illegible] resents the policy of gold surrender becaus[illegible] its anxiety for the future Indian currency. [illegible] view agrees with the opinion, as expressed b[illegible] Secretary of State at the last Round T[illegible] Conference, that central responsibility in I[illegible] is impossible without financial autonomy [illegible] financial autonomy without a reserve ban[illegible] the Government doing anything for the purp[illegible] Why then does it not take this opportun[illegible] purchase a large volume of the metal to s[illegible] as a reserve for our currency ?' Two assump[illegible] are thus made : (1) That the Gold Standa[illegible] the most desirable form of currency for I[illegible] and (2), that when the moment arrives we w[illegible] be hard put to find the necessary reserves. W[illegible] the former must be accepted with importan[illegible] fications the latter need not cause the nervo[illegible] that is often manifested.

Currency a World Problem

It is well to begin by recognizing the im[illegible] tant truth that the currency problem is at c[illegible] world problem—it hardly admits of any [illegible] solution. What are the lessons to be drawn [illegible]

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present plight of the world currencies? In rse of a couple of years forty-five nations have forced off the Gold Standard. Those that n on it are no better off, in spite of their in gold stocks, than those that are without it. e the former "sterilize" their gold and le their tariff walls in fear of raising home ges and of "exchange dumping," the latter er from contracted markets, an unstable hange and a general uncertainty about the ure. Of what profit is it to India to join self to gold, under these conditions, if a mon solution be not found?

The problem, obviously is to devise a work- compromise between the two ideals of stabi- of prices and stability of exchange. Can end be achieved by paper money?

Obstacles to Paper Currency

Paper, it is true, possesses supreme merits as rency. It can, by regulating the volume of rency to business needs, maintain stable es at home. It can, by pursuing a common cy of internal price stabilization among paper rencies preserve a stable exchange. It can, in r, do just what money is meant to do, a ly internal and external purchasing power. d yet, it is precisely these things that paper y hesitates to do. The difficulties are evi- practical in character. For, the realization is aim, at the present stage of world develop- t, demands an amount of co-operation which, ly, is much greater than that required working the Gold Standard. Moreover, the ulation of a currency system is ultimately sed on popular confidence in home as l as in foreign currency—a quality which er will take long to command. If paper to be the acknowledged goal, we must proceed tiously by creating the conditions for its imate victory.

Lessons from Post-War Gold

A return to the post-war Gold Standard, on e other hand, is neither practicable nor desirable, ugh it has many lessons to teach us. Two ses, broadly, have been responsible for its ure: one external and another internal. *viz.*, the inordinate gold movements from debtor creditor countries and (*ii*) the maintenance of h reserve ratios to "back" the currency. ile the former went against an essential ciple of a successful Gold Standard that vements of gold must be restricted as far as sible to adjusting trade balances only (a ure of which resulted in the "sterilization" of d), the latter prevented an inflexible currency from checking the tendency of falling prices and rigid economic systems.

The Essentials of a Reformed Gold

A Reformed Gold must avoid both of these. It must, as a remedial measure, require the removal of all those conditions which necessitate disproportionate gold transfers; and it must, as a constructive measure, demand a concerted policy of gold economization, primarily, by a reduction of reserve ratios and co-operation amongst Central Banks. Three consequences would follow. The monetary demand for gold would be adjusted to its total stocks and annual production, which otherwise would be inadequate, secondly, the disequilibrium of prices and costs would be removed by a margin representing the difference between legal minimum ratios and actual holdings, and lastly, the dangers following upon sudden gold withdrawals, from one country to another, would be avoided by the co-operation of Central Banks. Given these, the redistribution of gold from the over-stocked to the under-stocked countries could be effected by either a rise of gold prices or the stabilization of the existing non-gold currencies at such parities as will ensure them, for some time a favourable balance of payments. Further, international credit operations may as well bring about a necessary change in gold holdings.

Implications on India

The implications of this discussion on the Indian situation have been incidentally made plain. If India looks on the gold problem from a general point of view, and she will be none the loser if sound principles are followed, her demand for cover ratios must be curtailed. No doubt, the peculiar position of India both as a debtor and an agricultural country will entitle her to a higher ratio than most others which are not similarly placed, but this will not be inconsistent with the general gold interests. The acquisition of this reserve to establish a Central Bank at an early date can neither present insuperable difficulties if it is made out from (*a*) our present gold holdings with the Secretary of State and the Governor-General, (*b*) a direct purchase of future sales, (*c*) a credit, if at all necessary, through the Bank for International Settlements and (*d*) the normal favourable trade balance consequential either to rise of gold prices or to a general economic recovery. Of these alternative sources, it may be pointed out, the first would provide an ample amount for the immediate institution of a Central Bank, while the second and the fourth might be utilized for a progressive adjustment of the cover-ratios.

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THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT IN INDIA

By RAJ KUMARI AMRIT KAUR SAHIBA

THE word "movement" signifies "the course or process of change" and it cannot be denied that India is changing and changing rapidly. She has been awakened from her age-long sleep—and her women no less than her men have been roused from their slumbers almost, as it were, by the touch of a magic wand.

The woman's movement in India, regarded broadly and comprehensively, may be divided into an early and pre-war period of isolated efforts, initiated by individual pioneers and organizations, towards social reform and the advancement of female education, and the more consolidated and definitely feminist movement which arose at the end of the war, and has since grown with a vigour and rapidity which may be said to be without parallel in any age or country.

The origins of the earlier movements may be traced to the work of early social and religious reformers, both men and women—Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Keshub Chunder Sen, Swami Dayanand, Mrs. Ranade, the great Pandita Ramabai whose monumental work in Poona is a glowing example of the capabilities of Indian womanhood—to mention just one or two names—and other silent and selfless workers who sowed the good seed, and last, though not least, to the influence, direct and indirect, and work of Christian missions.

The amazing practical demonstration of what women can achieve, if given the opportunity, furnished by our sisters in Europe and America during the war and the wave of demand for emancipation amongst women which spread so widely in the West after the war, had their natural repercussions in this country and found a powerful response here as if from some long pent-up impetus.

The first purely feminist organization to arise in India was the Women's Indian Association, formed in Madras in 1917. Though started entirely as an educational institution, the movement for the Reform Bill proved that a most necessary part of work for the advancement of women was propaganda in support of woman's suffrage. This was accordingly added to its objects and it has become an All-India Association with seventy-two branches spread over the greater part of Southern India. I would like to recommend its official monthly organ, *Stri Dharma*, to those interested in women's work.

Movements towards adult education for women, similar to the Women's Institutes in England, are to be found in different parts of India—in particular in Bengal and Madras. The Fe[illegible] of University Women in India, comp[illegible] Associations of women graduates, exists [illegible] to promote concerted action, interest in [illegible] life, and international understanding.

There are several Provincial Women's C[illegible] having as their object the association of [illegible] of all races, for service, for the advance[illegible] women, and for the affiliation of [illegible] societies. These organizations undertake [illegible] lines of work towards the furtherance of [illegible] cation and social welfare.

The National Council of Women in [illegible] was founded in 1925 in order to federate [illegible] Provincial Women's Councils and other [illegible] with similar aims for women's advancement [illegible] welfare and to link India with inter[illegible] women's movements.

Perhaps the most important and far-re[illegible] of the many activities of which the w[illegible] movement in India is composed today [illegible] All-India Women's Conference. Six ann[illegible] conferences have been held so far and a p[illegible] of the latest annual report shows the e[illegible] ground which the activities of this organ[illegible] covers. The original object of this conf[illegible] was to promote the education of women, [illegible] 1929 it was resolved that social reform [illegible] also be included in its programme of [illegible] Women of all creeds and castes from fa[illegible] wide—for this conference has branches in [illegible] principal towns of British India as well [illegible] several important Indian States—attend[illegible] annual sessions, a striking feature being [illegible] presence of numbers of women in *purdah*, [illegible] of whom travel long distances in order [illegible] part in the proceedings. The conferen[illegible] been instrumental in starting the All-India [illegible] cation Fund Association under whose [illegible] central training college for women in [illegible] has just been opened—and, I think, it [illegible] rightly regard as a personal triumph the p[illegible] of the Child Marriage Restraint Act, which [illegible] Sykes in her opening address at the [illegible] Conference at Bombay compared in imp[illegible] to Lord Bentinck's regulation to abolish the [illegible]

In addition to the organizations [illegible] mentioned and the work of philanthropic [illegible] and men, there are numerous institutions [illegible] societies—such as the Seva Sadans in [illegible] Bombay, Madras and other centres, the [illegible] Women's University, Poona, the Vanita Vi[illegible] at Bombay, Ahmedabad and elsewhere, [illegible] homes, widows' homes, centres for training [illegible] workers, health and maternity and child [illegible]

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centres in towns, villages and industrial areas, leagues for social service, the Mahila Samiti founded in memory of Saroj Nalini Dutt—all of which pioneer efforts are the early beginnings of what will, I am convinced, eventually be the regeneration of India.

Women are taking an increasingly active part in public life and have shown their capability and capacity for service in provincial councils, as honorary magistrates, as members of municipal bodies and public committees, as inspectresses of schools, as teachers, lecturers and heads of educational institutions and in the medical field as doctors, nurses and health visitors. In the realm of literature we can boast of names such as Toru Dutt, Sarojini Naidu and others—and the distinction achieved in administration and statesmanship by H. H. the late Begum Sahiba of Bhopal and H. H. the Senior Maharani Sahiba of Travancore are sufficient proof, if proof were needed, of the capabilities of India's women.

But it is not my object to dwell for long on either individual contributions to or the birth or growth of the woman's movement. It is in its infancy and the few facts I have given to show that the movement is a living and active force are an open book for all to read.

What I want to emphasize are some of the aspects of this movement in the educational, social and political spheres, as I see them, its needs and the difficulties it has to encounter in its programme of constructive work—and, above all, what, taken as a whole, the movement stands for. It would be difficult at the present critical stage of India's development to overestimate the importance of the education of women. Doubtless, a certain amount of headway has been made in very recent years in this direction. In 1929-30 the number of recognized institutions for educating girls rose to 32,910 (an increase of 1,171) and their enrolment increased by 80,483 to 13,89,241. Nearly a million girls were, in addition, under instruction in boys' schools—the total number of pupils, therefore, in recognized institutions being over two millions. The vast majority of these girls, of course, were reading in primary schools and throughout the whole country there were only 235 women studying in medical colleges and 186 in training colleges for teachers. It is indeed depressing to be told that in no province does one girl out of five attend school and in some province not one out of twenty or twenty-five and that female literacy still stands at only two per cent throughout India.

Apathy, early marriage and lack of funds have been and still are the main obstacles to the spread of education. The first, *viz.*, apathy, has undoubtedly been and is being combated to a large extent by vigorous public propaganda by the main women's organizations—and we hope that propaganda together with the Sarda Act have done something towards the eradication of the hideous spectre of early marriage from the national life.

Lack of funds, however, remains our constant handicap.

Universal, free and compulsory primary education, ampler facilities for the higher education of girls, the changing of school and college curricula to suit Indian requirements have been and continue to be the daily cry of all women's organizations—but alas! with the exception of Madras in all the city wards and Bombay in four wards there has been no compulsion of primary education in the case of girls. In our own province, where a large area than elsewhere in India has adopted compulsion, girls, unfortunately, do not come under the system. "The spread of literacy amongst men only can never secure the atmosphere of an educated and enlightened home, and the existing disparity between the outlook of the man and woman will be increased. National and social reasons all point to the necessity of adopting, wherever possible, the same policy for boys and girls." Everyone will, I am sure, agree with this opinion as expressed in the Interim Report of the Indian Statutory Commission. The fact that more than eighty-five per cent of Indian girls live in villages which are in most instances too poor to support a school with even one well-paid teacher, the deplorable dearth of women teachers, the difficulties to be encountered by such in village life even when forthcoming, the lack of voluntary workers, and last, though by no means least, our social customs—all seem to form almost insuperable barriers. The encouraging signs, however, are the general awakening among women and the genuine desire among the younger generation for education. The pioneer work of missions and Government is now being increasingly reinforced by Indian efforts such as the Women's University in Poona, the College of Arts for Women in Nagpur, schools for girls such as the Kanya Maha Vidyalaya, Jullundur, and the Sikh School in Ferozepore, various Seva Sadans, Lady Bose's schools and Women's Institutes in different centres.

The supply, however, is in no way equal to the demand and so great is the leeway to be made up that the watchword of the Hartog Committee cannot be enough stressed or reiterated. It runs as follows :

> In the interest of the advance of Indian education as a whole priority should now be given to the claims of girls.

Once, therefore, the fact has been grasped that the education of girls is a *sine qua non* of national advance I am certain that sufficient funds will be forthcoming.

The sphere of social reform presents even more formidable difficulties in the way of the work of women's organizations. The social customs of this country have been so interwoven

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with religious rites and beliefs that to break away from all such as hamper our growth seems, at times, a well-nigh impossible task. Much work, however, is being done by the efforts of the women's organizations as well as by individual workers and the desire for such reform—which, after all, is the first step towards practical achievement—has penetrated to and is manifest even in the humblest homes. Women are striving hard for the abolition of, first, early marriage about which I should like to cite the remarks of the Age of Consent Committee in their Report. Say they :

> "Early maternity is an evil and an evil of great magnitude. It contributes very largely to maternal and infantile mortality, in many cases wrecks the physical system of the girl and generally leads to degeneracy in the physique of the race. Let us compare the case of *Sati* which was prevented by legislation with the case of early maternity. *Satis* were few and far between. They compelled attention by the enormity of the evil in individual cases, by the intense agony of the burning widow and the terrible shock they gave to humane feelings. But, after all, they were cases only of individual suffering....In the case of early maternity, however, the evil is widespread and affects such a large number of women, both amongst Hindus and Muslims, as to necessitate redress. It is so extensive as to affect the whole framework of society. The evil is so insidious in all the manifold aspects of social life that people have ceased to think of its shocking effects on the entire social fabric.....the familiarity of the evil blinds as to its ghastly results. If legislation was justified for preventing *Sati*, there is ample justification for legislation to prevent early maternity, both on the grounds of humanity and in furtherance of social justice."

Secondly, the *purdah* system. Though there has been a remarkable breaking away from this practice amongst the educated classes in recent years—particularly in Northern India—it has been estimated that 40 millions, nearly one-third of the women of India, still live in seclusion. The baneful results of rigid seclusion on both the body and the mind are too obvious to need much comment and have, from time to time, been brought to light by committees of medical men and women. H. H. the Maharani Sahiba of Baroda rightly said, when presiding at one of the annual sessions of the All-India Women's Conference, that,

> "if women are to take their part in the raising of the tone of social life, if they are to understand the duties and responsibilities for which their children must be trained, the *purdah* must go. If women are to have that freedom of mind and variety of interests without which there can be no joyous life, the *purdah* must go. It is for us to arouse such a public opinion, such public support that the few who would oppose us would be overwhelmed."

The abolition of early marriage and *purdah*, therefore, will not only improve the health of millions of women but will remove two of the main obstacles in the way of the spread of female education.

We are also struggling for the removal of the legal disabilities under which women, in particular Hindu women, suffer—and I cannot but, in passing, here, pay a tribute, however brief, to the untiring efforts of Dewan Bahadur Harbilas Sarda not only for his espousal of the women's cause but also for his determination to see to it that our grievances in this particular are finally removed by legislation. Needless to say that the position of widows in Hindu homes, marriage laws and the laws relating to the inheritance of property by women and radical alteration—I have little doubt that the women's organizations in conjunction with the help of social reformers such as the Dewan Bahadur, will finally achieve the righting of such wrongs by winning public opinion in their favour. Women's work in Baroda and Mysore has been more successful in this sphere than in British India, as is evidenced by recent remedial legislation in both the States.

The Women's Indian Association, under the leadership of Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi, whose public activities are well known, is to be congratulated on its work in combating the evils of the systems of religious as well as commercialized prostitution. Vigilance Associations formed by women in the main towns of India are doing much for the removal of these pernicious and degrading vices which constitute a stigma on the social life of the country.

The National Council of Women in India and the newly formed All-Bengal Women's Union with the help of Western women's organizations are doing valuable work in connection with the suppression of immoral traffic in women and girls. We hope that very shortly there will be enacted in Bengal legislation to stop this evil.

Other problems of moment with which women are grappling and working for are the abolition of untouchability, of polygamy, of drink, gambling and the humiliating system of begging, the encouragement of indigenous industries, the formation of maternity and child welfare centres not only in towns and villages but also in industrial areas, the care of women and children and the bettering of their conditions in industrial areas, (a most crying need) the expansion of medical relief, ways and means of improving the sanitary conditions of life in both towns and villages, the preaching of the simple laws of hygiene amongst the poor, adult education, the starting of industrial schools and classes for the poor in order to bring the women such economic relief, the opening of parks and playgrounds for the poor who live in congested areas, the problem of juvenile delinquency etc. In all these activities there has been a certain measure of success—the field of work, however

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is enormous and, alas ! the labourers are few. Progress must, of necessity, be also painfully slow.

In the political life of the country women have shown their capacity for suffering no less than men. The national appeal for the use of indigenous cloth has found a more ready response from them than from the men. The most outstanding feature of the political awakening is the fact that the women of India form the one community in the country who have from the outset decided to eschew all special favours in the realm of franchise and representation in the new constitution of India for the sake of the wider issues concerned. Being by nature imbued, not only in India but generally speaking with a deeper love of country as also by virtue of their greater capacity for suffering, they have realized that country must come before community if India is to come in her own. Great credit must be given to the main women's organizations for their loyalty and unflinching adherence to principles where the question of their status in the new constitution is concerned.

Throughout the world the influences which have gone to determine the position of women in history have been very various. Economic conditions, legal ideas and religious conceptions have all been active, but such conditions, ideas and conceptions have, from time to time, undergone modification or radical alteration—for evolution is the one unchanging law of nature.

The proper status of women in modern societies must, therefore, be discussed and settled in the light not of history, but of ethics. It must accord, not with any particular phase of the past, but with the general moral ideal which is current at the present time. The treatment of women must be on a level with the general conception of conduct and behaviour which each society seeks to realize. A society based on a democratic conception is a society based on respect for the fundamental fact of human personality. Its institutions have their foundation in that respect. They are adjusted to the necessity of providing the freest scope for the greatest number of persons. If they fail to provide free scope for one half of their members, it follows, that either those members are not persons—an absurdity which I hope no one will admit—I certainly will not do so on behalf of my sex—or that they are not being treated as persons which, obviously, is wrong. Therefore, when we women of India today desire a change in outlook as far as our status is concerned we cannot be criticized—because in every age we have to make the appropriate social vesture and we cannot find ready-made clothes in the past. If we think we do so we deceive ourselves. Life means growth and growth means change.

One of the finest women of recent times once said,

> "I believe that a time is coming when it will be apparent that the principle for which we are contending - the unity of the moral law and the equality of all human souls before God—is the most fruitful and powerful revolutionizing principle which the world has ever known."

I am certain that what Josephine Butler said of the woman's movement in the West is equally true of the woman's movement in India today. It can only be seen in its true light when we recognize it as "part of the great movement that has been going on all through the ages to free the world from the dominion of the brute force and bring about the rule of the spirit." I claim that woman's capacity for the spiritual life is still her crowning glory.

In this wonderful awakening in India there is the clear demand on the part of the women for freedom and self-development as also for service. Service without freedom is slavery as, in practice, is freedom without service. The woman's movement is the expression of instinctive desire of women to rise to full liberty of soul, to fullest development as human beings. To serve whole-heartedly, to give without stint, is an essential part of the development of a free woman. We have to battle against apathy, prejudices, and ignorance but there is within us now a passion for reform which, I like to believe, has been kindled at an altar where burns the flame of love for God and man. The women of India are no longer willing to submit to standards, whether legal, political or ethical, which have been set for them by the male conscience of the community ; we are passionately aware that such standards have often been allowed to imply the complete subordination or even degradation of whole classes of women ; we are aware of the necessity of finding and being judged by our own standards of free human beings, voluntarily accepted ; we are determined to face the facts of life, to fight the battles of our sex and take the risks. We will, I am sure, resolutely refuse to accept any safety in any sphere for one class at the cost of any of our sisters. We are striving to learn that the claim of the race is greater than any personal happiness, that private ends must be set aside for the public good and that we must live for a cause. We realize that there is no short cut out of our difficulties, that the road may be long and wearisome, but there is always hope in the great and unifying principle which guides us and in the light of which we can go forward with patience and courage to learn, to think and to strive—the principle of reverence and love.

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THE TRADE DEPRESSION ITS CAUSES AND REMEDIES*

By Prof. J. C. SINHA, M. A., Ph. D.

FOR more than three years, the world has been in the throes of a trade depression, which, next to the war, has been the greatest economic catastrophe of the present century. It is difficult to assign any definite date of its commencement in different countries. Even when the stock exchange boom was proceeding merrily in America in 1928, there were signs of economic maladjustment in certain countries. By the end of 1929, the depression had become wide-spread and had caught in its meshes practically the whole of the civilized world. It is, in the fullest sense of the term, a world depression, "world-wide in its origins and the range of its effects."

Its outstanding feature like that of other crises in the past is the decline in commodity prices. The index number of wholesale prices in Calcutta dropped from 143 in September, 1929 to 87 in January last. Thus there has been a fall of nearly 40 per cent as compared with prices forty months ago. The real extent of the fall is much greater, for the rupee is now linked to sterling, which has depreciated in terms of gold. We find a similar drop in gold prices throughout the world, though the extent of the fall is by no means the same in all countries. According to a recent report of the League of Nations,

> "Wholesale commodity prices—expressed in gold—have declined by roughly a third, raw material prices on the average by 50 to 60 per cent....The total value of world trade in the third quarter of 1932 was only one-third of that in the corresponding period of 1929...the quantum of foreign trade appears to have fallen by at least 25 per cent."

As estimated by the International Labour Office, there is now a huge unemployed population in the world, aggregating over 30 millions. If we add to it, the number of their dependants, we can have some idea of the appalling distress.

Thus the present depression is much more severe than any of its predecessors. "The normal business slump," writes Mr. Cole, "brings bankruptcy to many producers and traders; but no previous slump has threatened a large number of world's governments with national bankruptcy and complete political and economic collapse." This fact gives the present slump a political character unlike any of its predecessors. There is also another point of difference. The present crisis was not preceded by an era of rising prices. On the contrary, in all the leading countries of the world, prices showed a downward tendency in the previous quinquennium.

To understand this paradox, it is necessary to analyse the sequence of events. By 1925, the ravages of the war had been practically made good, and "the world's production and consumption per head were higher than in 1913." This wonderful recovery was made possible by the rapid progress of rationalization in manufacture and of mechanization in agriculture. Side by side with this increase in production, the monetary machine was improved by the adoption of the gold standard by a large number of countries. That movement started in 1923 with the restoration of the Austrian currency, but the real impetus was given in April, 1925 when England and the Dominions returned to gold. Since then the progress became rapid, so much so that by the end of 1926, sixty per cent of the world's population were using money linked to gold.

While such work of reconstruction was going on, a stock exchange boom developed in Wall Street, generated by easy credit after the reduction of the New York discount rate to 3½ per cent in August, 1927. The Federal Reserve Bank of New York reversed this policy within a year and raised its rediscount rate to 5 per cent in July, 1928.

* A public lecture delivered at the Presidency College, Calcutta, on February 25, 1933.

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The speculative mania, however, continued unabated, and at the beginning of August, 1929, the New York rediscount rate had to be raised still further to 6 per cent. A few months before this, the central banks of most of the countries, with the single exception of France had raised their bank rates. This world-wide credit control hastened the collapse of the New York Stock Exchange boom in October, 1929, which started the present crisis.

The difficulties of the big Austrian bank, Credit Anstalt, in May, 1931, the German financial crisis two months later and finally "the tragedy of the pound" in September, 1931 were the inevitable results of the long drawn-out depression. After England's suspension of the gold standard, the work of post-war monetary reconstruction was mostly undone. Country after country went off gold. Some linked their currency to sterling; others adopted independent currency; while some others maintained only the semblance of the gold standard, but made it quite ineffective by imposing various restrictions on foreign exchange. The only countries, which are now on the gold standard, in fact as in name, are the U. S. A.,* France, Belgium, Switzerland, Holland and their dependencies. Such widespread suspension of the gold standard has further aggravated the depression, thus disproving the plausible arguments of the advocates of depreciating currency.

To what cause or combination of causes is the present crisis really due? As has been rightly pointed out by Prof. Cassel, "a mere enumeration of a multitude of facts that may have some influence on the situation" is of little use. We must separate the main factors from a mass of subordinate ones, which are often the effects of the depression.

Broadly speaking, prices are determined by two sets of causes—the commodity factors and the monetary factors. Different writers have emphasized either the former or the latter aspect. The most important argument on the commodity side is the overproduction theory, which has been advanced not only by socialists but even by some orthodox economists. The former argue that as the purchasing power in the hands of labour does not increase *pari passu* with the growth of production under modern capitalism, frequent overproduction is inevitable. The orthodox economists, on the other hand, attribute the present fall of prices to an excess of production in general. For instance, Sir Basil Blackett observes that the crisis has been "brought on not by scarcity but by plenty," thus giving a lead to picturesque popular writers. But there are no statistics available to prove this general excess of supply. Accumulation of stocks which is held out to be a definite proof of overproduction appears *after* and not *before* an economic crisis and cannot therefore be the cause of the crisis. As a matter of fact, when production increases, the supply of the means of payment normally increases at the same time, and there is no reason why the general level of prices should fall. When, however, prices do fall, it really proves not an excess of production but a deficiency in the supply of money.

The case for partial overproduction rests on a firmer ground. Thus it has been argued that the fall in the price of foodstuffs and raw materials has reduced the purchasing power of agricultural countries and has thus brought about a fall in the price of manufactures, entailing a general depression in industrial countries also. Prof. Schumpeter goes so far as to say that there would have been an agricultural crisis, even if there had been no industrial crisis. But the statistics quoted by Prof. Condliffe in a recent publication* of the League of Nations show that by 1929 "world production of foodstuffs had kept pace with the population increase, but the production of raw materials, and even more, the production of finished goods had increased much more rapidly" as compared with the production in 1925.

To this it may be replied that there was already an excess production of foodstuffs in 1925, as the increase of world population that year was .5 per cent as compared with 1913, whereas the output of foodstuffs increased by as much as 10 per cent. This,

* Since the above was written, the U. S. A. has abandoned the gold standard.

* *World Economic Survey*, 1931-32, pp. 24-25

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however, does not by itself prove overproduction, for it might have been necessary for recovering the ravages of the war.

The most convincing reply to this theory has been given by Sir Henry Strakosch in his well-known memorandum on the crisis. He points out that the course of wholesale prices of commodities, farm products, raw materials and manufactures deviate from "normal" at almost precisely the same time, *i.e.*, towards the third quarter of 1929. The disparity in the prices of primary products and manufactures, the former undergoing a greater fall, became pronounced at the end of 1929 and must have aggravated the crisis. But this disparity, as Strakosch points out, cannot possibly have brought on the depression, for it *followed* the general fall of prices and did not precede it.

An argument on the monetary side which is closely akin to the argument of "commodity theorists" is that the crisis is due to the heavy fall in the gold value of silver. It is pointed out that China has one-fifth of the total population of the world, and that all the silver-using countries, including India, constitute nearly half the world's population; the loss of purchasing power of such a large section cannot but affect the world's trade. It may be pointed out, however, that the fall in the gold value of silver has affected China and India differently, for in the former silver is used as the standard, whereas in the latter it is a store of value. There can be a reduction in the purchasing power of the ryot only when silver wares and ornaments are sold by him. This however happens *after* the economic distress has become acute and cannot therefore be the initiating cause. In China, on the other hand, the decline in the gold value of silver has tended in some measure to stimulate her exports and reduce her imports much in the same way as in India after 1873. As a matter of fact, however, in spite of grave political disturbances, China's foreign trade was fairly well maintained up to 1929, that is till after the depression had set in. It may also be recalled in this connection that her foreign trade constitutes only 2½ per cent of the world trade. Even if we take all the silver-using countries, it is seen that they have in normal times only 10 per cent of world trade. The present crisis cannot therefore be ascribed to the fall in the gold value of silver.

Is the depression then due to shortage of gold? Prof. Cassel favoured this diagnosis in some of his earlier writings, but has recently rejected it. As no responsible economist maintains this theory, it is not necessary to discuss it in detail. In any case, statistics so far as available, certainly disprove this. Even if we accept Cassel's high estimate of 3 per cent as the annual increase in the world's gold stock necessary for maintaining the present pace of production, we find that during the six years from the end of 1925 to the end of 1931, the world's central gold reserves increased at a faster rate, *viz.*, 3⅔ per cent per annum.*

The view that the depression is due to the maldistribution of gold rests on a firmer basis. According to Cassel, this is the primary cause of the crisis. But, as Gregory has pointed out, the concentration of gold "has been much more marked in the last few years after the depression had already begun." Thus, according to him, the maldistribution was the effect rather than the cause of the decline in prices.

While this is substantially true, there is no doubt that the gold flows to France and the U. S. A. during the second and third quarters of 1929, entailed the raising of short-term rates of interest in most of the European countries which hastened the depression. According to Keynes it was the credit restriction preceding the stock-market collapse which was the primary cause of the slump whereas the collapse itself was only its secondary cause. If, however, we pursue the analysis a little further, we find that the maldistribution of gold was only a symptom of the malady which was at bottom due to the political instability and the economic rigidity of the post-war world. The Carthaginian peace which had been wrung from Germany, brought no real peace in Europe. The strained political relations of France and Germany, the uncertainty of domestic politics in the latter country—the activity of the

* Final Report of the Gold Delegation (League of Nations, June 1932), p. 32.

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Nazis and the Communists, and above all, the rising surge of nationalism insisting that each nation must find its salvation on national rather than on international lines, were factors making the political system of Europe highly unstable.

There were also other causes equally important, which led to the rigidity of the economic structure and made the free play of economic forces difficult. The first was the emergence of huge war debts and reparation payments which had to be met at all costs even when the normal balance of trade made such payment extremely difficult. The second was the imposition of tariffs and other restrictions impeding international trade, the only normal channel for making such payments. Then again, both employers and employees had become so much organized that any quick adjustment of cost to prices or of prices to the excess of supply, was rendered impossible. In the words of the Final Report of the Gold Delegation, "the cartellization of industry and various forms of price control, pools and control boards of primary products, rationalization schemes and their like have all tended to render the economic system unduly rigid." This inelasticity is best seen in the working of the post-war gold standard. In pre-war times, the flow of gold from one gold standard country to another, due to a favourable balance of payments, led to an expansion of credit and a reduction of the interest rate in the gold-importing country. In this way, there was an increase of money in the country and the balance of payments moved in the opposite direction. The reverse process was at work in the gold-exporting country. This mechanism failed to work efficiently after the war because the balance of payments which one country had to send to another, was not always due to purely economic factors and could not therefore be checked by an adjustment of the price mechanism.

Both France and the U. S. A. followed the contradictory policy of insisting on the due payment of war debts and reparations and at the same time of putting obstacles to such payments by the imposition of high tariffs. Even repayment through services, *e.g.*, shipping in the case of the United Kingdom, was rendered impossible, because America had developed her mercantile marine after the war. Thus gold was the only means with which foreign debtors could meet their obligations to France and the U. S. A. The logical result of such a policy would be an increased accumulation of gold in those countries. For a time this danger was averted by the export of capital. But from 1929, the export of American capital declined and it practically came to an end in 1931 when political and economic conditions abroad caused uncertainty about the solvency of her debtors. In the case of France, the law of June, 1928, insisting on unduly large cash reserve for notes and demand liabilities was at first responsible for her gold accumulation. The repatriation of French capital which had gone abroad due to the flight from the franc, her realization of exchange holdings and the various impediments to her export of capital also swelled her stock of gold.

From the above analysis it is clear that the causes of the economic depression usually put forward are only apparent, the real causes of the malady being undue rigidity in economic structure and an acute feeling of economic nationalism. These, however, are so deep-seated that they cannot be touched by the facile remedies suggested by popular writers in this country and abroad. Even orthodox economists have prescribed remedies which require careful examination. In any case it is advisable to study them with special reference to Indian conditions.

Probably the most insistent demand is for raising prices to the 1929 level. The question is how this is to be brought about and regulated. The moderate inflation of 1927 could not be kept under control even in a country like America where the banking system is far better organized than in India. To regulate such a major inflation which would raise prices by at least 40 per cent, is perhaps possible only if prices are previously raised abroad and India merely follows suit. In any case a country like India cannot initiate such a movement but must patiently await world developments.

A second remedy suggested for the crisis is the starting of public works. With the deepening of the course of the depression

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and the consequent increase in the uncertainty of business, the reluctance to invest money in trade and industries has naturally increased. The capitalists are, therefore, keeping their money more and more in a liquid form as savings deposits in banks. They are also investing it in Government securities. The result is that interest rates on bank deposits and on Government loans have come down materially during the last few months. There is at present a plethora of liquid funds in cities like Bombay and Calcutta, which unfortunately is neither assisting an industrial revival nor helping materially to reduce the money rates in the mofussil. With large funds available at 4 per cent, the present time is opportune for starting public works, financed by State loans. Such a policy will assist trade revival by putting purchasing power, now lying practically idle in banks, in the hands of workers in these undertakings and of other persons indirectly connected with them. There is no reason why public works now initiated, should not pay their way, instead of being a burden on State finances. The overcapitalized railways of India, and many of them constructed for purely political purposes, afford no guide to remunerative public works undertaken with proper regard for economy.

Another line of reform lies in mitigating the disparity between the prices of exported and imported goods. The former which are chiefly agricultural goods and raw materials have to be sold cheap whereas the latter which are chiefly manufactured goods have to be bought dear. This has vitally affected the purchasing power of the agriculturists who form the bulk of the population. In other countries duties have been levied on agricultural imports to raise their prices. There is little scope for such a course in India, for the only important agricultural commodity which we now import, is wheat against which there is already a duty. It is true that there is at present an agitation in Burma for levying an import duty on foreign rice but this is not likely to improve matters as only a small quantity of rice is imported from abroad. A somewhat better method of raising agricultural prices is to abolish the export duty on raw [illegible] the incidence of which is now unduly [illegible] on account of the serious fall in its price.

A much more effective way of bri[illegible] the gap between the prices of exports [illegible] imports, is by lowering the price of the [illegible] by a reduction of import duties. But [illegible] perhaps is a counsel of perfection. On [illegible] one hand, the Government of India wi[illegible] naturally unwilling to forgo any sourc[illegible] revenue in the present state of their finan[illegible] On the other hand, in India as elsew[illegible] tariffs are the main plank of political pa[illegible] which are inspired by feelings of econo[illegible] nationalism. To secure their reduction in [illegible] face of this double opposition is certai[illegible] difficult. But this makes it all the m[illegible] necessary to concentrate our attacks [illegible] tariffs, and through them on economic isolati[illegible] which as we have seen, is one of [illegible] root causes of the depression. The pres[illegible] seems to be an opportune time. America, [illegible] home of high tariffs, may now lend a wil[illegible] ear to proposals for their reduction, as [illegible] Democrats have once more come to pow[illegible] But even if America shows the way, [illegible] general reduction of tariffs throughout [illegible] world can hardly be expected. With [illegible] present burden of war debts and reparati[illegible] payments remaining, the debtor countri[illegible] cannot create any surplus of exports ov[illegible] imports, except by checking the lat[illegible] through artificial means. If America is [illegible] be the 'saviour of the world,' she must ag[illegible] to a revision of war debts, if not to th[illegible] total cancellation. This involves the questi[illegible] of disarmament. The average Ameri[illegible] citizen asks why he should show any fav[illegible] to debtors who arm themselves regardl[illegible] of costs. If he looks at the matter from [illegible] viewpoint of France, he would proba[illegible] find some reason why they do so. Tw[illegible] within living memory her very existence [illegible] been threatened by invasion. Even in th[illegible] last war, America did not come to save h[illegible] before her fair land had been utterly ruin[illegible] and millions of her sons had lost their liv[illegible] He may also find some answer to his questi[illegible] by looking at the events of today in th[illegible] Far East. The real remedy lies in a chang[illegible] of mind all the world over, so as to ma[illegible] economic life smoother and more flexi[illegible]

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between country and country, class and class and between race and race. One can only hope that this frame of mind, reasonable and just, and which alone can save us, will come before further tribulations at the hands of Providence.

COMMERCIAL DISCRIMINATION

By GAGANVIHARI L. MEHTA, M. A.

THE question of commercial discrimination has been one of the major issues before the three sessions of the Indian Round Table Conference held to frame a constitution for India. It is stated in the official report of the third Round Table Conference that the prevention of commercial discrimination is to be one of the subjects in which special powers are to be given to the Governor-General and is to be one of purposes wherein special responsibility will rest on the Governor-General.

The term "Commercial Discrimination" is used in connection with the claim of the British commercial community trading with India or doing business in India for statutory safe-guards against any legislative or administrative discrimination. The demand was urged before the Statutory Commission which ruled out the proposal to prevent discriminatory legislation through statutory provision. At the first session of the Round Table Conference the question was debated in the Minorities Sub-Committee which formulated and adopted Clause 14 on this subject whereby it was agreed that there should be no discrimination between the rights of the British mercantile community and the rights of Indian-born subjects and an appropriate convention should be drawn up to regulate those rights.

This clause regarding equality of trading rights was disapproved and condemned all over the country by all the Indian commercial associations, by various economists and by politicians of different shades of opinion.* For it was felt that politically it involved a severe constitutional restriction on the sovereignty and powers of the Indian Legislature and that economically, it constituted a policy of open-door for non-Indian interests to establish and perpetute themselves in this country irrespective of the effects on the nationals of India. Mahatma Gandhi on behalf of the Indian National Congress significantly observed that equality of rights between the Britishers and the Indians is as preposterous as that between a giant and a dwarf and made it clear that "to talk of no discrimination between Indian interests and English and European is to perpetuate Indian helotage." The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, the largest, the most representative and responsible body of Indian commercial opinion, stated its opinion on the Clause in the following unequivocal terms :

> "The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry disapproves of Clause 14 of the Report of the Sub-Committee No. 3 of the Round Table Conference which deals with the rights of the British mercantile community. The Federation cannot agree to any restriction on the discretion of the future Government of India, to which there is no parallel in the constitution of any other free country as in the opinion of the Federation any restriction of the kind suggested would so fetter the future Government as to render it powerless to protect or promote indigenous enterprise and that the Federation puts its view on record that no reservations or safe-guards of any nature whatsoever will be acceptable unless they are proved to be in the interests of India."

It is not surprising that Mr. Jayakar had to admit at the second Round Table Conference that there was perhaps "scarcely any other item of our work in England which was subjected to so much criticism in India as this formula was."

The question was again debated at length at the second Round Table Conference where a report on the subject was prepared and adopted. The Report extends to eleven paragraphs but paragraph three is the most important and vital part and must be quoted here :

> "The Committee are of opinion that no subject of the Crown who may be ordinarily resident or carrying on trade or business in British India, should be subjected to any disability or discrimination, legislative or administrative, by reason of his race, decent, religion, or place of birth, in respect of taxation, the holding of property, the

* For a discussion of this question, the reader might consult the article on "Equality of Trading Rights" by the present writer in *The Modern Review* for April 1931.

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carrying on of any profession, trade or business, or in respect of residence or travel. The expression "Subject" must here be understood as including firms, companies and corporations registered or carrying on business within the areas of the Federation, as well as private individuals."

Before we pass on to the economic and political implications of this Report, a word might be said about the phrase "commercial discrimination" itself. It is not a strictly accurate term and the odour about it is likely to mislead some people. As Sir Phiroze Sethna remarked in his speech at the second Round Table Conference, it was not so much a matter of discrimination as of equalization. Essentially, the question is not one of discrimination but of safe-guarding of national interests ; and if some kind of differentiation between nationals and non-nationals is needed for economic development, the interests of India and India alone must be the supreme consideration. It is therefore a question of equalizing conditions between Indians and non-Indians. As Prof. H. J. Laski has observed, "Freedem of contract only begins where equality of bargaining power begins." The British have almost a genius for giving a bad name to a dog in order to hang it. While extraordinary, abnormal and absolute powers with which the Governor-General or the Governors are to be invested are euphimistically described as "safe-guards" and "special responsibilities," the claim for a perpetuation of the unfair privileges of the British commercial community is dignified by the name of "equality of trading rights" and the demand of Indians for equalization of economic opportunities and conditions is damned as "commercial discrimination." Besides, paragraph three of the Report on Commercial Discrimination submitted at the second Round Table Conference makes it clear and paragraph four emphasizes the fact that the principle of "no discrimination" is not restricted to matters of commerce and the phrase is consequently inappropriate in more senses than one.

It is also of interest to note that although the claim of the British vested interests before the Simon Commission was one for statutory safe-guard against legislative discrimination, its form and nomenclature were modified to suit the altered conditions of a conference by describing it as a modest demand for "equality of trading rights" and reciprocity to be ensured by means of a convention or a treaty. At the second Round Table Conference, however, the British commercial delegates changed their attitude once again and demanded that their economic interests should be secured by constitutional safe-guards against discrimination both legislative and administrative. We are thus back, in this as in other respects, to the Simon Commission because "equality of trading rights" is replaced by the previous demand for "safe-guards against discrimination" and the means of securing it is not through a treaty or convention but by a statutory provision in the constitution itself. Lord Reading indicated, in fact, several methods of implementing the agreement such as by means of a convention, through the power of the Governor-General to protect minorities, by recourse to the Federal Supreme Court and through Letters of Instructions to the Governor-General or the Governors. The Committee on Commercial Safe-guards in the third Round Table Conference reaffirmed the proposal of the previous Conference that discrimination was to be prevented by specific provisions in the constitution prohibiting discrimination. It will be remembered that not long ago Mr. Sastri objected to the Governor-General exercising special powers to secure the interests of the British commercial community and favoured, if necessary, an appeal to Federal Supreme Court or Judicial Tribunal so as to prevent the intervention of any authority outside India.

The trend of the preliminary discussion in the second Round Table Conference which led to the Report as well as the subsequent debate on the Report shows that there was a general admission of the main principle of "no discrimination" insisted upon by the British commercial community and attention was mainly focussed on the exceptions to be made to this general rule. Mr. (now Sir E.) Benthall adopted clever tactics at the very commencement. He began by criticizing the formula adopted at the previous Conference so that the Indian delegates had to fall back upon it as a measure of compromise while, in fact, it was itself highly objectionable from the Indian view-point. The most astute debater, however, was Lord Reading who clearly perceived the wider constitutional implications and economic consequences of the question and consistently refused to modify any portion of the Report which he regarded as essential for the preservation of British interests. Apart from Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar and one or two other delegates who drew attention to the moral and constitutional issues involved in the question, the discussion drifted into side-issues and centred round particular measures to be taken for safe-guarding the central industries without compromising the general principle or jeopardizing the present or future interests of the Britishers. It is of little avail, however, to evolve exceptions to a principle which itself requires careful scrutiny and is open to serious objections. This is also the general opinion of Mr. N. M. Joshi, the Labour delegate who observed in a statement issued on his return from the third Round Table Conference that in the three sessions of the Conference the British Indian delegates unwarily, tacitly or expressly accepted certain general propositions and then tried to qualify such acceptance by reservations

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when the general acceptance was found to go too far. It is not a mere question of special adjustments or treatment for specific cases according to peculiar circumstances as suggested by certain Indian delegates but an issue fundamental to the political sovereignty and economic power of the future Government in India. No formulas, however ingeniously devised, can gloss over plain facts.

Now let us examine the implications of the formula as adopted at the third Round Table Conference. As, however, this formula is based on the Report of the Second Round Table Conference, it is necessary to examine how and in what respect the Report on Commercial Discrimination adopted at the second Round Table Conference differs from Clause 14 of the Report of the Minorities Sub-Committee of the first Round Table Conference.

The formula as embodied in the Report of the second Round Table Conference goes beyond the scope and content of Clause 14 and tends to remove whatever loopholes might have existed in that clause which could have been utilized to assist India's economic and industrial development and to maintain its fiscal independence. This will be evident from the following points :

(*a*) Clause 14 of the Minorities Sub-Committee Report contained the word "generally" in it and was argued by those who defended the formula that this word left it open for the legislature to discriminate in exceptional cases, such as key-industries. This adverb has been omitted from the revised formula.

(*b*) The new formula provides for protection not only to British traders as the first one did but to all subjects of the Crown.

(*c*) It provides not only against legislative discrimination which is now the demand of the British commercial community since the time of the Simon Commission but also against discrimination by any administrative acts. It will be remembered that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and his group objected to such safe-guards against administrative discrimination at the third Round Table Conference but it had been included in the Report at the second Round Table Conference.

(*d*) The formula provides for safe-guard not only in regard to trading rights but also with regard to taxation, holding of property, profession or business, etc.

Every self-governing country has the right to differentiate between nationals and non-nationals and to reserve certain domestic spheres of trade for nationals. It is clear that this inherent right will be denied to the Indian Legislature under the commercial safe-guards evolved at the Round Table Conference. Lord Reading in the course of the debate in the second Round Table Conference emphatically refused to acknowledge any such distinction between nationals and non-nationals. He was opposed to any definition of citizenship which involved the principle that in order to become a citizen of India a person must cease to be a citizen of England and insisted that a Britisher resident in Great Britain and carrying on trade in India should be included in the category of those who would be treated on the same basis as Indian-born subjects. Lord Reading does not recognize the legitimacy of discrimination on any ground whatever. It has been contended that the discrimination which the formula prohibits is merely discrimination on grounds of race only but that other discrimination is permitted. Nevertheless, the expression "discrimination on grounds of race" is nowhere properly defined. Indian delegates interpret it in one way and the British delegates put another and wider interpretation upon it. Yet the whole question rests on the interpretation of this phrase. For instance, it is interesting to note that when Sir Phiroze Sethna attempted to add the word "only" so as to read "by reason only of his race," Lord Reading opposed it on the ground that it would imply that discrimination would be allowed for other reasons and the Chairman Lord Sankey and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru also observed that such a modification would weaken the formula. It is clear that British interests are opposed to differentiation for any reason whatsoever and would describe any such differentiation as racial discrimination. Lord Reading pointed out that any distinction between nationals and non-nationals "strikes fundamentally at the root of non-discrimination." "You cannot possibly do that," he observed, "and maintain the principle of no discrimination ; because if you were right, you see, it would be possible then to do the very thing which you remember I suggested was the dangerous point ; that is to subdsidize an indigenous industry with the idea that it would compete successfully with a British industry, that is a British-owned industry which had been carrying on its business there for a number of years and made its reputation there. That was the very point." It is therefore clear that if the Government were to grant a subsidy or bounty to an Indian industry struggling against competition from other countries including England, the formula as adopted implies, according to Lord Reading, that British industry situated in England could claim such subsidy and its denial would constitute racial discrimination.

Now it is necessary to point out in this connection that such differentiation is not discrimination against any race as such, but is, in fact, a distinction between nationals and non-nationals. The right so to distinguish is an integral part of political self-government and economic autonomy. The plea of racial discrimination would be plausible if Britishers were denied certain rights or facilities conceded to the Swedish or the Czecho-Slovakian or the German.

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It is also being argued as though the demand for the right to discriminate implied a desire to oust all non-nationals from the country simply because they are non-nationals and to inflict injury simply on the ground that a non-national would suffer by it. But despite certain appearances to the contrary, it must be pointed out that the ministers of the government and members of the legislatures will not be specially recruited from mental hospitals and there is no reason to presume that discriminatory measures will be adopted simply for the sake of doing injustice to foreigners or driving them out. The objective is to benefit nationals, not to penalize non-nationals but if a policy beneficent to national interests involves as a consequence some inconvenience or loss to non-nationals, it cannot be helped. During the course of the last year, for instance, a number of countries adopted measures or pursued policies in the interests of their nationals whose basis has been a distinction between nationals and non-nationals. Turkey, for example, has reserved the principal professional occupations to Turkish subjects. Several thousand foreigners including some Britishers were thereby deprived of employment. The recent controversy between the Persian Government and the Anglo-Persian Oil Company which was infringing the sovereignty of Persia is another instance in point. The contention of the Government was that the concession was granted prior to the possession of a constitutional Government by Persia and its terms should therefore be revised and safe-guards provided in the interests of Persia. Within the British Commonwealth itself a similar policy is pursued. In England, the Ministry of Labour is given under the Aliens Order of 1920 an absolute right of veto on the entry of foreigners who wish to take up employment in the country. The Minister of Industries and Commerce of the Irish Free State announced in the Dail in June last that he had informed foreign firms which had made applications that the Government were not prepared to approve of their starting business in the Irish Free State. About a month later, the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs intimated to the Senate that it would be necessary soon to define clearly persons who are nationals on the basis of Free State citizenships. The Senate subsequently passed the Control of Manufacture Bill which was designed to enable the Free State Government whenever it considered necessary to discriminate against non-nationals so as to prevent starting of factories in the Free State by any foreign capital or under any foreign control. To achieve the same end, British Insurance Companies in Ireland were required to pay higher stamp duties. It is not necessary to dilate here on the various measures adopted or contemplated by the South African Government as they are well known but the recent speech of Mr. Tielman Roos describing Indians as "coolie merchants" is a significant comment on the fellow-citizenship prevailing in the British Empire. The fact is that in several economic spheres, the activities of foreigners are restricted through legislation or administrative decrees in all the Governments in the world. Prof. D'Aguiar Limo representing Portugal at the International Conference on the Treatment of Foreigners held at Paris in 1929 declared:

> "The exercise of the right of foreigners to acquire property could not fail to be subject to total or partial restrictions necessitated by the vital importance of safe-guarding the national wealth, *e.g.*, in the case of the riches of territorial waters and of the subsoil, motive power, monopolies, and in general, any activity which might lead, in fact or in law, to an excessive hold over the soil and vital resources of a country."

Commercial safe-guards as evolved at the three conferences and as finally embodied in the Report of the Committee on Commercial Safe-guards at the third Round Table Conference are open to grave objection both from the economic and the political point of view. Let us examine each of these aspects in turn. Economically, they impose a severe restriction on the powers of the future Government of India to protect and to build up national industries and to formulate a national economic policy. A dispassionate examination of the question will convince any disinterested person that this is the barest truth. For instance, the formula as adopted ensures non-discriminatory treatment not only to non-Indian firms carrying on business *in* India but also such firms doing business *with* India. The history of this question is interesting. At the second Round Table Conference, Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas referring to the paragraph in the report on this subject where it defined the term "subject," enquired whether it meant companies and corporations *registered in* India and Lord Sankey confirmed Sir Purshottamdas' interpretation of the term. Nearly six months after, that is, in June last the Government addressed a letter to Sir Purshottamdas whereby the Lord Chancellor went back on the interpretation he had agreed to during the conference. It is apparent that British commercial interests felt uneasy even about the slightest hint of any handicap and regarded any condition about registration in India for claiming the full rights of an Indian subject as tending to weaken their claims for equality of treatment. Pandit Malaviya pointed out at the second Round Table Conference that the definition of citizenship as laid down by the British representatives included Britishers resident in England and carrying on trade with India "without setting foot on Indian soil." Mr. Sastri also objected to the extension of the principle to "all who, not residing in India and not forming a part of the population of India, would merely export their capital into India and benefit by this." The political implications of this demand were, however, lucidly emphasized by

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Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar who observed that Lord Reading had asked for the conferment of equal rights and opportunities with the Indian-born citizens "on the absentee capitalists, individuals and firms or corporations of Great Britain who send their capital to India for the purposes of profit." Mr. Iyengar pointed out the preposterousness of such a definition which made "no distinction between the mere sojourner or resident and the citizens or citizens domiciled after a defined period of residence. He declared that he could not agree to the definition which would confer all rights of citizenship on absentee firms or corporations whose members will get, in addition to the full rights of their own British citizenship additional rights of Indian citizenship guaranteed in this country by constitutional enactments." In fine, it was the emphatic opinion of a veteran nationalist leader like Pandit Malaviya, a sober moderate like Mr. Sastri and a keen student of constitutional law like Mr. Iyengar that the inclusion of British individuals or firms not registered in India in the category of Indian citizens is inequitable in principle and detrimental in practice to Indian interests.

The ground on which this right is claimed and the basis on which it is proposed to regulate it is the principle of reciprocity. But the inferiority of Indians, as compared to Britishers, whether in India or in England, rests not on legal principles but on economic facts. It is because Great Britain has nothing to fear from a weak and industrially backward India that she concedes her formal equality. To grant to Indians the right to start steel works in Sheffield or cotton mills in Lancashire or shipping firms in Liverpool in return for the same privilege to Britishers in India is a joke which may be entertaining to its makers but seems cruel to Indians. To speak of "no discrimination" in this connection appears like an impudently polite invitation extended to poor guests to a fashionable gathering with the certain knowledge that circumstances will prevent them from accepting it. For the vital issue in this relationship is not abstract rights but practical powers. When Indian competition was effective in cotton-textile industry, the Britishers did not hesitate to discriminate against and prohibit the import of Indian piece-goods; when the employment of Indian-built and Indian-manned ships threatened British ship-builders, shipwrights and seamen, the British did not hesitate to discriminate against and eventually annihilate Indian shipping. The policy of discrimination has disappeared because the need for it is no more. Reciprocity as a basis of economic relationship between England and India is meaningless because of the disparity between the interests of Indians in England and of Britishers in India and because of the divergence in the economic development of the two countries. But in so far as such reciprocity exists in regard to laws of naturalization and domicile, India and the future Government of India should be placed on the same basis as the Dominions.

In the second place it will not be possible under the proposed safe-guard to impose conditions and stipulations for the grant of bounties and subsidies, as hitherto, in order to protect Indian interests. The Report of the third Round Table Conference states that the Committee agreed that:

> "bounties or subsidies should be available without distinction to all firms or individuals engaged in a particular trade or industry at the time the enactment authorizing them is passed, but that in regard to companies entering the field after that date the Government should be at liberty to impose the conditions of eligibility recommended by the External Capital Committee. It would, of course, be a question of fact whether the purpose of the subsidy or the imposition of particular conditions, though not discriminatory in form was, in fact, intended to penalize particular interests; and the Governor-General or Governor, or the Courts, as the case may be, would have to form a judgment on this question in deciding whether a proposed measure was or was not discriminatory."

It is impossible to compress within the compass of a brief paragraph more severe restrictions on the fiscal autonomy, economic development and political sovereignty of a country. For what are the implications of this agreement? The Government of India have laid down stipulations in giving state aid to industries for safe-guarding Indian interests as in the case of steel protection or radio-telegraphy or civil aviation and they are today quite free to do so at least in point of constitutional theory. But this right is taken away from the Government under the proposed agreement which places a serious handicap on the power to impose restrictions in Indian interests. It will be remembered that during the debate on the Bamboo Paper Industry (Protection) Bill in February 1932, Sir George Rainy stated in the Legislative Assembly that it was unfair to insist upon any conditions before the grant of bounties to industries already in existence. For instance, he contended that Government could not compel existing companies to employ and train Indians and described compliance with such conditions as amounting to confiscation. This was an illuminating example of discrimination *against* nationals which the Government of the country does not feel called upon to remove and which militates against and violates the fundamental rights of citizens. It was with reference to this refusal of Sir George Rainy to intervene in order to see that Indian interests were not disregarded by subsidized and protected British concerns that Sir Harisingh Gour made the following trenchant remarks:

> 'the niggardly spirit in which you have couched your phrases when you speak of expropriation,

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of fundamental rights and of immoral demand, these are things that will go home to roost. The people of India will retaliate and say that your so-called demand of fundamental rights is an immoral demand unprecedented in the history of any civilized country; the people of India will retort, you richly deserve to be expropriated looking to the policy that you have been pursuing during the last 150 years; the people of India will retort that you, who have come here as explorers and exploiters, can never be vested with citizen rights because you are inherently incapable of exercising those rights in that spirit in which a citizen should act as a member of the State."

But now this vicious principle has been accepted by the Round Table Conference and embodied in the Report. It virtually amounts to the negation of the principle of national protection and constitutes the death-knell of national economic development. For foreign and British agencies can start industries before protection is granted and subsequently when the question of protection might be referred to a Tariff Board, no conditions could be imposed on them in regard to the grant of bounties as their industries would be already in existence. A bounty-fed non-Indian industry could carry on all its operations under the fiscal protection of the Government of India without any benefit to the country. It need not, for instance, rigister itself in India or have rupee capital or an Indian directorate or it can refuse to admit Indians in its technical branches and yet it can thrive at the expense of the Indian tax-payer. The less said about the development of Indian industries after the devising of such commercial "safe-guard," the better. To use the term "safe-guard" for such a shackle is surely a gross abuse of language for what it involves is not the safe-guarding of national interests or even legitimate foreign interests but a virtual passport to non-Indian interests to flourish in and exploit the country without let or hindrance.

It will be noted that even in case of companies which enter the field after the enactment authorizing the subsidy or bounty is passed, only the conditions recommended by the External Capital Committee will be applicable. At the second Round Table Conference Mr. (now Sir E.) Benthall objected to the stipulation laid down by the External Capital Committee regarding reservation of a certain proportion of Directorate for Indians as an instance of racial discrimination and to the policy of giving bounties for specific purposes being stretched to the point of unfair discrimination. When Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas suggested that the conditions to be attached to the grant of subsidy or bounty should be prescribed by the Legislature, so as not to restrict the Legislature merely to the conditions laid down by the Committee, Lord Reading strongly opposed that suggestion. He contended, in fact, that "the principle was that no distinction would be drawn between a British Company and an Indian Company." He objected to any legislation or administrative act under the cover of protection tended to smaller Indian concerns at the expense of ful British concerns. It will mean therefore if a grant is made from the public funds Indian company, it cannot be refused to a company engaged in the same line even British company is operated from England have travelled far from the policy enunciated Sir William Clark, Commerce Member of Government of India, who in moving the tion which led to the appointment of the trial Commission deprecated the adoption measures which might "merely mean that manufacturer who now competes with you distance would transfer his activities to India compete with you within your boundaries." only has the charter so to compete been but even competitors from a distance will little to apprehend in the future since privileges also have been fully secured. This mean mortgaging the industrial and economic future of the country.

For, it is not merely that the authority of Legislature to devise conditions will not beyond the recommendations of the External Capital Committee. It is not merely that stipulations of that Committee will not apply many cases. The whole question will, it is rest on the interpretation to be given to the "discrimination." It has been provided in Report that even if the purpose or condition a subsidy is not discriminatory in form but criminatory in intention, the Governor-General the Governor or the Courts would have the to decide about its discriminatory character. the insignificant powers of the Legislature, scribed as they are in a variety of ways subject to the discretion and special authority the Governor-General and the Governor who in the last analysis, be responsible not to people of India but to Parliament of England that is the City interests.

Moreover, this discretion will be exercised only in respect of legislative but also in to administrative discrimination. If a Railway prefers coal from Indian collieries, Stores Department purchases Swadeshi even at a little sacrifice, if the Government to buy over a European-owned public company but has no objection to a similar company existing, it will be construed as minatory treatment and the Minister of Department would be overruled.

In examining the economic consequences reactions of the commercial safe-guard, we to consider the value and purpose of protection. The use of protection, said Prof. Bastable, national apprenticeship and its essence is ality. From the time of the Industrial Commission till today, the special object of fiscal autonomy and discriminatory protection has been, as William Clark emphasized in 1916, that

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building up of industries where the capital, control and management should be in the hands of Indians." The commercial safe-guards proposed determine this entire policy. It is not a question of shutting out foreign capital or of imposing restrictions on it. That is a question which could be decided on its own merits. If India needs foreign capital for its economic development—though this is doubtful—and yet places unfair restriction on it, the reactions will be worse for India rather than for foreign lenders. Nevertheless, the question is whether even if India wants to utilize foreign capital, it should or should not have the right to regulate the flow of such capital and lay down conditions on which it should operate in the country. If this right is to be denied, fiscal autonomy is devoid of meaning and national economic development becomes an empty phrase.

The political objections to the commercial safe-guard are not less serious. For it will effectively limit the sovereign rights of the future legislature of India especially in the pursuit of an economic and industrial policy. The grant of self-government carries with it the authority to decide on such vital issues. As Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar pointed out in his able speech at the Second Round Table Conference such an injunction in perpetuity restraining the future Federal legislature from ever endeavouring to regulate not only "the existing and accruing rights" but also "the expectations in investments by business connections" of concerns instituted in India even when national interests demanded it was not accepted or recognized by any colony even before the attainment of full Dominion status. Nor was such a safe-guard made a condition precedent to the grant of Dominion status in any component part of the British Commonwealth. It is, as Mr. Sastri remarked, 'a disability or discrimination" between India and the Dominions. It will form part of the constitution and will not depend upon any convention because it is vital from the British point of view. But what is necessary from Indian view-point, such as legislative control of the army should, according to Sir Samuel Hoare, be left over to convention and usage.

The constitutional basis on which this safe-guard is demanded and has been conceded is itself undefined and doubtful. The British commercial community is undecided as to whether they are to be treated as a minority community or as representatives of the British in India. This dilemma confronted the British delegates of the second Round Table Conference as was emphasized by Mr. (now Sir E.) Benthall in his famous circular to the Royalists of Calcutta. If they demand their rights as a minority community, they cannot logically claim their special privileges in regard to criminal trials, special auxiliary force units and the like and to be protected by British laws, British Parliament and the Imperial Government,. On the other hand, the Minorities Pact concluded at the second Round Table Conference commits the British community as a minority—a weak, unprotected and powerless minority as it is in this country. In no accepted sense of the term could the British commercial community be regarded as a minority and this claim had been rejected by Gandhiji also. But the British community cannot have it both ways. They cannot get themselves regarded as a minority and also claim the continuance of the privileges enjoyed by them in virtue of their being not only British citizens but members of the ruling race.

But even if this safe-guard is demanded on the ground of British citizenship, the claim is untenable. A British citizen is not entitled by virtue of nationality to any social or political rights in all the Dominions. While in India safe-guards are demanded against discrimination, the very right of legislative discrimination as between British subjects has been carefully safe-guarded by an imperial statute. Different Dominions and colonies have their own laws of nationalization ; and naturalization in the United Kingdom was no longer to confer the status of a British subject in any Dominion, unless that Dominion should adopt by legislation the provisions of that act. In theory, there may be an imperial nationality and British citizenship, but as a matter of fact, the different Dominions are developing their own nationalities and have their distinct citizenships. Lord Reading was opposed to any definition of the rights of British subjects which involved citizenship or implied that in order to be a citizen of India, a person must cease to be the citizen of England precisely because that is the constitutional position in regard to Dominion citizenship including the Irish Free State whose constitution makes no distinction between British subjects and aliens. By means of legislation regarding 'domicile,' British subjects and their rights have been sub-divided according to the country within the British Empire to which they belong or are deemed to belong. Each part of the Empire has thus its own legal domicile and the domicile of origin is lost and lost only on the acquirment of a new domicile. As for the formula which proposes to treat a mere sojourner or even an exporter of capital in England, on the same basis as an Indian-born citizen or a citizen domiciled in India, it has been accepted in the judicial decisions of the British Courts that "from the standpoint of the country of domicile, it is undesirable and even perilous to have permanently established within its territory large numbers of persons who do not owe that country permanent allegiance."* The simple

* Quoted in "Nationality within the British Commonwealth" by Van Pitteres.

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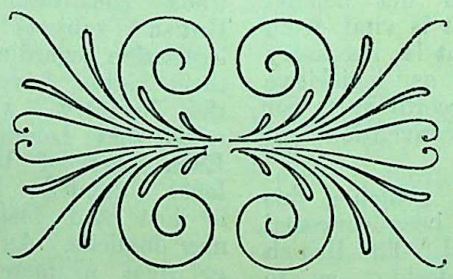
nomenclature of "British citizen" does not therefore assure *per se* the rights of a British subject within the Commonwealth. Indians in South Africa, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and even in a Crown Colony like Kenya are aware of this fact, although it is useful to add that the British Government have not interfered there to prevent invidious and humiliating discrimination against the legitimate vested interests of Indian fellow-subjects of the Crown. The claim of the British commercial community has strictly speaking no constitutional sanction or validity. The Statute of Westminster, in fact, gives power to the Parliament of a Dominion to make laws having extra-territorial operation since without such a power a State cannot control the activities of its citizens abroad. This power definitely implies that a Dominion is a distinct juristic entity with a nationality and citizenship of its own and can regulate it both within its territories and without it.

But even if the question of citizenship may not be capable of immediate solution, India cannot and should not insist that her right as an autonomous nation to discriminate in favour of what her people regard as Indian interests should be left intact and unimpaired. Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas observed during the discussions at the second Round Table Conference that it could not be the intention of anybody "to withdraw from the Government any power that the existing Government have." But this is precisely what the commercial safe-guard does. Today, in point of constitutional powers at least, there is nothing to prevent the Government of India from imposing restrictions on non-Indian exchange banks or regulating activities of non-Indian insurance companies or reserving the coastal trade of India for Indian-owned vessels if it considered such action to be in Indian interests. Now the question is not whether such action is desirable or essential. Whether a particular measure involving discrimination is necessary or not is a distinct issue which should be judged on its own merits and should not be confused with the fundamental issue involved in the question. As Lord Reading emphasized with his usual clarity and vigour, in opposing the suggestion of some of the Indian delegates about the right of the Legislature to regulate the grant of subsidies and bounties :

> "It is giving the power to do it : I am not saying it is doing it, because the Legislature may never do it : but it is giving the power to do it. That is what I am trying to prevent."

This is exactly the point. It is not a question of protecting this industry or safeguarding that enterprise. What is fundamentally objectionable is that from its very inception the Legislature is to be deprived of the right to pursue an economic policy it might choose to adopt and its existing powers are to be crippled under the cover of safe-guard. But every such restriction on this right of the national legislature, whether you describe it as safe-guard or special responsibility, guarantee or special powers, is a limitation on full national status, an infringement of political responsibility and a violation of legislative sovereignty.



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A PLANET AND A STAR

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

'YOU are strangers of excellent understanding,' said the elder lady in a tone of approval, 'and that is more than can be said of other visitors to our city. It is only wise people like you who can appreciate the greatness of the White City.'

Maruchi bowed in acknowledgment of the compliment and we passed on to another group of four men who looked almost unapproachable in their haughty aloofness. Yoko introduced us. 'Gentlemen,' he said, 'these are the distinguished strangers of whom you may have heard, who saved my life the other night and who have conquered the air so that they fly from place to place like birds.' The four men stared at us and then stared at one another. One of them asked, 'Have we heard of them ?'

Every one of them echoed the question like automatons and then all four shook their heads solemnly. We almost expected to see the wires attached behind their heads, and which were being pulled by some one behind the scenes. They looked like nothing so much as animated puppets.

'No,' said the most important looking of the quartette with sepulchral solemnity, 'We cannot say that we have heard of these strangers. It is also not clear whether they fly like birds or bats.'

Orlon took them in hand. 'We fly any way we chose,' he retorted, 'and we think very little of the cities over which we pass and the people living in them.'

'Even the White City ?' questioned one of the four with shocked incredulity.

'Why not ? How is the White City to be distinguished from another from the sky ?'

The pride, which they wore like coats of mail, of the four was pierced and they snorted with indignation, 'Is there any place anywhere to compare with the White City ?'

'In order to do so,' I insinuated gently, 'is it not necessary that one should see other cities ? We presume you have travelled widely and satisfied yourselves that no other city can hold a candle to the White City.'

This was a facer and the four of them looked blankly at one another. And then followed the lofty reply, 'Oh, we do not care to travel, it is so upsetting. Besides, there is nothing to learn since we know that the White City has no equal and all other people are inferior to us.'

'The frog considers the well in which it is born the wide ocean,' muttered Orlon under his breath.

For once Maruchi also was nettled and he wanted to take a rise out of these pompous noodles. 'From the air,' he remarked, 'we observe no difference between one city and another and man crawls on the ground like any other animal. It does not matter whether an animal walks on two legs or four. If man wants to become superior to his fellows he must rise above them and he can only do so by mounting in the air. We have done so and we invite you to follow our example. One can learn very little by being cooped up in an insignificant little place like this. We roam over all countries and cities and we look down upon all.'

The men were speechless with indignation and hurt pride. We left them looking behind us with murder in their eyes. Yoko almost ran with us into a small side-room in which there was no one else, and he threw himself on the carpet and rolled about in an agony of silent laughter. 'You will be the death of me.' he gasped. Recovering a little he sat up and said between fits of soundless cachinnation, 'I have had the time of my life. Oh, but it was good to see those blighters flattened out like pricked fish bladders.'

When Yoko got over his uncontrollable fits of laughter we came out of the room and shortly afterwards we returned to the guest house.

XXI

So far we had seen nothing of the environments of the White City beyond noticing the villas on the outskirts on our way to the city through the air. We mentioned this to Yoko who at once proposed that we should have an outing and have a look around. There was no need to take out our own machine for we wanted to walk part of the way and so Yoko procured for us a conveyance in which there was room for us all. Yoko himself could not come but he gave instructions to the driver to take us to the villas and any other places we wanted to see.

Some of the villas were very fine and the gardens were well kept. There was a great abundance of flowers, some resembling those that are met with on our own planet and others of a new variety. There was a riot of colour and the air was heavy with the fragrance of flowers in bloom. But the good taste displayed in the laying out of the gardens was absent in the houses which evidently belonged to rich *parvenus*. Outside all the houses were white but inside there was an excess of ornamentation and a

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display of loud and ill assorted colours. The caretakers showed us over the rooms with evident pride and gave glowing accounts of the wealth of the owners. As we wandered through the rooms we spoke of the time when things were just like this in our own world and the new-rich advertised their wealth in this fashion, but the world had survived those times and nothing like this could be seen on the planet whence we had come. If we had seen nothing but the White City and its inhabitants we would have formed a very wrong opinion of our neighbours on this planet. But we compared it with Sipri which had left a very good impression on our minds and we concluded there must be other kinds of people in other parts of this planet though we could not possibly see them all.

On our return to the guest house we met Yoko, who had called to enquire what we thought of the villas we had seen. Maruchi spoke without enthusiasm, for he like the rest of us was not much impressed by the lack of taste displayed in decorating the houses. 'The owners of these villas,' he said, 'are evidently rich people who are anxious to advertise their wealth. But they do not appear to be men of taste, and we must frankly confess that we found very little to admire in what we saw. It may be that we visitors from another world are people with very crude notions, and the blatancy of the decorations did not appeal to us. But we can only judge according to our own standards. Since, however, you have asked for our opinion we are bound to state it with perfect candour.'

Yoko's lips curled in a cynical smile, and he chuckled in his silent way, 'You are terrible fellows', he said with a gesture of comic despair, 'and there is no way of pleasing you. But you are perfectly right, my friends from another world. This White City of ours is rotten to the core. The people here know nothing and they will never learn anything. They have killed the sense of curiosity and they are impervious to new ideas. What can you expect of such people but crass ignorance and want of taste in everything? When they have wealth they offend the eye by displaying it without any notion of taste. You have seen how offensive are their manners, or rather, the want of manners. You can knock a new idea into a stone wall but not into their heads. They are the silliest, stupidest, most pompous idiots on this planet or any other.'

After this comprehensive and sweeping anathema there was nothing more to be said, and Maruchi turned the conversation to the subject of bringing our visit to the White City to an end.

Yoko became serious at once. 'I can scarcely press you to prolong your stay in this city, though I am sure you will believe me when I tell you that I shall always miss you. I cannot even hope that we shall meet again, for you have to visit other places and will then return to your distant home. There is no attraction here for a second visit, though you have had the experience of seeing a lot of foolish people. If it is not presumptuous, may I enquire your next destination?'

'Our great desire is to see Raba, but we must see some other places on our way. We have heard about the City of the Kings and intend seeing it.'

Yoko raised both hands over his head and a look of consternation spread over his face. 'To name Raba and the City of the Kings together! Well, I need not have exhausted my superlatives if I had known you intend visiting the City of the Kings. And Raba is neither a city nor a pleasure resort. It is the holy of holies.'

'We know, and we shall go there as humble pilgrims, in a spirit of profound reverence.'

The next day we bade farewell to Yoko and left the White City. We parted from him with regret for he was the only man in that city whose personality made a lasting impression upon our memory.

XXII

The City of the Kings

Our next objective was the City of the Kings. We had been able to locate the White City on our maps and we found the City of the Kings was two days' flight from the city we had left behind. The character of the country over which we passed presented several new features. We passed over several large inland lakes and more forests, and then vegetation and human habitations became more scarce. There were large tracts of undulating deserts over which the wind swept fiercely and the stretches of sand glared white in the sun. Sometimes the clouds of dust rose to great heights and shut out the land lying below. It was a bleak, uninhabited, wind-swept region and we wondered whether the City of the Kings was in the midst of a desert. Meanwhile, Maruchi had resumed his habit of musing aloud and summing up his experiences.

'Although', he was saying, 'life on this planet is not very different from our own I find that different types are located in different places. It must be only an accident, but for us it is proving very instructive. So far we have seen Opi, Sipri, the Pompos and the White City. At Opi there is only the monastery, though there we had our strangest experience so far. The monks were kindness itself, but to touch them was more dangerous than to catch hold of a bristling porcupine with bare hands. The mystery of Narga is beyond us and we may never be able to solve it. Sipri is what we would call a normal city and the Damato would make a fine President of a Republic on our own Earth. The scientists

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the athletic young men and women are nowise different from our own. I shall not try to class the Pompos, who are most interesting savages and I grew to be quite fond of Ooloopee. The White City is a curious remnant of human failing and weakness, and I would not try to improve upon Yoko's vigorous description of the leading inhabitants. We had people like them on our own planet some hundreds of years ago. Yoko is the one exception and I wonder what keeps him in such a place. It must be love of power, for he is the one really strong man in the White City and the Commander and others are like clay in his hands. In our world he would have made history when there were kingdoms and empires, but the cynic in him subdues his ambition and so he is content to be where he is.'

I looked at Orlon. Maruchi had spoken of the mystery of Narga as beyond solution, but he did not know that Orlon had penetrated that mystery and to him at least she was quite human. He had held her in his arms without hurt to himself and she had laid aside her strange powers for his sake. Whatever she might be to others, and her magnetic powers were doubtless greater than those of Karos and the other monks, to Orlon she had been a woman with the love-light in her eyes and the irresistible power of love in her swaying and yielding form. Love had subdued her as it conquers other men and women, and her extraordinary psychic powers had been of no avail against the omnipotence of love. I looked at Orlon and wondered what Maruchi would have thought and said if he had witnessed the woodland scene in the gloaming and had heard the impassioned words that had thrilled the scented evening air.

Orlon had a far-away look in his eyes and I could guess that the words of Maruchi must have set him thinking. He turned towards Maruchi with a quizzical smile. 'It is good to compare notes and sum up experiences as we go on. We have been all taking a few notes, though some of us are much too lazy to be very observant. You, Maruchi, I am sure, will write a book on our expedition, and it will be one of the most remarkable books ever written. Each of us may have his view-point, though we may not have your gift or range of observation. I wonder, however, whether you have thought what would be the most striking memento of our visit to this planet and whether it is possible to take back with us something which will make a universal appeal to the inhabitants of our own planet.'

Maruchi glanced first at Orlon and then towards me. 'I had myself the same idea,' he said, 'at one time, but I don't think it will be feasible. We have a curious instrument and may collect some other valuable things which may interest our learned scientists and other men. But what can we take with us to capture the popular imagination? A bird or an animal from Heperon would create some interest, but what we really want is a man or a woman. We cannot persuade any of the scientists of Sipri to leave this planet with the uncertain prospect of a return. No one of you can find a wife here as the customs of the countries here will not permit it. What else can you suggest, Orlon?'

Orlon shook his head. 'I can think of nothing beyond what you say. A Martian fellow-passenger back to the Earth would be the strongest attraction, but it is obviously impossible.'

I tried a lighter vein. 'When the woman is willing what is the objection to an abduction? I am sure Atalanta would have come away with Nabor quite willingly.'

Nabor was steering but he turned round with a flushed face. Maruchi leaned forward and whispered in my ear, 'How about the Lady Toma?'

I was startled and Orlon laughed aloud '*Et tu*, Sahir? Hast thou also a love secret? I should have guessed it, for still waters run deep.'

Ganimet, who seldom knew how to keep a silent tongue in his head, said, 'We had the two Pompos and we could have taken them with us without any questions being asked.'

We all laughed, but Maruchi gravely replied. 'No, Ganimet, that would not have done at all. Even when you go to another country you bring back with you the best things you can find. What would the people here have thought of our expedition if the committee of our scientists had sent some pygmies from Central Africa to this planet?' What opinion would the Heperonians have formed of the inhabitants of the Earth? We cannot take any one from the cities here as that would give offence and I will do nothing to antogonize the inhabitants of this planet. Moreover, I am very doubtful whether Ooloopee and Batabata would live long if taken away from their native forest. They would pine and die in a few months and I do not wish to have the death of any fellow-creature on my hands.'

The landscape below us was rapidly changing. The dreary barrenness of the desert land was succeeded by long stretches of smiling cultivation with broad rivers sweeping majestically through them. There were low hills covered with a dense, deep, green vegetation. We were flying low and could see the trees and creeping plants in bloom. It was a riot and feast of colour. From the day of our arrival on Heperon we had noticed that the flora was more varied and luxuriant than anything we had seen in any part of our own world. The wonderful vegetation of Central Africa was nothing compared to the wealth of nature displayed here. A botanist would have revelled in the endless variety of

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flowers and plants. We passed over large plains with herds of wild animals at graze, large flights of birds and others running across country like ostriches. At length we came in sight of what was evidently the City of the Kings. It was wholly unlike anything we had seen in our wanderings through the air on this planet.

Imagine a curiously unattractive-looking city in the midst of the most beautiful scenery. Straggling houses built any how were scattered over a considerable area. There was nothing like town planning anywhere. The roads zigzagged in all directions while the alleys and lanes were dark and unclean. The prevailing feature everywhere was shabbiness and shoddyness. Some of the houses were pretentious in a vulgar sort of way, others were just unsightly, ramshackle structures put up without any regard to proportion or beauty. From what we could judge from the air the majority of the houses were ill-lighted and ill-ventilated. And immediately beyond this shabby city, so infelicitiously called the City of the Kings, nature was decked in all its glory. This ugly inset in such a beautiful frame was an eyesore, and as we circled over the city we seriously debated whether we should at all alight in or near the city. Orlon was for passing on leaving the city behind. But Maruchi would not agree to it. 'We have wanted to see this city and see it we will. It is not much to look at, but the mere conception of such a city appeals to me. It will be a new experience and we may learn many things here that we have not learned elsewhere. Nabor, strike up the band and look out for a suitable landing place. It must be somewhere outside the city.'

Nabor struck up a lively measure on his musical instrument while the Mundanus slowly circled over the city. There was at once a rush of the inhabitants to the streets and the housetops. Every point of vantage was thronged by men, women and children peering up at the sky and shouting, gesticulating and waving their arms. Consternation was depicted on most faces, while numbers of people were rushing about in the streets shouting wildly. The words were not borne up to us, but we could clearly see that the whole city was in a *furore* of excitement and possibly alarm. There was a nice, large, smooth field just outside the city and here Nabor landed, coming down in graceful curves and slides, the music playing all the time. As soon as the machine came to rest and we were preparing to clamber down a large crowd of the inhabitants, who had been running and following the airship, emerged from the city and made a rush in our direction. We did not anticipate any violence as we had positive information that the inhabitants of the city were timid, but in the eagerness of their curiosity they might mob and hustle us and the machine and that was a real danger. But we noticed that the crowed was behaving in an extraordinary fashion. About two hundred men with a sprinkling of boys were coming on at top speed in our direction when they saw Maruchi and three more of us coming out of the machine. The moment they saw us the men and boys from the city halted dead in their tracks and gazed at us in open-eyed and open-mouthed wonder not unmixed with fear. They stared alternately at us and the machine with such comic helplessness that it was with some difficulty that we restrained ourselves from bursting out laughing.

Maruchi stepped forward and bowed gravely with courtly grace. 'Gentlemen, we wish you a very pleasant morning.'

Now, several languages were spoken in the City of the Kings as the descendants of the royal families of various countries formed the population of the city. Maruchi's greeting was easily understood and an elderly gentleman with a benevolent aspect asked in a hesitating and somewhat nervous tone, 'Where do you come from? Who are you and what is that thing in which you have come?'

'We come from a distant country,' courteously replied Maruchi. 'We are peaceful travellers and this is the ship in which we travel.'

Maruchi's mild and conciliatory manner emboldened the men who had ventured to approach close to us. One of the bolder spirits thrust himself forward and spoke to Maruchi. 'We saw you flying through the air. Who has ever heard of any living creature except a bird flying? We are the descendants of kings and we come from many countries, but we have never heard that any one can fly without wings. There must be some evil spirit in that thing you have brought with you and you must be magicians.'

This was not encouraging. If these people got a notion that we were wicked wizards and in league with some evil spirit they might not allow us to enter the city at all. Maruchi turned to the elderly man who had first spoken to him. 'You are wise,' he said with a winning smile which disarmed hostility, 'and you will believe me when I say we hold no traffic with any evil thing or any magic. We have visited many lands. We have seen holy people and at the famous monastery of Opi we were the guests of the monks. At Sipri we lived with the Damato in his own house and were entertained very hospitably. Our ship has been constructed by very clever people and you should not be surprised if you see other machines like ours in future. We have heard a great deal of your famous city and we also know that the inhabitants are descended from kings, which is more than can be said of any other city. Besides, we are on our way to Raba and you know very well that nothing evil can approach that holy place.'

This oration produced a marked effect. It is doubtful whether any one of the people present

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heard of Opi or Sipri, but not one of them likely to admit his ignorance, and of course had all heard of Raba. The elderly man had the other man who suspected us to be ked the other man who suspected us to be icians with great dignity. 'Why do you think of our distinguished and honoured visitors? ir wisdom is greater than magic and they been honoured wherever they have gone. in the name of this great city and its royal bitants I bid you a cordial welcome.'

Maruchi bowed his thanks and asked, 'Is re any place where we can stay?'

The man who had greeted us and some others ed blankly at one another. As we found afterwards there was no guest house or inn the city because travellers rarely passed that and no one had any guest. There were of us and where were we to be accommodated? elderly man held a whispered conference some others, and then turned apologetically Maruchi. 'I am afraid you will miss the forts you had in the other cities you visited. u see us here fallen from our royal estate compelled to live in obscurity. But you very welcome guests and we will give you the best we have.'

Maruchi waved the apology aside. 'Put yourves at ease, gentlemen,' he said, 'we have elled in many parts and are accustomed to fare, though I am sure we shall be quite here. You are very kind and very hospiand we thank you all. But what about machine here? You see we have to take care of it, for if anything were to happen we would be completely stranded.'

'Have no anxiety on that account, for no one will touch your flying ship.'

Ganimet was directed to remain in charge of machine while the rest of us accompanied spokesman of the crowd and some others.

Quite close to the entrance of the city there an old dilapidated, rambling house to which were guided. The house was untenanted ept for an old couple who spoke no word at but stared at us suspiciously as we entered house preceded by the man who had omed us and some others. This man ressed the old couple. 'These strangers,' he pointing at us, 'have come from a distant and are our guests. Please let them stay this house.'

The old woman said, 'But we have got nothing the house and we have no money.' Maruchi ened to reassure her and her husband. 'We all pay for everything that we may need. We all be quite satisfied if you give us a couple rooms.'

The old lady invited us to enter the house and showed us over the rooms. There were several, but all were bare and musty and looked as if they were rarely swept and cleaned. There were a few old carpets, some old cushions and that was all. We selected three rooms and said we would be quite comfortable in them. Then our guides took leave of us with many apologies for not being able to find us better quarters and promising to call again.

After they had left Maruchi gave the old lady some money for our immediate requirements. A look of cupidity came into her eyes and she took the money and said, 'We buy our food from the restaurants. You may do the same.'

'We shall do so with pleasure if you will tell us where to go.'

Then the old man living in the house spoke for the first time, 'Come with me and I shall show you the way.'

The old woman, however, gave him no money as he accompanied us out of the house.

XXIII

We had formed some idea of the City of the Kings from the air and it did not improve upon a closer acquaintance. The streets were ill kept and in a state of bad repair, the houses were badly designed and built with inferior material and everywhere the eye was greeted by unrelieved squalor. The men and women moving about in the streets were all ill-dressed, unkempt creatures, listless of manner and awkward in their ways. When we had proceeded a short distance our host, for so we suppose we should call the old man who lived in the house assigned to us, entered a low house containing two rooms in which a number of people were squatting on mats laid on the ground. A middle aged woman, who seemed to be the landlady, was serving them with food in earthen vessels. Our guide and host indicated us with a flourish of his hands. 'These are distinguished and wealthy visitors from a distant land. Give them of the best you have in the house.'

The woman looked at him and laughed. 'As wealthy as yourself?' she asked. The other men laughed aloud.

Maruchi took matters in his own hands. 'Madam,' said he, 'we are not wealthy but we pay our way. As our friend here has said, we are hungry travellers. Give us the best food you have and our friend will help us to do justice to it.' And he pulled out some money and placed it in her hand..

Money is a talisman that never fails. The woman gazed at the money lying in her outstretched palm and again turned her wondering eyes to Maruchi and our party. She dropped a courtesy and said, 'I humbly beg your pardon, illustrious sirs, for my thoughtless remark. Deign to come this way.'

She took us to a small inner room, pulled out some faded cushions and spread them out for us. While we sat down she bustled about, set out metal plates before us, brought us water to wash our hands, and then hurried to the kitchen saying she would be back at once.

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Maruchi employed the interval to get better acquainted with our host.

With an engaging smile he accosted him, 'We have not yet had the pleasure of knowing under whose roof we shall sleep ?'

At once a wonderful change came over the old man. He stiffened and bristled and a look of great dignity came over his countenance and mien. Raising his head proudly he declared, 'I am descended from the kings of Masawa and my name is Pavro.'

If he had said he was Alexander, Caesar or Charlemague he could not have made a prouder gesture.

Maruchi was duly impressed and he gave our names. Gradually the force of heredity relaxed and the ex-royal look on Pavro's face passed. He was once again the down-at-heels, henpecked creature that we had found him to be at first.

Nabor had been told to call Ganimet and the two of them soon came in together.

The woman who owned the restaurant appeared soon after accompanied by a pretty young girl and both of them carrying steaming dishes.

Orlon stroked his chain complacently and said, 'By rights, these two should be a queen and a princess and we shall have the high honour of being served by them."

The girl could not understand what Orlon said but she looked at him and when their eyes met she slightly blushed.

The best that we had to eat at this place was not particularly good but we were not epicures and ate sparingly of the food placed before us. But Pavro ate ravenously, wolfing the food in large mouthfuls. The girl brought some goblets filled with some drink and placed the first goblet before Orlon. It was a sort of thin, weak, wine but we pushed it aside and called for plain water. Pavro seized his goblet eagerly, drank it with delight and wanted more. Whatever our own opinion of the repast we felt Pavro looked upon it as a feast and was enjoying it accordingly. In order to put him at ease we pressed fresh helpings from the dishes on Pavro and had his goblet filled up whenever it was empty. We noticed that this descendant of a king had an enormous appetite and a huge thirst and we waited till he filled himself to repletion.

The landlady and the girl were waiting on us and when we had finished the landlady addressing Maruchi said, 'You have eaten very little. Perhaps the food is not to your [illegible] or perhaps you have small appetites.'

'The food is excellent,' replied Maruchi, 'I am afraid we are not good trenchermen though Pavro here has done justice to your cooking. Since we shall have to be your guests for some time we may as well become acquainted. I am sure you also claim a [illegible] descent.'

The landlady made a wry face. 'As to [illegible] all of us are descended from ruling kings, how does that avail us ? The kings have departed and their kingdoms are gone and we are forbidden to leave this city. Do you [illegible] housed like royalties ?'

She spoke with bitterness as well she [illegible] This woman was more sensible than Pavro [illegible] sought no consolation in the contemplation [illegible] the past. Maruchi changed the conversation [illegible] asked whether there was anything more to [illegible] for our meal.

'No,' said the landlady, 'on the contrary, there is a balance due to you.'

Maruchi asked her to keep it as we would come again for our next meal.

Pavro was strangely disinclined to return [illegible] his house early. He was in a state of [illegible] content and was somewhat exhilarated. 'Come,' said he, turning to us, 'it is quite early and if you are not tired we will spend some time [illegible] the Royal Arms.'

Nothing loath, we accompanied Pavro to [illegible] Royal Arms which was a sort of tavern where [illegible] number of the gossips and cronies of the [illegible] spent their evenings. Just near the entrance [illegible] a long, low room with reed mats covering [illegible] floor and several middle-aged and old men [illegible] lounging on the matting, sipping a white [illegible] wine and chattering in a leisurely fashion. [illegible] ran our eyes over the crowd and saw that [illegible] men were slovenly and shabby as usual with [illegible] curious mixture of hauteur and pride. [illegible] looked up as we entered and eyed us with [illegible] curiosity.

Pavro introduced us. He had dined well [illegible] and had expanded under the influence of [illegible] His language and gestures were flamboyant [illegible] he spoke of us as wonderful men who scoured [illegible] the earth and travelled through the air and [illegible] were as rich as the kings of old.

The most important person there appeared [illegible] be a tall, broad-shouldered man in the prime [illegible] life with a big, bushy beard which he [illegible] stroking constantly. He motioned to us to come [illegible] and sit by his side while other people near [illegible] made room for us.

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BOOK REVIEWS

BOOKS in the principal European and the Indian classical languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

TRANSACTIONS OF THE BOSE RESEARCH INSTITUTE, CALCUTTA. *Vol. VII., 1931-32, 313. Longmans Green & Co. 25s.*

The extraordinary extensions in every branch of ge has led to narrow specialization with the unate result that investigators have lost sight e unifying principle which underlies kindred nomena. This is specially the case in biology where nced investigations in plant and animal life have n kept separate among different group of workers. a result of this partial view, investigators have en been misled by the apparent differences in the tions of plant and animal life leading to the ng conclusions that these reactions are widely rent. The important contribution made by the se Research Institute is the establishment of the at generalization of the unity of physiological hanism in all life. The supreme importance of dy of simple plant organization lies in the fact t it would solve many perplexing problems of far more complex animal life. It would also ble us to trace the evolutionary process by which simplest organ becomes gradually transformed o one of higher efficiency for the discharge of a hite function.

The Bose Institute, not content with its past hievements, is now extending its scope of work in w directions, in Bio-physics, in Bio-chemistry, in ctro-physics as also in Zoology and in Anthrology. The seventh volume of the Transactions of e Institute just published, marks this new depare and contains detailed accounts of sixteen lines investigation most of which have been contributed the staff and scholars of the Institute.

In the first paper is given an account which ers satisfactory explanation of the capture of fish by called 'poisoning' of water by extracts from rent plants. The fishes thus captured can wever be safely eaten by human beings. The proem has been satisfactorily solved by the automatic ervals of the physiological changes which are duced in the fish under the actions of the extract. The apparatus is the *resonant respirograph* specially devised to record the changes induced in the respiratory process. It is proved that the death of the fish is not due to poisoning but to the inactivation induced on the respiratory mechanism, the fatal result being due to asphyxiation. This is proved by the crucial test of the revival of the moribund fish by artificial respiration, the process being similar to that employed in reviving a drowned person.

The remarkable phenomenon of the motor paralysis of fish by local application of salt has been studied by two scholars in the department of animal physiology and the characteristic effects induced have been exactly determined. The problem is of some practical importance since many scaleless edible fishes are provided with sharp-pointed pectoral fins with which they inflict dangerous wounds when handled. Application of the salt on the body induces a motor paralysis on account of which the fish is unable to strike and thus rendered harmless. It is found that this induced motor paralysis travels slowly from point to point, the transmission being slower in the transverse than in the longitudinal direction.

Further investigations on the motle and conducting mechanism of plants are described in a series of papers, the methods employed being both mechanical and electrical. The impulses in a leaf are shown to travel along special conducting strands either in a centripetal or in a centrifugal direction according as the stimulus is applied at the central or at the peripheral ends of the leaf. Very interesting results have been obtained on the additive and differential effects of the two impulses on the movement of the leaf. The various manifestations of irritability are shown to undergo definite changes under variations in the environment and of habit of the plant.

The growth of the plant is shown to be modified by different factors, the individual effect of which has been isolated. Remarkable results have been obtained in regard to the response of the plant under condition of subtonicity. In subtonic organs stimulus induces an acceleration of growth instead of the normal retardation, and in extreme cases of sub-

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tonicity which results in the arrest of growth stimulus is shown to revive growth.

In regard to the effects of different coloured lights, red light though usually ineffective, is found under special circumstances to induce an acceleration of growth. Blue light induces, on the other hand, a retardation of growth.

The characteristic effects of traces of indigenous plant extracts on the stomach and on the cardiac tissue of the animal have been investigated and described. In the field of Zoology an account of fish-eating spiders of Bengal is given and instantaneous photographs obtained of the method of capturing their prey, as well as of that of the fertilization of the female.

In the department of chemistry additional investigations have been carried out on Proteolytic Enzymes, and on the chemical constitution of oils from leguminous pulses.

An account of investigations on the radio activity of the hot springs in the ancient seat of pilgrimage at Rajgir was undertaken by the head of the department of chemistry. It is a matter of very great scientific interest to find that the temperature of the water of the springs has remained practically unchanged for at least hundred years. A suitable gold leaf electroscope of high sensitivity was specially constructed at the Bose Institute workshop, which enabled the investigations to be carried out with very great accuracy, the subject of inquiry being the radio activity of the gas evolved from the springs as well as the relative activities of the different spring waters. The results obtained prove that the Rajgir waters are radio active and the gas evolved is even more so. The relative activity of the Rajgir springs is shown to be as high as those of similar springs in Europe.

The work of the newly founded Department of Anthropology and racial Biology is represented by an important paper on Burmese crania, the results of which will prove of much interest. A unique field for the systematic study of the biological problems relating to man is offered by India where the racial elements of diverse characters are living side by side in various degrees of admixture. Unfortunately amongst the most primitive races at the present time, a rapid depopulation is taking place; researches have therefore been commenced for the determination of the basic relationships of the different groups of the Indian people, as also investigations on the aboriginals. The results of these investigations will supply definite materials for the pursuits of these more complicated problems affecting the biology of the people of India.

The present volume dealing with an extended range of subjects will make a strong appeal to the wider public interested in the study of life and its diverse manifestations.

B. S. G.

SHAKESPEARE THROUGH EASTERN EYES: *By Ranjee G. Shahani. With an introduction by J. Middleton Murry and an appreciation by Emile Legouis. Herbert Joseph, London, Price 6s. net. 190 pp.*

A book suggested by Edward Garnett, sponsored by Middleton Murry, encouraged by Croce and appreciated by Legouis, must be a remarkable production, and the reader will find it undoubtedly so. Dr. Shahani has tried in this book to look at Shakespeare without the critical spectacles supplied by Europe, and finds that the effect is strange. If he surveys the whole of Europe from the view of Shakespeare's appreciation, he finds poet acclaimed through the continent; how Swan of Avon react on the Eastern beauty of Shakespeare's drama is brutally school and college teaching in India, an dramatic representation results in a while his romances are given preference, the conclude with music. Indian criticism, the finds, is mostly affected, mechanical, based on a misconception of the significance writings—so that the educated Indian essence of the teaching of the Vedas Upanishads in the dramatic works of Shakespeare. Even then, Shakespeare disappoints for his religious fervour, though he was sound on principles of Christianity and fond of the ups and downs of human life. It is of fervour which is a blemish in the eyes Indian who is not satisfied with a mere but longs for a mystic union with God, the ence of religion. A great disillusionment is for the Eastern reader as he finds that was not an inventor of technique, he evolved system of thought, he was of surpassing greatness in a grand objectivity; further, the great fails to supply the Indian of advanced views keenness of vision which Ibsen and Dostoevsky be expected to stimulate.

But Dr. Shahani is here making a case stating the truth or finding a fact. He starts the bad teaching of Shakespeare in schools colleges, but—why Shakespeare? All things taught are ludicrous, and in India most things ill-taught because of the medium of a foreign which takes away so much of our time and so much strain on us. It is not, again, say that there is practically no translation Indian languages (p. 96); the Bengali version *Macbeth* by Girish Chandra Ghose literal translation and at the same time rendering, and there must be equally or almost happy translations in other Indian vernaculars. Evidently, there is much to be explored yet matter of Shakespearean renderings in Bengali any other modern Indian language and we now dogmatize in the way the author has Dr. Shahani is of opinion that "the greatest poetry is non-religious" (p. 88); this is in the of too sweeping a remark to be convincing regards the Indian attitude to Shakespeare's works, the truth seems to be that the Indian is more liberal than the author thinks it to can enjoy non-mystical literature, and Kalidasa is certainly not a mystic is the greatest Indian poets. Aesthetic pleasure was considered be akin to the highest, and such a pleasure viewed from a broad outlook on life.

Dr. Shahani himself must know that this is at best a puny quarrel with the Occident. very commendable to stand on one's own legs perversity is not a substitute for originality. we cannot thus agree with the author in his sion, the subject has been treated in a most way, and 'the last word' is indeed a thing of

PRIYARANJAN SEN

PRATAPADITYA: *By Late Raja Nagendra Roy, B. L., of Noornagar, Khulna. Edited by the of the author Rabindranath Roy. Crown Pages 2+87+31—120. Price Re 1.*

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The author is descended from a brother of Raghab Roy, son of the reputed Basanta Roy, murdered by Pratapaditya. The editor informs us that the book was compiled in 1890-92, *i.e.*, about 43 years ago, when hardly anything historical regarding Pratapaditya was known. The book is therefore practically an adaptation in English garb of the romantic biography of Pratapaditya compiled and published in 1802 by Ramram Basu under the title *Pratapaditya-Charita*.

Much legendary nonsense has gathered round the name and history of Pratapaditya of Jessore and it is useless to blame the author of the present booklet for his failure to fish the true historical Pratap out of the vortex when men far better equipped succeeded no better.

N. K. BHATTASALI

EVERY-DAY MORALS: *By T. A. Sathe, M. A., H. C. P. Published by P. T. Sathe, 625 Shanwar Peth, Poona 2. Pp. 162. Price Re. 1.*

This s a catechism on morals. It comprises one thousand and odd questions and answers, and covers a pretty extensive field. We have questions ranging from 'When is an act said to be good?' to 'What are the advantages of a wedded life.' Some of the answers given by the author are quite amusing. For example, among the advantages of a wedded life is included the possibility that husband and wife 'can inherit each other' (Q. 941). The author makes an exhibition of his business instinct and—shall we add—his commercial morality also when he lays down the great moral principle that 'cloth-merchants and other traders' should not 'charge more profit than two annas per rupee.' (Q. 449).

Sometimes the author's performance becomes almost a burlesque; as for instance, when he seriously considers how respect is to be shown to great personalities and suggests as means the raising of arches, presenting addresses etc. (Q. 243). But he surpasses himself when he lays down the proposition that astrology, palmistry, ghosts, etc. are so many 'hoaxes' *because* they lead to quarrels between those who believe and those who do not believe in them (Q. 819-21); and also when in answer to the question, 'How does a lazy fellow behave?' he tells his readers that he (the lazy fellow) prefers rather to live on the insanitary ground-floor than living on the upper ones which are sanitary' and "that he does not take medicine in time" etc. (Q. 828).

We wonder whether the author really wants to catechise us or is only making fun at his own cost. The pompous style that he frequently assumes, the title that he has given to his book and the subjects that he deals with, would lead one to think that he is serious; but the general frame-work of his mind has a subdued comic appearance: and the funniest thing is this that he seems totally unaware of it.

The book is unencumbered with anything like a preface and we are left to imagine for whom it is intended.

We very much wish, however, that the author had directed his energies to some other pursuit.

SYSTEMS OF EXAMINATIONS. *By Ziauddin Ahmad, C. I. E., M. A., Ph.D., D.Sc. Published by Longmans, Green & Co., pp. 69.*

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad is a well-known educationist and his views on a subject like *Examinations* carry considerable weight. In this booklet he has examined at some length the systems of examinations obtaining in England, Germany, France, Italy and India. Examinations may sometimes become so mechanical, that they cease to be a test of efficiency. A perfect system of examination has yet to be devised. Even the so-called intelligence tests are not free from defects.

The Indian system no doubt is the greatest sinner in this line; but the British examinations on which such artificial value is put in this country, are also not entirely free from defects. And all who hold high class British degrees are not always found superbly efficient in the spheres of life to which they are called.

The fact that recruitment to the public services is generally made not on the results of the examinations conducted by our universities but of other examinations, is an indirect challenge to the utility of our examination systems. What kind of ability, then, do our examinations prove except that of cramming? The question has been asked more than once. And the country ought to be grateful to Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad for having drawn pointed attention to the stupidity of our examination systems. But unfortunately even our educational system is now subject to the vicissitudes of an insane political scramble, and the time seems distant when the country will settle down to think of soberer methods of education and examination.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

EXPERIMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY. *By Hubert Gruender, S. J., Ph.D., Professor of Psychology, St. Louis University, U. S. A. The Bruce Publishing Co., New York, Milwaukee, Chicago.*

Experimental psychology is a science which suffers not a little at the hands of those who distort facts to fit preconceived philosophical notions. This being the case, it is a relief to turn to this perfectly objective exposition of Professor Gruender. This work will appeal to all who are interested in the subject treated. It furnishes us with an up-to-date account of what this comparatively new science has accomplished, yet it is far from being a merely popular work. The author has contributed to the field of experimental psychology an original and very interesting theory concerning colour and tone sensations, which are fully described in this book. We venture to recommend the chapters on thought, in which the old Aristotelian problem of the relation between image and idea is discussed in the light of modern psychological experiments, as well as the chapter describing the nature and properties of the will act.

C. DE MOOR

A SURVEY OF SOCIOLOGY. *By E. J. Ross (Science and Culture Series). The Bruce Publishing Company, New York, 1932, pp. 570.*

"It is the opinion of some, and the error is already very common, that the social question is merely an economic one, whereas in point of fact, it is above all a moral and a religious matter, and for that reason must be settled by the principles of morality and according to the dictates of religion."

Mr. E. J. Ross quotes this passage of Pope Leo XIII's Encyclical Letter on Christian Democracy as a preamble to his book, and indeed, it adequately expresses the purpose he has in view.

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As a survey of sociology, his book is admirably comprehensive and his exposition is generally clear and to the point. The book is divided into two main sections : the first one treats of the fundamental principles and the general problems of sociology (family, state, international society, etc.) ; the second division, comprehending parts two, three and four, considers the more particular questions as to labour, social relief, marriage, education, etc. Even the Negro problem comes in for a chapter by itself.

The book is written by a Catholic, from a Catholic point of view, and is primarly intended for Catholic students. The social encyclicals of the late Popes, and specially the two great labour encyclicals of Popes Leo XIII and Pius XI, are largely quoted and commented on. By so doing Mr. E. J. Ross has rendered a great service to all students of sociology, Catholic or not. For if it is true that sociology is no mere economics, that it must consider human social relations with all their moral and religious implications as well, then the impartial student cannot but be thankful for having here an opportunity to learn what the Catholic Church teaches on this matter.

It is to be regretted however that in the appended bibliographies the author has limited himself to English books or English translations.

A. TAYBRA

MAHARANA KUMBHA : *By Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda, M. L. A. Second Edition, 1932. Vedic Yantralaya, Ajmer. Pp. 234+XXVI ; Rs. 5.*

Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda, whose name has now become a household word in India as the author of the Sarda Marriage Bill, had long before established his fame in literary circles as a sound scholar with half a dozen well-written books to his credit. Among these his *Hindu Superiority* is perhaps the most popular and *Ajmer* (Historical and Descriptive), the most original and scientific, though others are equally learned productions. The first edition of *Maharana Kumbha* was published in 1917, and at once received recognition as a work of considerable merit. "The present work," as the author says, "is practically a new book ; many chapters have been added, and old chapters have been re-written and enlarged." The book contains a full bibliography, a good index and several beautiful illustrations. In the appendix he has given useful extracts from inscriptions and Kumbha's *Kirtisthambha Prashasti*. Mr. Sarda can justly claim to have used fully all available sources of information with skill and discrimination. This was a very delicate task ; because almost all these sources had already been handled by a veteran historian like Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha in writing his chapter on Maharana Kumbha in his *Raputana ka Itihas*. Mr. Sarda's method of historical study is scientific, and his style peculiarly free from verbosity and ambiguity. Graphic topographical details of Mewar familiarize the reader with every scene of history enacted there by the main characters in this book.

None would possibly differ from Mr. Sarada's estimate of Maharana Kumbha as "a great sovereign, a great military commandar, a great builder and a great scholar" (p. 192), and "the real founder of the greatness of Mewar" (p. 191). But it is difficult to agree with the learned biographer of Kumbha when he says, "His genius was *equal to achieving far greater feats of military glory than what he accomplished* ; but his heart, susceptible to the feelings of humanity, abhorred all unnecessary bloodshed, ruin and destruction, and he undertook only such military operations as were absolutely necessary for the protection of his country ..... (p. 113). Maharana Kumbha was not a born military genius like the Emperor Samudragupta. Maharana Kumbha, a boy of about 12 or 13 at his accession (1434 A. D.) was under the tutelage of Rao Ranmal Rathor till 1438. Sirohi was annexed, Malwa invaded and its Sultan, Mahmud Khilji, brought as a prisoner to Chitor during this period. Maharana Kumbha had really as little share in these conquests and victories as young Akbar had in the glory of the victory of the Second Battle of Panipat or other conquests made during the regency of Bairam Khan. After the overthrow of Ran Mal, Kumbha's agnate uncle, veteran Chonda, seemed to have held the reins of government for 7 years (1438-1445 A. D.) during which Marwar was occupied by the Sisodias and Bundi reconquered. As soon as Chonda retired from Court, Rao Jodha reconquered Marwar and Sultan Mamud Khilji invaded Mewar itself. So only a successful defence of Mewar against the armies of Malwa and Gujrat, building of Kumbhalgarh, and the sack of Nagor stand to the credit of Maharana Kumbha. This does not warrant a conjecture that Maharana Kumbha was *capable of achieving greater military success* than what was achieved for him by Ran Mal and Chonda. Secondly, as regards *the feelings of humanity* and *abhorrence of bloodshed* we find no traces of them in the conduct and character of Kumbha whose victory had little quality of mercy for the vanquished. Perhaps, Maharana Kumbha paid his contemporary Muslim sovereigns a sincere compliment by imitating their ruthlessness in devastating populous cities, imprisoning helpless women and destroying places of worship. His *Kirtisthambha Prashasti* says: "Kumbhakarna, deriding the ruler of Gujrat as it were, captured Nagor *burnt to ashes the lofty mosque built by Firuz*, demolished the fort, filled up ditches, deprived him of his elephants, *imprisoned Muslim women* and *chastised innumerable Muslims*.....consigned the city with all its mosques to flames." (See Ojha's *Rajputana ka Itihas*, p. 614).

Mr. Sarda has shown rare insight in analysing Rajput character. He says, "The Rajput ideal of life was how to die nobly, rather than how to achieve success in life. They preferred fame to success and cared less for victory and more for praise of their personal valour." We may only add, though Rajputs were known as "death-loving" warriors in Medieval India, they were considered worse soldiers than the Khurasanis because of their "*crass stupidity*" as Aurangzib writes in a letter to his son. Rajput soldiers could never take advantage of covers, lie in ambush, and practise ruses and feints on the battle field. As politicians their chiefs were always made cat'spaw of by their Muslim adversaries. Mr. Sarda rightly remarks that even greatest among the Maharanas, *e. g.*, Kumbha and Sanga, supremely lacked that great quality of "*political foresight*, which comes only of full national consciousness" (p. 201.) Not to speak of Hindu national consciousness, Rajputs, even the noblest among them was ready to betray even their clan aud country for the sake of *Bhum* or patrimony. Rathor Jaimal, the brave defender of Chitor, sought the help of Sher Shah against Maldeo who had taken away Mairta from him ! From beginning to end Hindu

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owed their misfortune to political blunders of their rulers. Rajah of Jammu who had a quarrel with his neighbour the last of the Ghaznavid rulers of Lahor invited Shihabuddin Ghuri to the Panjab evidently thinking that Ghuri would go away after crushing the Ghaznavids ; similar was the calculation of Jaichand—if the story of his treachery is historical—and of Rana Sanga. Maharana Raj Singh was perhaps the worst criminal in this respect. He is responsible for all the misery which Hindus suffered during the long reign of Aurangzib, and what India suffers today from the unhappy legacy of Aurangzib's reign. Had he not betrayed his great benefactor Dara Shukoh and blindly thrown himself on the side of Aurangzib, perhaps Aurangzib would not have ascended the throne of Hindustan to undo the work of Akbar.

On the whole we have nothing but all praise for Mr. Sarda's book which is the most complete survey of the reign of Maharana Kumbha and of his literary activities.

ROMANCE OF THE FORT OF GWALIOR : *By Hem Chandra Rai, M. A. Printed at the Marathi Press, Delhi-Shahadara, 1931 ; pp. 74.*

The fort of Gwalior has indeed an undying glamour of romance about it. The author has given a fairly accurate survey of the history of that famous fortress in this book. This will prove useful and interesting to every contemplative visitor who ascends the dismal tower of Gwalior, "the Bastille of the Great Mughals."

FLOWERS OF HINDU CHIVALRY. *By the same author ; pp. 162, Rs. 3. Printed at the Bharat Printing Works : Bazar Sitaram, Delhi.*

This book containing biographical sketches of eleven Hindu worthies of Medieval India, opens with a prologue of 16 pages and closes with an epilogue of 5 pages. It has no bibliography, no index. Neither the mentality of the writer nor his literary style is suited to sober historical study. The author has outstripped even the average novelist in taking liberties with history. We quote below a paragraph from the author's prologue in order to acquaint readers with the mentality of the writer and the range of his investigations : "After the third chapter of this book had come out of print, I happened to visit Jaipur where I learnt from authoritative quarters that *there is not a trace in the State Historical Records to bear out the allegation of Rajput princesses having ever been given in marriage to some of the Moghul emperors.* .....It is not for the first time that the theory of these matrimonial alliances has been disputed by unbiassed scholars of repute... One has certainly to tax the imagination to an extraordinary degree to believe that any of the Rajput rulers..... could have stooped so low as *to marry a real Rajput princess to any Mogal emperor.....*" (p. xv-xvi).

So the author of *Flowers of Hindu Chivalry* and his Jaipuri informants would have us believe that mothers of Jahangir, Shahjahan, and Prince Khusru were not genuine Rajput princesses, but only counterfeits produced for diplomatic alliances ! If the people of Jaipur made any such assertion it is no wonder ; because darkness, they say, is always thickest under the lamp. There is a letter written by Prince Dara Shukoh to Mirza Rajah Jai Singh (now preserved in the Jaipur Archives) in which the Prince intimates his willingness to accept as bride for his son Sulaiman Shukoh, a daughter of Rao Amar Singh Rathor (eldest brother of Maharajah Jaswant Singh), if she was born of Mirza Rajah's own sister.

As regards contents, half of this book is a fairly intelligent summary of Tod's *Rajasthan.* His sketches of Rajah Surajmal Jat of Bharatpur, Maharajah Chhatrasal Bundela and Yasowant Rao Holkar are ably written and contain comparatively fewer errors. The worst chapter is probably that on Rao Amar Singh Rathor, being wholly based on the fictitious account of Tod and traveller's tales connected with the so-called Amar Singh Gate of the Agra Fort. However, Mr. Rai is less responsible for perpetuating this myth than professional historians who have till now allowed it to pass unchallenged. Abdul Hamid Lahori has given a very detailed contemporary account of this stirring incident of Rao Amar Singh's violent death, and also the cause of his being disinherited by his father Maharajah Gaj Singh Rathor. We learn from Abdul Hamid's *Padshah-nama* that Rao Amar Singh was disinherited not because of his own turbulence and misconduct, but on account of his father's doting on Jaswant's beautiful mother. Mota Rajah Udai Singh of Jodhpur had set this evil precedent in the family by setting aside the claim of his eldest son Sakat Singh and nominating the much younger Suraj Singh born of his most favourite queen (*Padshah-nama,* Pers., text, ii. p. 98). Rao Amar Singh at the time of his death held the *mansab* of 4,000 *Zat,* 3,000 *Sawar* and that of his adversary Sayyid Salabat Khan was lower to his by 1000 Sawar. The tragic incident happened not within the citadel of Agra, but outside in the palace of Dara Shukoh on the bank of the Jamuna. On the 25th of Jamadi-ul-awwal, 1054 A. H. the Emperor paid a visit to Dara's house outside the citadel, and ordered a halt for some days. On the last day of this month Rao Amar Singh, fief-holder of Nagor, who had been absent from Court for some time on account of illness reported himself there in the afternoon. Salabat Khan, Mir Bakshi, conducted him to the Emperor holding *darbar* in the *khilwat-khana* (room of private audience) of Dara Shukoh. After the salute Rao Amar Singh stood in his appointed place in the row on the left-hand side, and Salabat Khan on the right-hand side of the throne. During the time when after evening prayers the Emperor was busy writing a letter to some noble, Salabat Khan was found talking with a person near a four-branched chandelier below the balcony. All on a sudden Rao Amar Singh unsheathed his *jamdhar* (a kind of sword), ran at Salabat Khan and killed him outright by a single blow. Khalilullah Khan, Rao Arjun, Sayyid Salar Barha and six or seven mace-bearers surrounded Amar Singh, and overpowered and killed him with great difficulty. The affair derives its importance not for what brave Amar Singh did, but from the grim resolve of his followers to die to a man in avenging his death which threw the whole city into turmoil.

Rao Amar Singh was a lover of poetry and patronized many poets. One of them, Banwari, has immortalized this episode in the following lines :

धन्य अमर छिति छत्रपति, अमर तिहारो नाम।
शाहजहांकी गोदमें, हत्यौ सलावत खान॥

* * *

इन गँवार मुखते कढ्यो, उत निकसी जमधार।
"वार" कहन पायो नहीं, कीन्हो जमधर पार॥

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i. e., Bravo Amar ! Immortal indeed is thy name—thou who hast slain Salabat Khan on the very lap of Shahjahan. On that side the word *Ganwar* (rustic) came out from the mouth, and on this side Jamdhar left its scabbard. Before "*war*" (*i. e.*, the second syllable) could be uttered it sent Salabat beyond the abode of death.

However, in spite of historical inaccuracies this book will be found useful in creating some interest in history among those who have no appetite for dry and cold facts. We recommend it to Hindu admirers of the "Prussian School" of history.

KALIKA-RANJAN QANUNGO

ROCK-CUT TEMPLES AROUND BOMBAY (at Elephanta and Jogeshwari, Mandapeshwar and Kanheri) : *By Kanaiyalal H. Vakil, B. A., LL. B.: pp. 160, with 54 illustrations and 5 plans : Bombay : D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., "Kitab Mahal," Hornby Road : Boards, Rs. 3.*

Bombay is more fortunate than any other Indian city in possessing some of the most important archæological remains within a few miles, of which Elephanta and Kanheri are names to evoke sentiments of enthusiasm in historians and art-lovers. It is doubtful if Brahmanical art can show anything more sublime than the great Three-headed Siva and the Siva panels at Elephanta ; and to have seen them and appreciated something of their significance and greatness is to feel enriched for life. Mandapeshwar and Jogeshwari are less known, but they also deserve careful attention—they suffer, in fact, through their close proximity to the more magnificent Elephanta and Kanheri. A good guide to these sanctuaries of faith and art was wanting so long, which would give us all the information necessary for the understanding of the art as an expression of the faith ; and in Mr. Vakil these rock monuments have found a sympathetic and an eloquent interpreter whose knowledge of Indian literature and Indian art make him specially suited for the task. Discussion of Indian art *motifs* and methods in relation to the ideals before the artists seek to help in the enjoyment of the sculptures ; and the plans and half-tone illustrations enhance the value of the work. One cannot help wishing that the quality of the illustrations was a little better—an item on which surely the publishers could have given a little more attention. Otherwise this well-conceived and brightly written book is well-reproduced, and will be a helpful book for those who are going to see these temples, and a valuable souvenir of a visit to the temples for those who have seen them.

THUS SPAKE ZARATHUSTRA : *By Friedrich Nietzsche : Translation by Thomas Common, revised with an introduction by Dr. Oscar Levy, Editor of the authorized English translation of Nietzsche's works : London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd : thin paper, pocket edition, 368 pages, 5 shillings nett.*

This great classic of Modern European Literature has been produced in a very attractive (and comparatively cheap) edition which will please the admirer of Nietzsche who is also a lover of beautifully produced books. The 40-page introduction from Dr. Levy is an illuminating and eloquent appreciation of this great work. His testimony and his appeal are in the following terms : "There is no Greek, there is no Roman, there is no Indian example or equivalent for it ; no pagan mouth, however beautiful, has ever poured out such eloquence and forceful wisdom. There is a religious atmosphere about this book in spite of its irreligion, even on account of its irreligion ; it carries us far away from the stuffy air of our churches up to the keen winds of lofty peaks. Here with every breath our chest expands and our heart rejoices, and for a very good reason : our inspirations are drawn from an inspired book, a book as holy as the Bible, and a good deal more modern and less perplexing ; a book which for some of us even now replaces the Bible..." "Let Indians, Chinese and Japanese, who are rightly indignant today with Europe and her arrogant claim to superior culture, turn to *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, and let them regain some of the respect which should be paid after all to Europe, even in her present decay and misery...But let them profit of its wisdom as well as the Europeans, who after inflicting their creed "for all" upon Asia, must and will reconcile that great continent by Nietzsche's new Gospel FOR THE FEW."

PROGRESS OF COCHIN : *A Septuagenary Souvenir, commemorating the 70th year of H. H. Sri Rama Varma, G. C. I. E., Maharaja of Cochin : Articles on the History and Ethnology and General Administration of the State of Cochin, Malabar, South India, by various Scholars and Officers of the State : edited by Sahitya-Kusalan T. K. Krishna Menon : with 15 plates of illustrations, pp. 394+index etc. Printed at the Cochin Government Press, Ernakulam, 1932. Cloth bound : Rs. 3.*

It was a happy idea to publish this volume in commemoration of the long and illustrious life of one of the most enlightened rulers of Feudatory India. Cochin with a population of about one million is one of the most advanced States in India, and in the matter of education and literacy, that absolute measure of progress in a state, Cochin together with Travancore and Baroda is far ahead of British India. The present ruling house of Cochin has an unbroken record from 1500 A.D. onwards, when the people of Cochin for the first time came in touch with the Portuguese. It is however an ancient house which is not a remarkable thing in India—and the oldest traditions take the family history as far back as the fifth century A. D. Maharaja Sir Sri Rama Varma ascended the *masnad* in 1914, and a number of administrative reforms were carried on during his rule, which have helped Cochin to obtain its present position among Indian States. After a preliminary account of the history of Cochin and of its people, including the burning question of the 'depressed classes' and how the State has sought to solve this question, the various administrative departments and measures are described by officers in charge of them. They are treated under the following heads : General Administration ; Finance ; Judicial Administration ; Law and Legislation ; the Police and the Military (there is a *Nayar Brigade* and a few troopers for escort and guard purposes, the entire strength being near about 400) ; Jails ; Department of Registration ; Land Revenue ; Forests ; Forest Tramway ; Excise and Customs ; Education (one of the most interesting and detailed sections in the book) ; Medical Relief and Sanitation ; the *Anchal* or local Post System ; Agriculture ; Co-operative Societies ; Industrial and Economic Development ; Municipalities ; Village *Panchayats* ; Religious and Charitable Institutions and Temples ; Archæology ; Ethnography ; State Libraries and Allied Subjects ; The Museum and the Zoo ; Sanskrit Studies ; Malayalam Literature ; Sports and Pastimes : Public Works Department

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and Ayurveda. An enumeration of the above would show the many-sided activities of the administration of Cochin for the service of the people, and the note enlightened solicitide for the good of the masses of a great mutual trust between the government and the people is noticeable throughout. The work is following commentary on an efficient State organiza- tion managed by Indians. The general editing of this excellent work which serves to enhance the prestige of an Indian State and its people before the world is excellent, and Mr. T. K. Krishna Menon deserves the thanks of both Cochin State and the outside public for marshalling all this interesting and useful information in the volume under review.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

PRINCIPLES OF VEDANTISM

BY PRAKASH CHANDRA SINHA

WHAT IS VEDANTA ?

VEDANTA means the end of the Vedas. The Upanishads are the ends of the Vedas. So the term Vedanta is applied to them. Vedanta also means the highest knowledge—knowledge of the ultimate reality or realities. The Upanishads are supposed to be the repository of knowledge, and in this sense too, they gather the wisdom contained in them, go by the name of Vedanta. The statements of the Upanishads, better known as Srutis, have been systematized in a philosophical work called the *Brahma Sutra*. This work too is called Vedanta. As a matter of fact, this is the work which is referred to when the term Vedanta is used with reference to the system of thought known as the philosophy of the Vedanta. The principles enunciated in the Upanishads have been expounded in simpler and more popular language in a poetical work called the *Bhagavad Gita*. This work forms a link in the chain of the scriptures known as Vedantas. These three, the Upanishads, the *Brahma Sutra* and the *Bhagavad Gita* are known as the *Prasthan-Traya* or threefold foundations of the philosophy of the Vedanta.

But these do not exhaust the list. There are other works too which are sometimes, though loosely, called Vedantas. These are some of the commentaries on the *Brahma Sutra*. Of these the most important ones are the *Sariraka-Bhashya*, the *Sri Bhashya*, the *Vedanta-Parijat Shaurabha*, the *Purna Prajna Bhashya* and the *Anu-Bhashya*, written respectively by Sankara, Ramanuja, Nimbarka, Madhwa and Vallabhacharya in course of the five centuries from the 8th. Their interpretations of the Sutras, differing from one another, in some of the most material points, constitute what is ordinarily known as the five different schools of the philosophy of the Vedantas.

THE CONTENTS OF THE VEDANTA

The most important subject dealt with in the Vedantas is the ultimate reality of existence with its real nature and relation to the world of our experience—the world of *chit* and *achit*—of mind and matter.

There is the conception of a personal God too, with discussion as to man's duty towards Him and of the state of existence after death. In a word the subjects dealt with in the Vedantas are metaphysics, cosmology, theology and eschatology.

The five Vedantic doctrines differ materially from one another in their interpretation of the Sutras on these subjects, specially the first, and the object of this short discussion is to give the reader a clear idea of the views of each of the five schools, noting specifically the points of agreement and difference in simple and unambiguous language and avoiding technicalities as far as possible.

COMMON GROUND

All the commentators are unanimous on one point, and that is an important one too. They all hold that in all super-sensuous

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matters, the Srutis which are supposed to be the statements of truths revealed to their authors, are the highest authority. So, they base their theories, not on personal experience, not on reason, but on the authority of these statements. They do not, however, reject reason altogether ; it is accepted, when it is in agreement with the Srutis. In cases in which it stands against them, it is either rejected or explained away. It is in this respect that the Vedanta as a system of philosophy differs from the other orthodox systems, in the mode of treatment of their respective subjects. The latter do not however reject the authority of the Srutis as such, but they accept it only when it does not stand in opposition to reason and sometime perhaps also to refute the argument of an opponent Vedantist, rather than to support their own. In short, with a Vedantist the authority of reason is subordinate to that of the Srutis, whereas with the followers of the other systems it is the latter which is made to yield to the former.

A question that will naturally arise in the reader's mind is this : How is it, that five different philosophers all admitting the Srutis to be the highest authority, should interpret in five different ways the same set of Sutras which are admitted to be mere systematized form of the Srutis ? It is true, that in the Sutras an attempt has been made to systematize the Srutis. But as no Sruti has been quoted in the Sutra, the reader is left to his own wits to find out for himself the Sruti or Srutis on which any particular Sutra or set of Sutras are based. Then again, the form of the Sutras is such that they are, from a linguistic point of view, capable of more interpretations than one. Each commentator not only could explain a Sutra in his own way, but could also quote Srutis to fit in with his view.

The treatment by the commentators of the Srutis, showing the relation between Jiva and Brahma as shown below, will illustrate the meaning of what has been said above. The Srutis on the subject may be classed under three heads. Some are apparently monistic. "I am Brahma ;" "Thou art it ;" "The individual self is Brahma," are some of them. There are others that are apparently dualistic. As for instance, there is a which speaks of the Jiva and Bra two fair-winged friendly birds livi the same tree. There is another which that the Jiva and the Lord of the un are both unborn and co-eternal. A set of Srutis are monodualistic. They that Jiva and Brahma are the same qualified sense—in the sense in which and whole, the body and the bodied attribute and the attributed, the emana and its source, are the same. One of speaks of Brahma as the material and cause of the universe, as a spider is of thread. There is one that speaks of Jiva so many emanations from Brahma as are from a blazing fire. One of the oft quoted Srutis asserts that the Univ proceeds from Brahma, has its being and is withdrawn into it. Then again are numerous Srutis which say that Br is the in-dwelling spirit of all existi pervading it as oil does the oil-seed, and does the salted water.

These Srutis, the commentators say, statements of the experiences of their Ri in regard to the relation between Brahma the universe of our experience—the univ of mind and matter. As the experience the same reality could not be different different people, it must be assumed that idea behind all these Srutis must be the sa though its expression is different. Each c mentator tried to find out that idea. T result, however, is not one conclusion, but different ones. Each has a method of own to reconcile the Srutis to the sa meaning, and all of them are more ingen than reasonable or convincing.

Of these methods, Sankara's is too dra He asserts reality for the monistic Srutis and denies it for the non-monistic ones. T monistic Srutis he asserts are what is absol ly real, while non-monistic ones indicate w is only relatively so, intended only for religious and moral discipline of minds yet sufficiently trained to grasp higher absolute truth.

Sankar's direct opponents, the suppor of dualism, meet him by a dou edged argument. Taking advantage of admitted use of *Arthavada* in our script

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literature, they assert that the dualistic Srutis are the expressions of the real relation between Jiva and Brahma, whereas the monistic ones are mere *Arthavada* or exaggerated praise of the free souls. Another weapon which they find quite handy, is the flexibility of the Sanskrit language, which enables them to twist the monistic Srutis, so as to yield meanings that fit in with their doctrines. As for instance, the Sruti "this individual soul is Brahma" is interpreted to mean that the individual soul is capable of being enlarged or developed in knowledge or spirituality. The word Brahma literally means "large", so the interpretation, not, from a literal point of view, be considered wrong. "Thou art it" is interpreted to mean that the Jiva is of Brahma—a servant and dependent and not Brahma itself. Several others may be quoted to show the method employed to twist a Sruti to say what it had never been meant to say. But the ones quoted will, I hope, give the reader a sufficiently clear idea of the ingenuity displayed in it.

The intermediate, that is the monodualistic, Srutis could of course be easily interpreted both ways. As for instance, for the Srutis which assert that the individual self is in some sense or other part of Brahma, both the interpretations, that it is the same with it and different from it, would in one sense be correct.

What has been said above, will give the reader some idea of the difficulty which the commentators had to reconcile all the Srutis to their respective doctrines or perhaps the doctrines which had been there from before their time and which they only followed and elaborated in a more systematized form.

Outlines of the Doctrines

Let us now examine these doctrines a little more closely. To understand these doctrines and the intricacy of arguments employed in their support the reader would do well to remember all the possible ways in one or other of which any pair of two things must stand related to each other on the basis of agreement or non-agreement.

Between any two things there may be (*i*) absolute agreement, (*ii*) absolute difference, or (*iii*) partial agreement and partial difference. We cannot think of any other way in which they may stand in relation to each other—that is if the basis of the relation be agreement or non-agreement.

In the cases of absolute agreement, the two things must not only be of the same essence, but each must possess all the attributes possessed by the other and to the same extent too—that is, neither of them shall have any attribute by which it may be differentiated from the other. Such a relation we may call, one of absolute similarity. Whether any such pair of things do or do not exist in nature is a different question. As a matter of fact, there is a system of Indian philosophy which denies the existence of any such pair of things. Even two atoms of the same element, it asserts, do not agree with each other in such a way,—each having an individuality of its own by which it may be distinguished from each of the rest. It is the assertion of this individuality for each atom, that gives the system its characteristic name, *Vaisheshika.* But what is meant by the assertion of absolute similarity is that it is conceivable if not demonstrable.

But whether two entities absolutely similar to each other do or do not exist in nature, there can be no doubt that an entity whatever may be its nature, is absolutely similar to itself. Such a relation is one of identity, when such a relation is asserted between any two things the two things referred to by it, are not really two different entities, but the same one, only known by two different names. As for instance, when we say that there is absolute identity between the present King of England and the present Emperor of India, what we mean, is that the present King of England, "and the present Emperor of India" are two names of the same individual. Here is a relation of identity, but the word identity and its derivative, identical, are sometimes loosely used for the terms similarity and similar, respectively. As for instance, in the statement that the Jiva being an emanation from Brahma as a spark from a blazing fire, is essentially *identical with it.* What is meant

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by the writer is that the Jiva and Brahma being of the same essence, that is consciousness or knowledge, are essentially similar. And again, in the statement that the Jiva being a part of Brahma, there is substantial identity between them,—what is really meant by the writer is, that the Jiva being a part of Brahma, there is similarity between them in substance. To avoid ambiguity however, I shall, when desiring to express the relation of a thing with itself, do so by the use of the word identity qualified by the term absolute.

As regards the relation of partial agreement and difference, there is an infinite variety of it, according to the nature and degree of such agreement and difference. But yet they may be brought under two general heads : internal and external. By internal agreement and difference is meant the relation which an entity has with what constitutes an integral part of it. The Sanskrit word used to express such a relation is *Swagata*—confined within. Instances of such relation are what exist between a thing and its parts, between a bodied entity as a whole and its body, between a thing possessing attributes and its attributes. By external agreement and non-agreement is meant the relation which an entity may have with another which is outside it,—which does not form any part of its content, as for instance, the relation between two individuals of the same species—between two men, two mammals, two quadrupeds, two vertibrate animals and so forth. The Sanskrit word used for expressing this relation is *Swajatya*—of the same species.

There now remains, the third relation, that of absolute non-agreement, for our consideration. It is directly opposite to the relation of absolute agreement. When there is such a relation between any two entities, there must not be any attribute common to both, neither in kind nor in degree. Do any such pair exist in nature ? In answer it may be said that the dual principles of the *Sankhyas*—*Prakriti* and *Purusha*—matter and spirit satisfy this condition. But a critical reader may say that even they are not absolutely without any agreement, for they agree in the fact of existence,—they both exist, but here again as in the case of absolute agre[illegible] the question is not whether two [illegible] absolutely different from each other, d[illegible] do not exist in nature. What is me[illegible] that such a relation is conceivable i[illegible] demonstrable, and that barring the fact [illegible] istence, the dual principles of the *Sankhy*[illegible] matter and spirit, satisfy this condition [illegible] well for all practical purposes.

We may now state categorically a[illegible] different ways in one or other of which [illegible] two things must stand related to each [illegible] and show that each of the five Ved[illegible] doctrines—so far as its interpretation of [illegible] relation between the individual and univ[illegible] souls is concerned, comes under one or [illegible] of them.

The relations are : (*i*) the relation [illegible] absolute identity. This is the doctrine [illegible] Sankara. It is called *Kebaladwaita-vada* [illegible] absolute monism.

(*ii*) The relation of absolute simil[illegible] This is not the case with any of the [illegible] doctrines.

(*iii*) The internal or *Swagata* relation [illegible] agreeement and non-agreement as betw[illegible] a body and the bodied entity as a whole—[illegible] is the doctrine of Ramanuja. It is ca[illegible] *Vishistadwaita-vada* or monism qualified.

(*iv*) The internal or *Swagata* relation [illegible] between an attribute and the attributed [illegible] a whole—this is the doctrine of Nimba[illegible] It is called *Bhedabheda-vada*, dualistic [illegible] dualism, as according to it, both agree[illegible] and non-agreement between Jiva and Bra[illegible] are well balanced.

(*v*) The internal and *Swagata* relation [illegible] between part and whole—this is the doc[illegible] of Vallabha. It is called *Sudhwadwaita-v*[illegible] or pure monism, because it is free fr[illegible] the contamination of *maya* or delusion w[illegible] plays a very important part in Sankar[illegible] theory of absolute monism.

(*vi*) The external or *Swajatya* relation [illegible] of agreement and difference as between [illegible] individuals of the same species—this [illegible] the doctrine of *Madhwa*. It is ca[illegible] *Dwaita-vada* or dualism.

(*vii*) The relation of absolute non-agre[illegible] ment as between matter and spirit. This [illegible] not the case with any of the five doctrines.

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RETRENCHMENT !

By HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE

"While the Indian villager has to maintain the glorious phantasmagoria of an imperial policy, while he has to support legions of scarlet soldiers, golden chuprassies, purple politicals, and green commissions, he must remain the hunger-stricken, over-driven phantom he is."—*Twenty-one Days in India.*

THE decision arrived at by Sir John Anderson and his Government on the proposals of the Bengal Retrenchment Committee (1932) must remind one of the passage quoted above and written by the genial Aberigh Mackay for *Vanity Fair* about 1880.

In rejecting the recommendation of the Committee about a reduction in the size of the Cabinet Sir John adduced the following argument in his speech delivered in the Bengal Legislative Council on the 28th February :

"The Committee recommended a reduction in the size of the Cabinet from seven to five members. I have given most careful consideration to the recommendation as it was my duty to do. I have no doubt that under normal conditions we could carry on the work fairly comfortably with a Government of six members and if there were no question of preserving a communal balance, the number might even be reduced to five as recommended by the Committee. But conditions are far from normal in several departments of Government and we must expect during the next few months a heavy addition to the burden of work affecting all members of Government—in connection with the scheme for constitutional reform. This, moreover, is work which will have to be done against time. In all circumstances, therefore, I have come to the conclusion, after much thought, that it was not worth while to incur the disadvantage of disorganizing existing arrangements for the sake of a small saving that would be realized during the comparatively short period that is now expected to elapse before the inauguration of a reformed constitution. I have the less hesitation in coming to this decision since all the indications go to show that under the conditions of the future it will not be possible to carry on the work of Government with fewer than seven Ministers."

We must, at the outset, say that though Sir John has taken care to say that he has given "most careful consideration" to the retrenchment proposal and has rejected it "after much thought" the arguments he has adduced leave us unconvinced. Before we examine the arguments, however, we would quote the words of the two successive Retrenchment Committees on the point.

The Committee of 1922 expressed themselves as follows :

"The present Government, which consists of four Mmbers of Council and three Ministers, has been widely described as unnecessarily large. It has been pointed out that in pre-reform days the Government consisted of the Governor and three Members of Council, and that admitting the increase of work resulting from the new constitution, and from an enlarged and more active legislature, the increase of the Members of Government by four appears to be without justification.

"We think it unnecessary to do more than state that a Government of seven is not justified by the work that has to be done. There is no dispute on this point ; the difference of opinion arises as to the extent of the reduction. It is not easy to estimate the increase of work since the pre-reform days of a Government of three, but the factors making for an increase are fairly clear. The first is the increased complexity of the form of government under the new constitution and the material in road made on the time of Members of Government by the mere protracted sittings of the Legislative Council. Another factor is the altered situation in regard to finance. The local Government has now to stand on its own legs in this matter, to develop its own resources, and to devise a constructive financial policy embracing taxation and loans. A further consideration is that in pre-reform days the Governor had personal charge of certain branches of work. This is not now possible and its effect has to be accounted for.

"In our opinion there is ample justification for a Government of four, consisting of two Members of Council, one of whom should be a non-official and two Ministers, and we regard this as the normal and proper strength of the local Government."

Thus it would appear that the Committee had given "most careful consideration" to the circumstances and had come to the conclusion that they would not be justified in recommending that the Government should consist of more than four Members.

Then we come to the recommendation of the next Committee, *i.e.*, that of 1932. They put the case thus :

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"The present Government consist of the Governor, four Members of Council and three Ministers. The last Retrenchment Committee were of opinion that a Cabinet of four, or at the most five, should be sufficient. We think that, in the present circumstance. and under the existing condition, the Governor should be able to carry on the administration of the province with a Cabinet of five. We are not concerned with the number of Members and of Ministers, who should form the Cabinet, as the cost will in any case be the same.

"No useful purpose would be served by discussing the number of Ministers which will be required under the new constitution. That will depend on the form of the constitution and also on the amount of money available for expenditure. We wish, however, to record our opinion that their pay should be fixed at Rs. 3,500."

Thus it appears that Sir John Anderson who can hardly be expected to have made himself conversant with the condition of Bengal during the short time he has been here considers that he can safely trample under foot and reject the recommendations made by two successive Committees whose members are certainly more experienced than the newly appointed Governor of the Province. And what are the reasons that have weighed with him in arriving at his decision ? They are :

(1) Conditions are far from normal in several departments of Government.

(2) During the next few months a heavy addition to the burden (!) of work must be expected in connection with the scheme for constitutional reform.

(3) It is not worth while to incur the disadvantage of disorganizing existing arrangements for the sake of the small saving that would be realized during the comparatively short period that is now expected to elapse before the inauguration of a reformed constitution.

(4) All indications go to show that under the conditions of the future it will not be possible to carry on the work of Government with fewer than seven Ministers.

We shall now proceed to examine these arguments.

(1) Are the conditions really abnormal in several departments of Government ? Of course, we are aware that the non-co-operation and civil disobedience, as also the terrorist menace have put some strain on the Political Department. But is it not an exaggeration to say that conditions are abnormal in the departments concerned with Education, Public Health, Agriculture, the Industries, Commerce, Public Works, etc.? Most dicidedly—no. We are not sure if Sir John Anderson has taken the trouble to enquire how many times during the past ten years—with these movements in the Province—Ministries had been broken and all the departments, both Reserved and Transferred, had been administered by the four Members of the Executive Council ? Is he aware that for the work which even six months before now was being satisfactorily done by the Chief Secretary with three assistants an additional assistant has been appointed in Mr. Hogg ? The plea advanced, therefore, leaves us unconvinced. And surely the conditions in Bombay where the Governor has boldly reduced the size of the Cabinet are not more normal than in Bengal.

(2) Anticipated increase in the "burden" of work due to the scheme of constitutional reforms seems to have perturbed Sir John. But can it not be suggested that if the "burden" is felt to be really too heavy for the supine members of the Cabinet in Bengal it would be better and less costly to appoint an additional special officer when that work has actually to be done ? Could not three Members of Council do the work in connection with the scheme for constitutional reform when the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were adumbrated, advanced and accomplished ? How would the same work be done by the reduced Cabinet in Bombay ?

(3) Sir John Anderson thinks—

(*a*) A reformed constitution would be inaugurated within a short time, and

(*b*) he can conveniently ignore small savings.

Those who have been following the trend of events carefully must feel chary to believe that within a comparatively short time a new constitution would be in operation. That it is not wise to ignore small savings would be evident from the proposal made by the Government of India to reimpose the stamp duty on cheques. The Hon. Finance Member said in this connection : "The legislation must be central, but the proceeds will be divided among the Provinces. We estimate that the proceeds in a full year will be about

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seven lakhs of which the greater share will go to Bombay and Bengal." Surely a reduction in the Cabinet would bring Bengal more money than the reimposition of the stamp duty on cheques.

(4) Sir John has boldly asserted that all the indications go to show that under the conditions of the future it would not be possible to carry on the work of Government with fewer than seven members. What are these indications? We do not know if Sir John possess "the vision and the faculty divine" to anticipate the decision of the British Parliament in the matter. But practical politics demands that an administration to be useful must not be top-heavy.

It is interesting to note that even the *Englishman* has considered the size of the Cabinet in Bengal to be unnecessarily unwieldy. In its issue of the 13th February the *Englishman* wrote as follows :

"The Swan Committee recommended economies totalling nearly two crores. Admittedly, many of these savings will take time to come into operation; admittedly, Government have their responsibilities wider than those of a Retrenchment Committee. At the same time there seems no evidence that the Government are taking any action on the big issues—the extravagant and top-heavy Cabinet with which Bengal is burdened —or the hilltop exodus. The ominous silence and apathy of the Bengal Government on the subject of economy contrasts badly with the energy displayed and the continued public discussion in Bombay. The determination exhibited by Bihar puts Bengal to shame; we little thought that the day would come when we would have to hold up Sir Frederick Sykes' administration as an example for Bengal to follow. But in the Western Presidency discussion has been continuous; the Government are said to have come to certain definite conclusions which will be placed before the Bombay Council at the beginning of this week or in good time for consideration by members before the Bombay Budget is presented on February the 18th. Is any such action contemplated by the Bengal Government?

Take the question of the top-heavy and overpaid Cabinet. What do the five Indian Executive Councillors and Ministers do with their time? The Ministers are supposed to owe their position to their being leaders of political parties and being able to command support among political parties in the Legislature. This at present is a polite fiction; moreover, if the Swarajists cared to come back to the Council there would be dramatic changes in the fortunes of Ministers and parties. Ministers presumably look after the work of their departments and once a week or thereabouts there is a formal meeting of the whole Cabinet at Government House."

That Sir John's arguments could not satisfy even the *Englishman* would be evident from the following remarks made on the 6th March :

"Sir John Anderson made a long and interesting speech to the Bengal Legislative Council on Tuesday last but it would be affectation as well as disrespectful to His Excellency to deny that in two respects at least the public found the Governor's speech disappointing. In the speech there was no reference to the Government's most unconvincing refusal to give up the second exodus to Darjeeling. Then Sir John Anderson said that a Cabinet of seven was indispensable for Bengal though, but for the necessity of preserving the communal balance, the Government might just possibly manage with six. The Government of India with their vastly greater responsibilities manage with a Cabinet of six, or seven if Sir Philip Chetwode, the Army Member, be included. Surely if the Government of India can manage with six Cabinet members for the despatch of civil business, Bengal can do with four or at the very outside five. Perhaps the explanation is that Bengal relies on quantity rather than quality in her Cabinet."

Regarding the hill exodus the Retrenchment Committee (1932) made the following modest recommendation :

"The first visit to Darjeeling covers a period of about three months, the second is generally for less than two months. We think it should be possible for the Government to abandon this second visit altogether. The Pujah holidays cover almost a fortnight of the time, and if the Governor proceeds to the hills two or three weeks before the holidays, and remains for two or three weeks after them, we think the administration could be carried on without serious inconvenience, or it is during His Excellency's absence on his monsoon tours."

This recommendation has not been accepted by the Government on the plea of "abnormal time." We have been told :

"In these abnormal times, when urgent matters which require the attention of Government as a whole are so numerous, it is not possible to abandon the second visit to Darjeeling, but in the future conditions may change more especially under the new Constitution, when it will be necessary for Ministers to have a period of relaxation during which they can attend to their own affairs and no important decision will ordinarily be required from Government as a whole. Under these new conditions it may be possible to do away with the second exodus."

If the times are abnormal and numerous urgent matters require the attention of Government as a whole cannot the Governor give up the luxury of the second visit to Darjeeling till the new constitution comes into operation ?

"It must be a point of honour" said

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Sir John Anderson in the local Legislative Council, "to hand over to the autonomous Governments shortly to be brought into being, an administrative machinery adequately equipped for the work it will be called upon to perform."

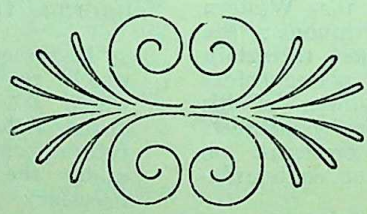
But would it not be more honourable to hand over to the autonomous Government which looms so large on the official horizon, a Bengal which is on the high road to progress as regards health, education, industrial development and agricultural improvement ?

Sir John knows very well that Bengal's standard of expenditure is low ; in 1929-30 the expenditure per head was Rs. 2-8, while that in Madras was over Rs 4 and in Bombay Rs 8-4. And in Bengal there are problems the solution of which would, in a short time, change the whole aspect of affairs. But want of funds stands in the way of the Government undertaking the work of solving them. The annual report of almost every department of Government connected with "nation building" contains the wail—"Much could be done if funds had been available."

Sir John ought to know that for want of funds the decision of the Government to undertake the work of water supply in rural areas has remained a pious wish ; that the machinery contemplated by the State Aid to Industries Act cannot be set in motion because "for the time being assistance from public funds cannot be forthcoming"; that the Minister for Education is busy evolving "a plan for bringing the Primary Education Act into partial operation"; that agricultural research has been crippled ; that Thana dispensaries cannot be established ; that the record of technical schools has been, as Sir Harcourt Butler put it—"a record of inconstant purpose with breaks of unconcern."

The Committee recommended that the expenditure of Rs. 20 a year on the dagger tassel for the head orderly of each Member and Minister should be discontinued. It is significant that the Bengal Government have decided that "no change should be made in the supply of dagger tassels." One fails to understand what earthly purpose is served by the daggers—not to speak of dagger-tassels. The attitude taken up by the Bengal Government, therefore, reminds one of pompous pageants for a perishing people.

The decisions of the Government as expressed in the note circulated and in Sir John Anderson's speech only prove that what Aberigh Mackay wrote about half a century back holds good even today.



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QUALIFIED INDIANS AND UNEMPLOYMENT

By S. K. SIRCAR, M. Sc. (Cal.), PH.D., A.R.S.M., D.I.C. (Lond.)

DURING the last Conference of Indian Students Abroad, held in London, towards the end of December, I had occasion to point out* that the number of young Indians studying abroad is considerable and the amount of money spent in this connection is at least £360,000 or 5 million rupees per year. Besides, the amount of time and energy spent is considerable. Perhaps the best portion of life of every such student is spent in this manner, with the hope of a better prospect in future, in most cases and with the hope of acquiring knowledge in the case of a few others. Unfortunately, the hope for a better prospect remains unrealized mostly. Cases of qualified Indian students who could not get a proper start, or cases of those who were compelled to accept positions in lines totally different from what they specialized in, are not rare. As a matter of fact the problem of unemployment amongst qualified Indian students is very acute and the position is getting increasingly serious.

It will not be out of place to quote a paragraph from the 'Report of the Work of the Education Department' of the High Commissioner for India, for the year 1930-31. Dr. Quayle points out in section vii, paragraph 179, page 25, of the Report :

"It may be said that the student's real problem only begins when he has actually obtained his degree or has completed professional or practical training of some kind or other. He has got his qualification, but where is he to find employment ? The problem is of course by no means peculiar to the Indian student. The British student has to solve it, and to help him, most of the Universities in the country have established Appointment Boards, which advise and assist the newly fledged graduate to obtain suitable employment. The Indian student who has been trained at a British University, cannot take advantage of the facilities, as he naturally has in mind a post in his own country, and, perhaps only too often, a post in Government service. The office of the High Commissioner gives all the help it can in this direction by forwarding to Government departments in India, or to the Public Service Commission, applications submitted by students who are about to return home, or by drawing their attention to other vacancies which have been notified to the High Commissioner. But as probably 400 students return each year, the majority with excellent qualifications, it is obvious that only a small proportion can hope to receive service appointments. It would be most useful if Indian employers in all branches of industry and commerce, as well as municipal and public authorities, could find it possible to notify the High Commissioner when they have vacancies for which students who have completed their course in this country and are about to return to India, could be considered. Every year, a large number of students return to India, thoroughly trained and efficient in engineering and technology, in medicine and in science, generally, and it is only too true that many of them find the greatest difficulty not only in securing posts for which their qualifications especially fit them, but even employment at all. If India is to reap any benefit at all from the vast sum spent on education and training abroad, every effort should be made to provide more openings and opportunities than there are at present for the young men who have so well equipped themselves to serve their country."

Dr. Quayle's remarks fully support my statements and there is no doubt that the unemployment problem amongst educated Indians is very serious indeed. It is more so amongst those trained in engineering and technology. The object of this article is to make a few suggestions that in the opinion of the writer may radically change the whole situation for the better.

Before tackling the actual problem, however, I cannot allow portions of Dr. Quayle's remarks go unchallenged. He not only makes a wrong statement about the Indian student that he cannot take advantage of the facilities provided by the Appointment Boards under the British Universities, but also puts forward some unconvincing reasons in his support. I do not see why a man of his position should be afraid of facing facts and call black—black. It should be made perfectly clear here, for his information, that the University or College Appointment Boards accept the

* Report of the Indian Students' Conference, 1931, p. iii.

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necessary fees from Indian students, for registering their names, with the Board; although vacant situations are never brought to their notice unless the Board is absolutely sure that an Indian is required for the purpose. The Appointment Boards may not be fully responsible for this injustice, as the choice lies with the employers, but they are expected to be fair enough to bring the vacant situations to the notice of every registered candidate, irrespective of nationality.

One fails to understand what prompts Dr. Quayle to make the unwarranted remark that a young Indian naturally has in mind a post in his own country and, perhaps too often, a post in Government service. A young Indian is adventurous enough to accept a job anywhere in the world, if he is assured of good living wages. Unfortunately, his chances of getting a situation are practically nil, in all other countries except India, where only the Government departments can provide employment to a number of trained Indians, since the country is not industrially developed yet. Most of the existing industries are in the hands of foreigners who exploit the country economically, but has not got the fairness to provide employment for trained Indians. So much by way of introduction. Let us now examine the problem and find out what remedies can be suggested.

So far as this article is concerned, my remarks will be confined to finding employment for young Indians trained in technology and engineering; since the absorption of trained Indians in commerce and industry will enhance the industrial and hence the economic development of India. It is a great pity that so many qualified people are not utilized every year and their services are lost to the country when India should make tremendous strides towards industrial development.

The main reason why there are so many unemployed trained Indians is that the supply is considerably higher than the demand. Naturally, the remedies that suggest themselves are:

(*i*) reduction of supply
(*ii*) creation of demand
(*iii*) or both

Since the question of supply and demand go hand in hand, I prefer dealing with [illegible] together. Reduction of supply will vir[illegible] mean reducing the number of young I[illegible] trained every year. This, however, is [illegible] desirable at all as it will retard the adv[illegible] ment of the country. Direct reduction [illegible] very undesirable, let us see if it ca[illegible] effected indirectly.

Young Indians studying abroad may [illegible] divided into the following categories:

(*i*) Those who are dependent upon [illegible] parents or guardians or themselves.

(*ii*) Those who are dependent upon [illegible] funds, etc.

(*iii*) Government scholars, who may [illegible] classified into:

(*a*) Central.
(*b*) Provincial.

There is not much to say about [illegible] students in the first two categories. Let [illegible] carry on as they are doing at present. [illegible] of the money they spend abroad annu[illegible] represents a total loss to the country. [illegible] their services cannot be utilized on [illegible] return to India, the net loss to the coun[illegible] is huge—she has gained neither in kind [illegible] in money. One can only hope that [illegible] services may be utilized in future.

The amount of money spent abroad [illegible] the Government scholars, annually, [illegible] considerable and it is here that we may ta[illegible] the problem successfully. According to [illegible] Report on the Work of the Education Dep[illegible] ment of the High Commissioner for In[illegible] for the year 1930-31, (Appendix I, page [illegible] the amounts disbursed through the Educa[illegible] Department, 1930-31, from Indian Reve[illegible] as scholarships alone were as follows:

1.	Allowances of Government Scholars	£35,0[illegible]
2.	Passages ...	2,6[illegible]
3.	Travelling expenses ...	3[illegible]
4.	Premiums, fees, etc ...	5,4[illegible]
	Total	£43,8[illegible]

This is divisible amongst the va[illegible] Governments as shown below:

1.	Central	$1,7[illegible]
2.	The United Provinces ...	£9,[illegible]
3.	Burma	6,[illegible]
4.	Bengal	5,1[illegible]
5.	Madras	4,8[illegible]
6.	Bihar and Orissa ...	4,2[illegible]
7.	Central Provinces ...	2,0[illegible]
8.	Bombay	£[illegible]
9.	Assam	16[illegible]
	Total	£43,8[illegible]

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The total amount of £43,526 or about 6 lakhs of rupees are drained out of India, every year to provide foreign education to a limited number of students whose services are seldom utilized by the country, after the successful completion of the training period. This consequently represents a total loss to India. Since these scholarships are generally tenable for three years by the scholars, each batch of such scholars represent a net loss of £130,500 or 18 lakhs of rupees to the country. No return for this sum can be expected. It is a dead loss. Is this justifiable? On the other hand, there are various types of industry that can be started very well in India with a capital of 18 lakhs of rupees or less. Would it not be wiser to utilize this sum of money for developing various types of industry that may absorb trained young men who are able to acquire proper training at home or abroad, as the case may be, at their own expense, than suffer a dead loss in providing foreign training for young men whose services may never be utilized. It may be argued that the industrial venture may not be successful at all. But we must remember, that even in case of a failure the country will never suffer a total dead loss as the bulk of the money will remain inside the country. The dead loss will be represented by the amount spent on freight etc., for importing foreign machinery. Moreover, every order for foreign machinery may be utilized as a lever to get young Indians willing to go abroad at their own expense, trained in the factory executing the order. This will also ensure the flawless quality of the goods that the factory may be supplying, since the apprentices sent by us will be able to act as our representatives and examine the machinery at every stage of its construction.

So far as India is concerned, the Government itself is the principal buyer of articles of foreign manufacture. It will not be difficult at all to find out the articles that can be manufactured in India. Under such circumstances, there will be no worry to dispose of the products. On the other hand, this will create confidence in the market, and buyers, other than the Government, will be increasing. Under favourable circumstances, it will be possible to export the goods manufactured in India. The moral effect on people will be great and significant. Once confidence is created, the public will not be shy of investing money on developing other industries. Thus, eventually it may not only stop an annual dead loss of 6 lakhs of rupees abroad, besides the amount spent on imported foreign goods, but may also enrich the country by export trade. The basic industries such as iron and steel and coal should be developed first. Heavy machinery and heavy chemicals should receive attention next and then the others.

I think, the arguments I have put forward, are convincing enough and the suggestions are worth considering. If the worst comes to the worst the industrial venture may fail once, twice or three times at the most, but it is sure to succeed in the end. It is always preferable to spend the money in India than lose abroad and suffer a dead loss. Hence, I should like to suggest the following schemes that may lead to the absorption of trained young men in commerce and industry and the industrial development of India. It being impossible to go into the details of the schemes here, only the broad outlines will be given.

Scheme I

The Central and Provincial Governments, instead of continuing the scholarships, should contribute an equivalent sum to a central fund, the total amount of which will be equal to the sum spent annually abroad, at present. This sum should be earmarked for developing certain industries. At present, only such industries should be selected that will not require a maximum period of more than three years for development ; so that, every third year will see the inauguration of a new industry in India. This implies that the capital for every such industry will not exceed 18 to 20 lakhs of rupees. If the scheme is a failure, a fresh start may be given, if justified.

(*a*) Groups of trained young men may be invited to submit schemes. After a very careful examination, the group that gives proper evidence of capability and qualification and submit a well-laid scheme with every

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chance of success, may be provided with the necessary capital to start the industry. Individual members of the group may not receive anything more than good living wages until the industry is past the development period, when bonus shares may be provided to supplement individual income.

(*b*) The scheme may be drawn up by the Government department itself. Groups of young students willing to undergo proper training, at their own expense, at home or abroad, are asked to apply. The most promising ones are selected and asked to undergo training in the various branches of the industry,—the Government being responsible for providing facilities for practical training. This group of young men may receive the necessary capital for starting the industry, at the successful completion of the training period, if the Government is convinced of their abilities.

(*c*) Other conditions remaining the same as (*a*) and (*b*), the public may be allowed to subscribe part of the capital.

There need not be any apprehension that the industries will remain confined to a particular province only, as the location will always be defined by the nature of the industry.

Scheme II

The scholarships awarded at present are for academic, technical and professional training. It may be found necessary to continue the scholarships for academic training. Under such circumstances, a reduced amount will be available. Consequently Scheme I, (*c*), which recommends itself, may be utilized.

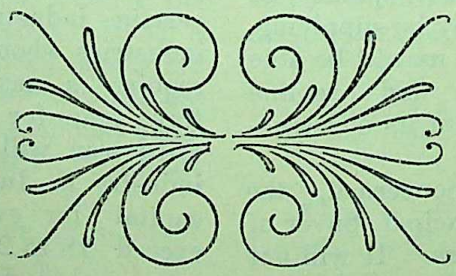
None of these schemes exclude the employment of a very limited number of foreign experts during the development period. Their services should be absolutely exceptional

Scheme III

In case the Provincial Governments are unwilling to contribute towards a central fund the Provinces will have to take up schemes I, individually, and work it up with the reduced amount of capital available. Perhaps Scheme I, (*c*), would be the most suitable.

In conclusion, I should like to stress upon the importance of the problem of unemployment amongst qualified Indians and would urge that a very thorough consideration should be given to the schemes outlined here. This may lead not only to the absorption of trained young Indians in commerce and industry but also to the industrial development and enrichment of our mother land.*

* *A paper read before the Second Indian Students' Conference. Munich Session, 1932.*



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LONDON LETTER

From Major D. GRAHAM POLE

The Cracks in the National Government

THE cracks in the National Government continue to widen. Mr. Pybus, the Minister of Transport, a Simon-Liberal, has resigned, and Major Oliver Stanley, a Conservative, has been appointed in his place. Mr. Douglas Hacking, another Conservative, has been appointed Under-Secretary of State for Home Affairs in place of Major Stanley. Thus the Conservatives are gradually coming into their own in this most Conservative of Parliaments.

The letter of resignation of Mr. Pybus is interesting. The reason he gives for his resignation is that he wishes to *return to business*—not to his duties as a Member of Parliament. Parliament is unfortunately only too often a side issue in the life of an M.P. It is a good club of which he likes to be a member, but it must not interfere with his money-making business !

It is to be hoped that the electors, in choosing candidates for Parliament, will choose men who realize that Parliament now-a-days is a full time job, and not merely a job to which the fag-end of their energies need be given after they have already done a full day s work at their own business. Now that Members of Parliament are paid, they should, like Ministers of the Crown, give up their outside jobs and devote their whole time and attention to their Parliamentary work. Even then they will find it impossible to overtake all of it efficiently. Of course no one can do efficient work in the present circumstances, when Parliament may sit till all hours of the night. The hours should be changed to the hours of an ordinary working-day and the work should be divided amongst committees. The idiocy of trying to do work, as the House of Commons frequently does, with a committee of 615 Members, only requires to be stated to be apparent.

Tories and India

In the India debate last week the die-hards only managed to get 42 votes. But, as Mr. Winston Churchill said last Thursday evening in his constituency, the Conservative vote behind the Government had fallen by nearly 100. He promised that the fight against the new Government of India bill would be "long and bitter." He did not leave it at that, however. A meeting of the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations was held today when a heated discussion took place on the Government of India's policy. There were about 400 Conservatives present and the Churchill group insisted on taking a vote against the policy of the Government. Sir Samuel Hoare pleaded with them, urging that an adverse vote would mean the end of the National Government. In spite of that no fewer than 165 Conservatives voted against the Government, who only obtained a majority of 24.

This has caused a tremendous amount of excitement in official circles, and there is considerable feeling and expression of opinion that this year will see the end of the National Government.

The Tide Against the Government

Another nail in the Government's coffin is the loss of the seat held by a Tory at the Rotherham by-election. The Chancellor of the Exchequer held up the Report of the Government Committee on the taxing of Co-operative Societies until the close of the by-election. This Report recommends the taxation of the so-called "profits" of co-operative societies that are not distributed as "dividend." Various committees in the past have gone into this matter.

The Colwyn Committee in 1920 decided that by taxing the co-operative societies there would not be any great increase in revenue. When Mr. Churchill was Chancellor of the

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Exchequer he went into the matter and said that the proposed taxation would only amount to about £100,000 a year. Mr. Snowden, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, decided against it—as at the outside, he calculated, there would not be more than £350,000 a year. The present Committee estimates that the co-operative societies may have to pay as much as £1,200,000 a year.

In Rotherham there are a great number of co-operators so that the Government, from a purely tactical point of view, was probably wise to hold up this Report. It is all the more significant, therefore, that the by-election resulted in the capture of this seat from the Tory with a Labour majority of no less than 15,874.

The Labour vote showed an increase even on the vote of the peak year 1929.

Kenya

Although we have had a debate in each of the Houses of Parliament on the subject of the gold found in Kenya, and the consequent dispossession of the natives from the land solemnly guaranteed to them by the British Government "for ever," we have by no means heard the last of the matter.

I have had the opportunity of discussing the matter with one who is very familiar with the country, where he has spent many years in Government service. He showed me a map on which was marked the estimated area already in the hands of the prospectors for gold. It looks as if this already runs into hundreds of square miles—instead of the small area referred to by the Colonial Secretary in the House of Commons.

Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister in the House of Commons said that no natives had been evicted from their land. That is technically true. No native could be "evicted" without an order of the Court and no cases have come before the Court. It is no less true, however, that hundreds of natives have been pushed off their land.

A good deal of the gold has been found in the bed of a wide river. This river, I was informed, has been deflected from its course over an extent of about a couple of miles, so that the gold can be got at more easily. The natives through whose lands it now flows have certainly not been "evicted" by an order of any Court, but the lands are useless to them with a river flowing over them.

Archdeacon Owen, writing from Kenya to the *Manchester Guardian*, points out that one man fell into a trench and broke a limb. In another case there was a fall of earth on five men, one of whom died. Some trenches, I was told, which have been opened up by prospectors, are abandoned by them without being filled in as the law requires them to be. This is bound to result in more and more frequent accidents.

Clashes are occurring between the natives and the European prospectors, the result of which will be, as Archdeacon Owen points out, that

> "Kakamega Gaol will increasingly house many who but for the influx of Europeans, would never have seen the inside of it."

And this is our boasted "civilizing" influence !

The Far East

At last the Government are going to do something. In the House of Commons yesterday Sir John Simon, the Foreign Secretary, intimated that no further licences for the export of arms either to Japan or to China will be granted. He said that it would be

> "a horrible thing that profit should be made out of the supply of the means of promoting fighting which was neither necessary nor just."

The present contracts are to be allowed to be fulfilled, but so far no information has been given as to the amount of armaments that will be exported from this country under such licences, and whether a greater quantity will go to China or Japan.

The Government should at the same time put an embargo on lending money to Japan as she has been found by the League of Nations to be the aggressor.

An interesting side-light on the views of the Government with regard to Disarmament was given by Mr. Amery, a former Conservative Cabinet Minister, in his speech during the debate.

He said that the Government were dishonest in their proposals at Geneva for

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the internationalization and civil control of aviation, and he expressed his views in these words :

"It is dishonest, because I do not believe that the great majority of the Cabinet would have encouraged such a proposal being put forward *unless they felt pretty certain that it would be rejected.*

(*Hansard.* Vol. 275. No. 38. Col : 84. 27th February, 1933.)

That is the view of an ex-Conservative Cabinet Minister, a supporter of the National Government. Could the Government's worst enemy indict them in more damning words ?

Ottawa Tariffs—What the World Thinks

Japan—The *Times* of 11th November quoted from a leading article in *Nichi Nichi*, a prominent Japanese newspaper.

This newspaper declares that the Ottawa agreements amount to the abandonment of the Open Door principle.

It points out that the British Empire covers one-fifth of the earth and contains vast unexploited natural resources. The Ottawa Agreements in its view amount to the exclusion of other nations from sharing the vast possibilities of the British Empire.

It continues

"The world has hitherto been silent about Great Britain's possession of such a vast area only because she practised the policy of the Open Door and administered her territories for the welfare of the inhabitants rather than of the Empire.

"Now that the British Empire is to become a real empire through the establishment of the closest economic relations, the matter becomes of serious concern to the other Powers."

Italy—Signor Mussolini was present at a meeting in Italy of the National Exports Institute, the report of which appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* of 13th December. At that meeting Signor Casalini, the President of the Institute, said that damage to Italian exporters to the extent of over 300,000,000 lire (about £1,750,000) a year would be caused by the Ottawa Agreements. He said that the closing of potential future markets in the British Empire would do untold damage to Italian trade in the years to come.

It was significant that he also hinted that Italy might have to retaliate by taking steps against British trade. And he added :

"Such action would be the more regrettable in that we would be directing it against States towards which our friendship is traditional. But in the hard struggle of economic competition as waged in the world to-day we have learned that only when we meet force with force, in the fascist manner, can we secure consideration for our legitimate interests."

Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Chamberlain are constantly trying to persuade the British public that not only are we to be benefited by the Ottawa Agreements but that other nations will also benefit. They must think it strange that these other nations do not see it in quite the same light and regard Ottawa as a commercial war started by the British Empire to which they intend to respond by bringing the war home to us.

Central Europe—Count Bethlen, who was Prime Minister of Hungary from 1921 to 1931, said with regard to the Ottawa Agreements :

"Other industrial and agricultural States will be compelled to unite on preferences or tariffs in order to repair the losses suffered by this new British policy."

And he went on to say that Ottawa had dealt a fatal blow not only to Free Trade but also to the system of trade policy based on the "most-favoured-nation" principle. He added :

"Naturally that principle will not be accepted by five-sixths of the world if the other sixth (the British Empire) adopts a preferential tariff system.

—*Manchester Guardian* 13th December 1932.

Argentine—The *Financial News* of 28th October quoted from the Buenos Aires newspaper *Preusa*. Dealing with the Ottawa Agreements this newspaper said :

"The way out is the formation of an American Customs Union with the United States, which would afford prospects of that country replacing Great Britain as the future market of the Argentine."

Norway—*Christian Science Monitor* of 4th October reported that :

"The Ottawa Conference Agreements are a matter of profound anxiety in Norway.....

"Recently increased British duties.....are responsible for a growing uneasiness in Norwegian business circles."

Isle of Man—The Manx Legislature

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discussed the Ottawa Agreements in November. On a motion to extend the period of Imperial Preferences on goods imported into the island, one Member called Ottawa the

> "greatest swindle ever perpetrated on the British public."

The Attorney-General assured the House that it was impossible for the Isle of Man to stand out, but said that in his view it was

> "one of the deepest tragedies in British history."

Canada—Mr. Mackenzie King, the Leader of the Canadian Liberal Party, speaking at Quebec on 14th January, pledged his Party to the complete reversal of Ottawa Agreements. In the course of his speech he said :

> "Amazing as it is mediaevel, the fact is that doctrines of the restraint of the trade, with all the attendant theories on the balance of bargain and the balance of trade, have been applied with such unrelenting vigour that our trade, instead of continuing to expand, has been strangled.
>
> "There is only one cure for this kind of thing, and that is to end the causes of it by getting rid of the new restrictions that are strangling our trade and by banishing for ever the false doctrines by which they are supported."

Australia—Mr. S. M. Bruce, the Australian Minister in London, speaking at the annual luncheon of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce in London on 21st February 1933, as reported in the *Financial Times* on the following day, gave us a new view on tariffs against British goods. He said

> "Australia, instead of being reproached, should be congratulated for putting tariffs on British goods because by that means Australia could pay its obligations to Britain."

He went on to say

> "The Dominions must be brought back to prosperity so that they can buy British goods and take a hand in promoting inter-Imperial trade."

So that, apparently, according to one of the chief supporters of Ottawa, Great Britain is to be prohibited by high tariffs from trading with at least one Dominion and we shall have to wait until the Dominions are brought back to prosperity before they will be able to buy British goods and take a hand in promoting inter-Imperial trade!

This does not sound like any of the blessings of the Ottawa Agreements as expounded either by Mr. Baldwin or by Mr. Chamberlain.

Truly man never is, but always to be blest !

INFLUENCE OF BENGAL ON THE SINHALESE PEOPLE

By NRIPATI KANTA RAY, M.A., B.L.

MODERN Sinhalese language, like all other modern languages has come to possess a large stock of derived or borrowed words. It is a development of the language brought by Vijaya and his retinue, who made it the vernacular of the land. The language grew up almost side by side with the parent tongue and its other offspring in India, though isolated from them, in consequence of the intercourse that existed between the two countries for a long time after the conquest of the land by Vijaya. From time to time persons from the mother country visited the island and many settled there. They acquired the Elu language with the utmost facility, it being then almost identical with their own, and enriched it by their writings, doubtless introducing into Elu new forms of words and idioms current in their several vernaculars. The language spoken by Vijaya and his men was undoubtedly Prakrit, of which many dialects were in existence in India at the time they took possession of the Island. Ceylon began to be visited by the people of Southern India, speaking Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and other Dravidian languages about the third century before Christ. In 1505 the Portuguese visited Ceylon and held power until they were ousted by the Dutch in 1658. The Dutch in their turn gave way to the English in 1796, who in 1815 took possession of the entire colony. In cases where native equivalent terms were not forthcoming, foreign words themselves from any of the above sources were adopted into Sinhalese.

Legendary history of Ceylon begins with the Ramayana, the Epic poem which recounts the stealing of Sita by the demon king Ravana, king of Lanka, and her recovery with the aid of the monkey chief Hanuman. But though a few names in the island refer to the legend, such as Nuwara Eliya (The glade of Ravana's city); Sita Eliya (Sita's glade); Sita Waka (village named Sita); Sita Talao (Sita's plane); and Sita El (Sita pond or *kund*), the epic itself seems to have found but small place in the folk-lore of the Sinhalese. The details of the fight may be a myth, but one thing becomes clear

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from the epic that the Aryan settlers had to go to the extreme south and cross the mainland. Later that we find no history to show that the Aryans saw any inroads from the mainland, accepting that Vijaya Sinha, the banished king of Bengal, was thrown with his men to seek his fortune in this island. He is said to have settled there with his men.

There are various legends current in Ceylon about Vijaya and the received story in Ceylon is this:

Vijaya's grandmother, according to the legend, was the daughter of the king of Vanga by a princess of Kalinga. She ran away from home, and in the country of Lala or Lata mated with a lion, whence the name of her children and ultimately that of Sinhal. Her son Sinhabahu carried off his mother and his twin sisters to the haunts of men. On the death of the king, Sinhabahu was elected as his successor, but he abandoned Vanga and built the city of Sinhapura in his native country Lata. His son Prince Vijaya, and his boon companions committed such outrages in his father's capital that the king was compelled to drive them out. They set sail, touching at Supparaka, and ultimately arrived at Tambapanni.

Sinhalese chronicles, *Mahavamsa* and *Dipavamsa*, give the story of Vijaya, one of them slightly differing from the other. The story as told in *Dipavamsa* and as translated by H. Oldenburg is given below:

The daughter of Vanga king cohabited in the forest with a lion dwelling in wilderness and in consequence gave birth to two children. Sinhabahu and Sivala were beautiful youths, the name of their mother was Susima and their father was called a Lion. When their sixteenth year has elapsed (Sinhabahu) departed from his cave and then built a most excellent town called Sinhapura ...Prince Vijaya was daring and uneducated, ..The king gave this order to his ministers: "Remove Ye the boy. Let them remove from the country all those attendants, his wives, children, relations, maid servants, man servants and his hired workmen". The ship in which the children had embarked was helplessly driven to an island, the name of which was then called Naggadipa. The ship in which the wives have embarked was helplessly driven to an island, the name of which was then called Mahilarattha. The ship in which the men had embarked went sailing on the sea, losing her way and her bearings to the port of Suppara...They made themselves guilty of drinking, theft, adultery...(The people) indignant at such cruel..deeds being committed against themselves, consulted together. "Let us quickly kill these rascals.." Vijaya having stopped three months at Bharukaccha and exasperated the inhabitants, went again on board the ship. The crowd of men having gone on board their ship, sailing over the sea, were driven away by the violence of the wind, and lost their bearings. They came to Lankadwip, where they disembarked on shore.

The *Mahavamsa* gives an elaborate version of the legend, mentions not only Vanga but also Kalinga and Magadha and omits Barukaccha.

There is a great deal of controversy on the question of Vijaya's native place. Some place the home of Vijaya on the western Indian coast, a place near about Gujarat. But the generally accepted view of the matter is that the home of the first Aryan settler of Ceylon was Bengal.

The contention of those who consider the home of Vijaya to be near about Gujarat stands on the basis that the home of Vijaya as mentioned in the Pali work is Lata, a variant of Lada, which corresponds to the Gujarat coast country (Kathiawar), that the mention of Barukaccha and Suppara is a strong evidence in favour of the West coast having been the home of the first Aryan settler in Ceylon, that several centuries before Christ the people of the western Indian coast were adventurous sailors from very early times even before the advent of the Aryans, that bringing in of the names of Vanga and Magadha, omission of Barukaccha and Vijaya having made to land in Ceylon on the very day of Buddha's *nirvana*, especially in the *Mahavamsa*, look like interpolations, that Sinhapura from where Vijaya came may be represented by the modern Sihore (Sinaura, Sinhapura) in Bhavnagar State, that the names—Sinhabahu and Vijaya Sinha have a name-history of the Gujarat people behind it—the people of that country bearing with their names a part name of the father which is never the practice with the people of Bengal, that in the formation of echo-words Bengali takes and retains the vowel of the original word, whereas Gujarati, Marathi and Sinhalese take 'b' for the original consonant (*cf.* Bengali—Ghora-Tora; Sinhalese—Aswaya-Baswaya; Gujrati—Ghoro Boro; Marathi—Ghora-Bira;); and that the Buddhists of Ceylon consider their connection with Magadha and Bengal, the original home of their religion to be more dignified than to be connected with the Western Coast.

The arguments advanced above in support of the West coast being the home of the original settlers of Ceylon are no doubt very strong and weighty, but on careful examination of those arguments, of the traditions and chronicles and the language itself, one is inclined to place the home of Vijaya on the Eastern rather than the Western Coast.

The home of Vijaya is Lata; it is mentioned in connection with Vanga and Kalinga. Lata is the same as Lada, a variant of Radha, or West Bengal, 'l,' and 'r' being interchangeable in Sinhalese. Vanga is East Bengal. Radha, Vanga and Kalinga are adjoining regions. Sinhapura, the city of Vijaya, has been supposed by some to be *Singura* (Singhpura—Singh-ura near Tarakeswar) in the district of Hooghly. If Lata had alone been mentioned there could have been a reasonable presumption in favour of West Coast.

The people of Bengal specially *its sea*

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board districts from where Vijaya may be supposed to have recruited his attendants, are a seafaring people, and it is no wonder that they could go to Ceylon in company with Vijaya on the day of Buddha's *nirvan*, *i.e.*, 483 B.C. or by traditional reckoning 543 B.C. Moreover our middle Bengali is full of records of sea voyages being undertaken by the people of Bengal. In the *Savaparva* of the Mahabharata, canto 34 and 35, there is mention of the people of Ceylon joining the *Rajasuya Yajna* performed by Yudhisthira at Hastinapura. Again, in canto 51, it is mentioned that the people of Ceylon recognized the supremacy of the Pandavas. When Mahendra converted the men of Ceylon to Buddhism, Sanghamitta, the daughter of Asoka, was sent for to convert the women of the place—showing that there had been regular intercommunications between Ceylon and the mainland long before the fourth century B.C.

The mention of Barukaccha and Suppara may point to a fact that when Vijaya's ship was stranded, it went first to those two places and then to Ceylon.

Adding of father's part name to the name of the son may be the peculiarity of a section of the people of the West coast of India, but when the full chronology of Vijaya's family is not forthcoming, no such conclusion is warrantable, for the names of Vijaya Sinha as also of some of the kings of Ceylon suggest Bengali names.

The rule of formation of echo-words in Sinhalese, Gujarati and Marathi being the same may be a strong presumption, but that cannot be the only presumption in favour of taking away the ancestry of Vijaya from Bengal to Gujarat. Ceylon being closer to the Western Coast and Tamil influence being uppermost in them, it might have been easy for them to introduce into their language, as they have done in case of other words, echo-words through their neighbours.

Besides what have been considered in the above arguments, there are other factors, too, which may direct the ancestry of Vijaya to Bengal. The two chronicles, mentioned above are based on traditions and so no generalized statement should be made on taking one or two factors or place names isolatedly, but when such statements are made, all facts should be considered as a whole and traditions themselves should be carefully examined.

Let us consider the voyage of Vijaya. Both the traditions and the chronicles agree that Vijaya, turned out of his native country, went to Supparaka on the West Coast and finally reached Tambapanni. From that it cannot be said that Vijaya belonged to the Western Coast. When Vijaya was turned out with his family, he had no fixed destination in mind and so the ship carrying the children was helplessly driven to the island of *Naggadwip* or the island of the *Nagnas* (naked)—an island near about the east coast of Ceylon, the home of the original inhab of Ceylon, whose descendants are the Veddas, a variant of Bengali *Vyadha*. The in which the men had embarked went sail the sea, lost her way and bearings, Ceylon, drifted to the port of Suppara, Barukaccha, both of which they had to as their original oppressive nature persisted ultimately reached Tambapanni, which the western side of Ceylon. Unless the of Vijaya to Ceylon is taken in this light home of Vijaya in Vanga mentioned traditions and chronicles cannot be exp properly. For it is difficult to admit the blity of any connection between petty of Bengal and Gujarat on opposite sides Indian continent. There may not be any men Barukaccha in the *Mahavamsa* on the ground that the book did not like to the details of the journey of Vijaya to Ce There may be a manifest desire in the of the *Mahavamsa* to connect the early of Ceylon with that of Buddha and Magadha—for Vijaya is made to land at Ta panni on the very day of Buddha's *nir* instead of rightly placing it at the close of fifth century B.C.. But that alone does take away the historical value of the book.

Let us consider the question from aspects. The daughter of Vanga, according traditions and chronicles, mated to a lion, birth to a son who was named Sinhabahu the land colonized by Vijaya was named after the name of his father. The idea a lion giving birth to a male child is of legendary; yet it is very difficult to say a lion is connected with the ancestry of the save and except that the idea of a lion is associated with strength and power in family. The name Sinhabahu does not one born of a lion, but seems to refer to having the strength of a lion, hence power The names of kings of Ceylon were Vijaya in 1056; Parakramabahu in the 12th century Vikrambahu in the 14th century. There tradition of the island which says that Vijaya landed in Lanka, he killed a lion named the island after it. None of explanations sound well. Sinhala is the given to the island after the family of Vij Sinha. In Bengal we have the custom discribing a family by using its surname in plural from (*e.g.*, *Mitrera* or the Mitras of a place, *Bosera* or the Boses of another and in the Dacca district of the province forms occur as place names, *e.g.*, Dasara (after families with the surname of 'Das'), Palara several 'Pal' families), Bhatara (after 'Bhat' or professional singer families). And quite probable that the family of Sinhas in Ceylon would give the name सिंहल (Sinh to the place, whence the name Sinhala and 'l' being interchangeable.

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Professor Geiger thinks that the Sinhalese language is connected more with Western Prakrits, Maharastri and Maharastri, rather than with Magadhi. He is no doubt correct in so far as the modern standard language is concerned, but that has nothing to do with the nationality of the people. A nation cut off from the native place by the sea, having no close relationship with the motherland for many generations can retain only a faint impression of its native peculiarities. The origin of that nation may also be traced back from the peculiar manners and customs and literary peculiarities now extant, together with other facts at hand.

Names of many rivers in Ceylon from the largest to the smallest have *Ganga* after them; Mahaveli Ganga, Kelini Ganga, Kalu Ganga, Malwatu Ganga, Nilwala Ganga. The general name for a river in the Sinhalese language is Ganga which is also the case in East Bengal-**गां** or **गाङ्ग** being derived from **गङ्गा**, the Ganges, the sacred river, from which is derived for the sake of brevity, the general name of rivers, as in Navagangra in Jessore, and Buriganga in Dacca. Neither the Buddhists nor the West Coast people attach much importance or sanctity to the Ganges. It is the people living near about the Ganges who consider it as **त्रितापनाशिनी**, and it would not be unreasonable to assume that their ancestors living in Ceylon, in profound attachment for the Ganges, added after the name of many rivers, the word Ganga, a variant of the Ganges.

There are some other words in the East Bengal dialect, which are identical with Sinhalese forms. Sanskrit **चिड़ी (माछ)** is **इचा (माछ)** in East Bengal and **इस्सा** in Sinhalese—**'च'** being the same as **'स'** in Sinhalese. Sanskrit **खड्ग** is **खड़ग** in East Bengal as well as in Sinhalese.

There are some words in Sinhalese which are nearly the same as in East Bengal. The word **है** is in East Bengal and in Sinhalese. Another form of **से** is **ओ** in Sinhalese and in East Bengal (sometimes in West Bengal too) as in **ओ करे, ओ खाय।** The word **ताहारा** is **ओन** in Sinhalese (*cf.* as in **ओनरा बलेन**). The word **इन्दुर** is **उन्दुर** in Sinhalese and in old Bengali.

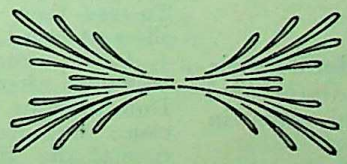
The letter **स** is pronounced in E. B. as **ह** (h). In Sinhalese also the letters s and h are always interchangeable. Sanskrit **शीत** is **हीत** in E. B. and in Sinhalese. *Sava* (hair) is the same as *Hava* and *Sakuru* (sugar) is the same as *Hakuru* in Sinhalese. **च** is pronounceed in E B. as **छ** and even **स**. Sinhalese has *Sanda* for moon coresponding to Bengali **चान्द** (Chand).

Moreover, the Sinhalese retain some customs among them even at the present day which have no parallel in any other part of India except Bengal.

Among them when a baby is expected a propitiatory observance to the gods becomes necessary. This is a feast to which several of the inmates, friends and relatives are called. The feast is an unpretentious one, consisting of milk-rice (*Kiru-bat*). This ceremony may be compared to our **साधभक्षण** festival, in which milk-rice or **पायेस**, as we call it, is given. In this connection it may be noted that *bhat* is *bat* in the sea-board districts of Bengal. There is also a tendency to make an open sound of bh in both East Bengal in Ceylon. *Hati* (elephant) is *Atti* and *Hat* (hand) *At* in Noakhali and Chittagong, and *Hati* is *Ata*, *Hat* is *At* in Sinhalese.

When the birth of the child is getting to be within measurable distance, the mother must have a new house or an additional room built for her in the old one. Nowhere in India except in Bengal is the separation of a lying-in room so strictly observed.

What has been pointed above go to show that the followers and sailors of Vijaya might be people of East Bengal, while Vijaya himself might have been a prince of West Bengal.



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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Intelligentzia

The word "intelligentzia" is a new arrival in the literatures of the West. Professor Nicholas Roerich discusses the bearing of this word on culture in *Vedanta Kesari*. He says:

Quite recently before our eyes in the West has been adopted the new word—intelligentzia. In the beginning this newcomer was met rather suspiciously, but soon it was adopted in literature. It would be important to determine whether this expression symbolizes the intellect, or according to ancient conceptions it corresponds to the education of good taste.

If it is a symbol of a refined and expanded consciousness then we have to greet this innovation, which perhaps will remind us once more of ancient beautiful principles.

In my letter "Synthesis" the difference of conceptions of culture and civilization was discussed. Both these conceptions are sufficiently separated even in standard dictionaries. Therefore, let us not return to these two consecutive conceptions, even if some one would be content with the conception of civilization without dreaming about the higher conception of culture.

But remembering about intelligentzia it is permissible to ask, whether this conception belongs to Civilization, as to expression of intellect or whether it does already touch a higher region, that is to say, whether it belongs to the region of culture, in which already the heart and spirit act. Of course, if we assume that the expression, intelligentzia, should remain only within the limitation of the mind, then there would be no need to burden with it our literary vocabulary. One may permit an innovation only in such cases, when really something new is introduced, or at least when ancient principles are renewed in present modern circumstances.

Of course every one will agree that intelligentzia, this aristocracy of the Spirit, belongs to culture and only in this connection one could greet this new literary expression.

In this case the education of good taste belongs, of course, first of all to the intelligentzia, and not only does it belong, but it becomes its duty. Not fulfilling this duty intelligentzia has no right for existence and condemns itself to savagery.

—

Education of Parents

Had parents known how best to educate their children, much misery would have disappeared from the earth. Mr. R. Bangaruswami says in *The Educational Review*:

Parents should remember that it is their attempt to conceal things from their children that leads to clandestine habits; that it is their want of manners that breeds disrespect and discourtesy; that it is their want of cleanliness which gives rise to slovenliness and dirt, their disregard for order to mal-arrangements and mis-adjustments. They should never use filthy language when they are in the company of their children. They should never, for example, according to Frau Dr. Alice Friedmann, Principal of a Home for Children and Adolescents, Vienna, such things as "You are small for your age. You are as nervous as your father. You are no gift for that. Children don't understand. A child should always be cheery. You should have been a girl. A boy was lost in you. Just wait till your father comes home. You are the worst child I know. You will put me in my grave yet. You have an unlucky hand. Your fingers are all thumbs. You are not half awake." Nor such words as the following should be addressed to our children, as so often done in our country: "I will give you to the policeman. Let the Devil take you. You are a disgrace to the family. It is better you are dead."

In an ideal plane of education there will be a perfect co-ordination of the teacher and the parent, the school and the home. One will complement the other and not sit tight upon it. The teacher must feel that he is an enlarged parent, and the parent must realize that they are the earliest teachers. The home must not only be a haven of rest but also a place of learning and a training ground for the battles of life while the school must have all the attractions of a sweet home, a far brighter home peopled with children and teachers busily engaged in this bewildering game of life with its many coloured balls of knowledge and fascinating fields of labour, a wee world by itself.

—

English Words from Names of Persons

Philology is sometimes elevated to the region of romance. The following passages from *The Scholar* are both very interesting and instructive:

A sandwich is a harmless, useful and comfortable form of food, as Serjeant Buzfuz would have described it. It owes its existence and its name to an Earl of Sandwich who was a possionate gamester. He could not interrupt his card-playing for the tedious and wholely unnecessary duty of taking a break-fast. He felt as many of us have done when called for dinner just as the novel taken up at an intriguing turn. The Earl's food was brought to him. To save time he stratified the meat between two slices of bread. And the idea struck.

It is a strange irony of fate that a dunce should be named after a distinguished medieval philosopher. Duns Scotus was a renowned scholastic metaphysician; but his followers fell into disrepute at the time of the Revival of Learning. The Renaissance introduced new ideas in science which were opposed by the scholastic philosophers. Hence the former were considered blockheads by the bolder and more advanced thinkers. It is some comfort to a dunce at school if he remembers that he errs in good company.

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Two common flowers—the dahlia and the fuchsia—are called so after the botanists, Dahl and Fuchs, Swedish and German investigators, who discovered them. This is not an uncommon feature of scientific nomenclature where a species is named after its discoverer—as when the large grey Babbler is called *Argya malcolm*—but it is rare that such a term should come into popular usage.

The Countess Chinchon, the wife of the Governor of Peru, was cured of fever by a Peruvian bark in 1638. She introduced the bark into Europe, and today this world-known remedy is called Cinchona after her. "Quinine" is from a Peruvian word meaning "bark."

Some scientific terms are derived from the names of great inventors and investigators. These cannot be called popular words, but they are current coin to the extent to which the realms they deal with touch our daily life. With the increased use of electricity in this country "volt" is becoming a common term. Volta—who has lent his name to the unit of electro-motive force—was a great Italian scientist who died in 1827. Similarly, the unit of electrical resistance is named after the German physicist Ohm. When we talk of an ampere, we are unconsciously commemorating a French scientist. It is interesting to observe that the definition of this term includes the names of all the three investigators: "An ampere is the unit of current that one volt can send through one ohm." Another word which comes to mind in this connection is that which reminds us of the British scientist James Watt.

We could go on in this way piling instance upon instance of this process—"mackintosh" from the inventor of the water-proof coat, "shrapnel" from a general of the British army, "brougham" from the first Lord Brougham and "green gage" from Sir W. Gage of Hengrave Hail near Bury.

The picture of Mary Magdalene shedding tears of penitence at the feet of the Lord has given us "maudlin," which means sentimental. The sort of lace sold at St. Audrey's fair, which was held at Ely during October, has produced the idea of showiness without worth in "tawdry." This lady is a renowned name on the Calender of English saints, for she was the founder of Ely Cathedral. Her name in its early English form is Etheldridda.

Races of men have also contributed to our common vocabulary. An ogre was originally a Hungarian; the term is a reminder of the terror which the fierce Magyars from Central Asia inspired in Eastern Europe. A slave is called so after the Slavs, the great race to which the Russians, the Poles and the Czechs belong. The Romans made some men of this race captives, and we get our word from Latin through the French. When we speak of Vandalism we go back to the Vandals who over-ran France, Spain, North Africa and Rome during the fifth century, plundering and destroying, and not sparing even the books and works of art that fell into their hands. The Vandals belonged to the sturdy Germanic race which includes the English and the Scandinavians.

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A Plea for a Central Bank in Bengal

Loan offices in a way do banking transactions in Bengal. But this scarcely contributes to the growth of industries. Mr. N. L. Nandi advances a plea for the establishment of a central organization in Bengal in *Commercial India*. He says:

Weakness in the present credit system is largely due to absence of cohesion among the different units and after that weakness is removed improvement in the existing machinery will be easier. It is not rare that money remains idle at one centre while at another there is a bad need. A central institution will facilitate investment of surplus fund. It can arrange timely help to an institution that may temporarily be in difficulties. Want of cohesion was one of the reasons for the epidemic of bank failures in the period of 1913-24. Loan-offices being a class by themselves there should be a federal bank in Bengal to knit together all the different loan offices. It is to be provided that in the board of directors, for such a bank, the interests of loan offices be strongly represented, provision being also made to co-opt an eminent Bengali economist. That bank should supervise the workings of its member banks. It is a fact that some loan-offices actually tout for deposits resulting in increased rate for deposits, and in their competition for popularity they distribute, to the hilt, their profits by way of dividends. Instances are found where dividends to the tune of 50 or 25 p. c. have been declared before any transfer has been made to the reserve fund. It is necessary that these objectionable features be removed.

The history of the growth of loan offices shows that some central body is necessary to avoid possible danger. The growth or decline of loan offices is seen to follow the rise or fall in prices. The Faridpur Loan Office, the earliest of its kind, was started in 1871 but progress was slow till 1900. Reference to Index number shows that this was a period of falling prices. We find an upward tendency from 1905-06 till before 1913-14, and this period coincides with a period of rising prices. The stimulus of Swadeshi movement was also responsible for this progress. With the exception of 1925, the index number is falling every year since the post war slump of 1921-22. This fall in price was in a great way responsible for the last banking crisis. We can thus see the urgency of a central institution. Such an institution will have no difficulty in raising the necessary capital and attracting big volume of public deposits, as for a long time to come the supply of money will be in excess of demand. This is seen from the fact that the leading banks have lowered the rate of interest on deposits. A federal bank will be a tremendous success when some experienced organizers will combine to give the much needed fillip to the cause of banking and industry in this province. After we can organize a central institution we shall be able to secure the desirable changes in laws and procedures. We can see the progress that co-operative banks have made after the establishment of provincial and central banks. United we stand; first let us be strong economically.

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Women's Place

Stri Dharma has indicated editorially the sphere of women's activities:

No one will deny that, specially in India, the chief sphere of woman is the home. But matters that are discussed in legislative assemblies are often matters that vitally affect the home. Consider what are the things that are discussed in these assemblies; education of children—certainly woman's sphere; child welfare—women's sphere again; midwives, and matters relating to their work—emphatically woman's sphere; housing—the house is woman's place;

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sanitation—vitally affecting the health of the home; health and the prevention of disease in all its aspects —again affecting women; economics—women are in all the labour markets and factories in India; the budget—women pay the taxes; war—women bear sons and send them to fight, and also do the work of the country including war work, as we have proved in the country, including war work, as we have of the last terrible years in Europe. And so on with every subject. It is impossible to shut up politics in a compartment and say, 'These things are not women's sphere.'' Nothing can be done in the councils that will affect only one sex. Men and women must work together, the point of view of each being considered for the good and welfare of all.

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The Indian Medical Council Bill

The Journal of the Indian Medical Association comments on the Government's motives that lie behind the proposed Indian Medical Council Bill as follows:

We notice that the recent statement issued by the Government in the press denies that the purpose of the Bill is at all to placate the General Medical Council. This denial comes extremely belatedly, for over many years the Bill has been debated, the attitude of the Government has given quite the opposite impression. Reference to the history and the original drafts of the Bill will show exactly what the Government intended. The history goes back to 1919 when the question of recognition of Indian Medical degrees by the British General Medical Council was first raised. Subsequently there was a move in the Assembly to appoint a representative of the General Medical Council in India to inspect the standard of medical education in the various universities. These incidents are not unconnected with the question. As originally drafted, the preamble to the Bill left no doubt as to its purpose being to re-gain recognition of Indian medical degrees by the General Medical Council and the whole constitution of the proposed Council made it merely a kind of inspecting body subtly subordinated to this British medical body. The Bill gave no privileges or rights of protection to doctors, such as are given to doctors of other countries and it was rightly asked what advantage a practitioner would have by placing his name on the All-India Register, (for which he would be required to pay) when registration in the provincial register gave him the right to practise in any part of India. On the question of reciprocity the recognition of British Medical degress in this country was sought to be made automatic by inclusion in the Schedule, without any corresponding obligation on the part of of the General Medical Council.

All these defects went to undermine the confidence in Government's intention. The composition of the Council itself left much to be desired. While the independent section comprised by far the majority of the medical graduates in the country, the representation suggested for them was quite inadequate, and even then the qualifications for the election of their representatives were such as to ensure the return of official or quasi-official members. It was even proposed that the President should be nominated by the Governor General. What further evidence could be required to show that the Government were out to secure official control? And consequently the only conclusion was that the interest of Indian medical men was to be brought indirectly under the influence of the British General Medical Council.

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The Economic Impasse

Mr. J. B. Williams writes on the economic impasse in *The Mysore Economic Journal*:

Nationalism is the problem of the 20th century. Economic nationalism is at the root of the great slump the world has ever known. Nations are growing individualistic. Individuals, like nations have lost confidence in each other. Briand made the characteristic remark, 'Why should I invest my francs to receive perhaps 50 fr. a year and perhaps to lose my 1,000?' Nations like France and U. S. A. sterilized gold in their bank-vaults. Nations are trying to escape from the economic blizz by building higher walls of protection. England departed from its creed of Free Trade. United States, with its present high tariff and stricter immigration laws are growing individualistic. The policy of protection has placed the debtor nations like Germany, and parts of Europe in a position in which it is impossible for them to pay and at the same time require them to pay the debts. The financial condition of the debtors is such that the possible means by which they can repay their debt is through the export of their goods to the creditor nations. Is there any action more absurd than to lend money and to prevent the debtor from paying? Are the the creditor nations short-sighted? Is not their attitude suicidal? In one of the numbers of the *Review of Reviews* I saw a cartoon which pictured Germany as a patient with doctors all round. Doctors seemed to disagree, but one doctor seemed to have remarked to the other, 'But, surely, doctor you realize for humanity's sake we must keep alive. just alive, doctor Sam, only just alive.'

The world is an economic whole, subject to booms and depressions. One nation cannot prosper at the expense of another. Each nation cannot suffer alone without affecting his brother. They are no longer self-supporting. They live on exchange of goods. They are knit by bonds of internationalism. The question is asked in every quarter, 'Will prosperity come again?' The answer to the question is positive though difficult of application at the present time. The recovery of world's economic health rests on the restoration of credit and confidence and alleviation of protectionism. Economic co-operation of the world is the solution of the present economic and social *impasse*.

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Married Life amongst the Rawalttas

Messrs. S. D. Bahugune and D. N. Mazumdar have entertained us with an account of their experiences of an ethnographic tour among the Rawalttas in *Man in India*. They say about the marital life of the Rawalttas:

While in an ethnographic tour in these regions one day after some fifteen miles' morning walk we reached a village named Nawagaun late at found that all the men had gone out on their daily work. A few women who were staying at home as soon as they saw us, came round and began to watch us intently. They probably took us for some State officials because we were dressed in the

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manner. One of them gave a slight push to her companion standing besides her and said in her own dialect rather in a humourous tone with a slight mixture of compassion as well, *'Kani holi bhari youn ki swaini rouni.'* The humour of this remark which still excites my amused pity cannot be fully conveyed in English. It means 'how their helpless wives must be sorely weeping at home without them.' The word 'Swaini' which means 'wife' is typical and I fail to find its exact equivalent in English. One who knows the dialect can only relish the humour of it. They knew that women of our parts are generally chaste and this was probably the real cause of their feeling pity for our wives and when we told them that our wives do not complain even when we go out for years sometimes, their wonder knew no bounds. We told them that we cannot earn money if we do not leave our homes. They laughed at it and gazing at us with an eye of ridicule said, *'Khad karo wai kamayan ku jo oh ghra hi na raw, kinek hi banthiya, hum te na deva bhra khasam sani bhas jan,'* meaning "Damn such earning, we would be quite content with the little that we have, so long as our husbands stay at home; we would not allow our husbands to go out." On asking them what they would do if their husbands were to leave their homes for some time against their wishes one of them who was showing herself more prominently said, moving her hands, *'Tab hum was ne karo.'* indirectly conveying by her gesture and remark that they are sure to lead a corrupt life. The humour of her indirect reply and the peculiar wave of her hands indicating her real meaning cannot but excite our amused pity even now, when we think of them.

At another place where we had to halt for a night, we met a young man from whom we learnt that they take it as inauspicious if a wife sleeps alone without her husband.

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The Agency Houses of Calcutta

The history of the Agency Houses of Calcutta is very fascinating reading. Mr. N. Das discusses the functions of these houses in an interesting paper in *The Calcutta Review*. He says:

The partners of these Houses consisted, in many instances, of the Civil, Military and Medical officers of the East India Company; these people entered them after quitting public service, attracted by the large profits that these Houses made. Now, although generally men of talent and acuteness, they were, for the most part, destitute of mercantile training and experience. But as long as the East India Company's monopoly lasted, the great mercantile Houses were placed under circumstances which naturally secured to them a kind of sub-monopoly. Nearly the whole European business fell into their hands; they were the agents for the planters and merchants settled in the provinces; they were bankers receiving deposits, bankers making advances for the produce of the interior, and, frequently, bankers issuing paper money. They made large advances on ships, shipments and indigo factories; and as general merchants, they not only acted as the agents of others, but speculated largely in every quarter of the world, on their own account. And, finally, by foreclosing mortgages on the ruin of speculators to whom they had made advances and on ships, houses and factories, they became, eventually and to a very great extent, ship-owners, house-owners, farmers and manufacturers.

As regards the capital of these Houses, the partners were often without any capital of their own at the outset; indeed, the deposits from the savings of the civil and military servants may be said to have contributed throughout the principal funds with which their business was conducted. These Houses had also extensive transactions with Indians which answered the purposes of capital. They were not exactly partners in the business nor did they lend their capitals collectively but they had *bona fide* transactions which in their nature, answered all the purposes of capital. In short, these firms had come to acquire a high prestige in the eyes of the Indians and enjoyed the unbounded confidence of the great moneyed people of Calcutta as well as of many of the provincial towns.

With the large funds, thus received by these great Houses in their capacity of bankers, they made advances to speculators for indigo, cotton, silk, opium, etc., to the annual amount of full five millions sterling. The interest which they allowed on deposits was generally not less than 10 per cent. and that charged on advances 12 per cent besides a commission on the advances. Further details about these advances are lacking, but we can have a glimpse of some interesting features from the state of the indigo industry which was primarily a European concern. The average indigo planter or manufacturer of this period did not carry any capital to India; he had large advances from the Agency Houses in Calcutta, paying an interest between 10 and 12 per cent and even on this interest he made a large profit. The advances were, in most cases, secured by insurance on lives; it was very seldom the custom to enter into a joint security with the manufacturer who borrowed the money of the Agency Houses.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Oil Concession Dispute between Persia and Great Britain

The League of Nations' *News for Overseas* gives a succinct account of the dispute between Great Britain and Persia over the concession granted to the Anglo-Persian Oil Company :

The Persian Government, on November 27th, 1932, notified the Resident Director in Teheran of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company that it cancelled the concession held by the Company in Persia and would henceforth consider it to be void.

The Government of the United Kingdom felt it necessary to take up the case in exercise of its right to protect a British national injured by an act which it deemed to be contrary to international law, and demanded an immediate withdrawal of the notification issued to the Company.

The Persian Government replied, however, that it considered itself to be acting within its rights in cancelling the concession, and the Government of the United Kingdom thereupon suggested that the dispute should be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice as a matter of urgency under the optional clause. The Persian Government, in response to this suggestion, argued that the Permanent Court was not competent to deal with the differences which had arisen between the Persian Government and the Anglo-Persian Oil Company and intimated its intention of bringing the matter before the Council of the League.

The Government of the United Kingdom thereupon on December 14th, 1932, itself submitted the question to the Council of the League under Article 15 of the Covenant.

The concession cancelled by the Government of Persia was made under an agreement signed at Teheran on May 28th, 1901, under which the Shah of Persia granted to a British subject special and exclusive rights to prospect for oil in Persia, and to exploit and sell the oil extracted for a period of sixty years. The Anglo-Persian Oil Company was constituted under this concession in 1908, and has been recognized as the holder of the concession by all successive Persian Governments. The Government of the United Kingdom, in 1914, with the object of ensuring the oil supplies of the British navy, acquired a considerable interest in the company, which it still retains.

The Persian Government is entitled to receive under the concession a royalty of 16 per cent on the annual net profits of any companies which may be formed. There have been frequent disputes between the company and the Persian Government as to the methods whereby the profits of the company and the resulting royalties should be calculated, and from time to time, negotiations have been undertaken between the parties for a revision of the existing arrangements and a settlement of outstanding claims. In February 1932, there seemed every prospect of final agreement.

Meanwhile, the Anglo-Persian Oil Company forwarded to the Persian Government its accounts for the year 1931. These amounted to only £6[illegible] as compared with £1288,312 in 1930. The Persian Government protested against the smallness of the figures and asked for facilities to examine the [illegible]. It subsequently refused to accept the royalty for 1931, and informed the representative of the company that it was preparing a new set of proposals for discussion with the company.

The Persian Government, in cancelling the concession on November 27th, 1932, declared that the contract did not adequately protect the interests of the Persian Government, that it was necessary to place the relations between itself and the company on a new basis which would provide for the [illegible] interests of Persia, that it could not consider itself bound by the provisions of a concession granted prior to the establishment of a constitutional government in Persia, and, finally, that Persian interests were progressively endangered as the activities of the company extended. The Persian Government emphasized that it was prepared to enter into [illegible] discussions with the company with a view to the negotiation of a new concession. It complained at the same time of intimidation exercised by the Government of the United Kingdom and of demonstrations practised on the Persian Government by the company.

The Government of the United Kingdom, in its memorandum to the Secretary General of the League, declared the cancelling of the concession to be a unilateral act of confiscation, committed against a company, and, as such, contrary to international law. It observed with anxiety that the Persian Government had declined to accept any responsibility for loss or damage to the company, and referred to the serious position which would arise if the Persian Government were to take possession of the valuable properties and plant of the company, or if any action or inaction on the part of the Persian Government should lead to grave damage or loss. It was anxious that the existing difficulties should be settled by an amicable and fair agreement between the parties, but repeated that negotiations could not be fruitfully continued so long as the Persian Government claimed to treat the concession as having been terminated.

The Persian Government, in a memorandum which reached the Secretary General on January 19th [illegible], complained that the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, deriving its power from Persian deposits was continually extending its activities outside Persia [illegible] limiting itself within Persia to a restricted exploitation, a proceeding which was contrary to the spirit of the concession. It further complained that the company has disregarded the article of the concession

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under which its workmen should be Persian nationals. Reference was also made to the long-standing difficulties which had arisen in regard to the calculation of the profits of the company. The Persian Government represented that the company should either negotiate a new concession or apply for a remedy to the Persian courts. The British Government, however, had interposed between the parties and summoned the Persian Government to appear before the Council under Article 15 of the Covenant. The Persian Government regarded such a summons as contrary to the terms of Article 15. A dispute between States only existed when a Government had, in exercising its right of diplomatic protection, taken up the cause of one of its nationals and such action presupposed that there had been a violation of general or international law or a previous exhaustion of municipal remedies. The British Government had no right to make any diplomatic claim in respect of the case under consideration and Article 15 of the Covenant did not apply.

The Council met to consider the dispute on December 19th, 1932. It agreed, however, that the Persian Government should be given time to send a special representative to Geneva and adjourned the question to its January session. Meanwhile, it noted a telegram from the Persian Government declaring that, pending a settlement, it had not taken and had no intention of taking any measures against the Anglo-Persian Company.

The Council resumed consideration of the dispute on January 26th, 1933. The two parties then gave full explanations in support of their memoranda. The British representative argued that, as the Persian Government had cancelled the concession and as that act had been ratified by the Persian legislative authorities, there was no remedy available to the company in the Persian courts. The right of the company to carry on its work in Persia had, in fact, automatically disappeared and it was clear that the company could not fairly be asked to negotiate a new concession while it remained in that position. The British Government, if the Government of Persia persisted in its present attitude, must ask the Council to decide that an international wrong had been committed and that the concession must be restored.

The Persian representative, while declining any responsibility for protecting the property and interests of the company under the concession, admitted that his Government was bound under international law to safeguard the persons and property of foreigners in its territory. It did not intend to evade that obligation. Persia regarded the dispute as one which was exclusively within the jurisdiction of Persia. It was a dispute between the Persian State and a private company. The British Government had no justification for pleading the right of diplomatic protection of its nationals, since diplomatic protection presupposed a violation of international law and a previous exhaustion of municipal remedies. Neither of those two conditions had been fulfilled. The Persian Government repeated its complaint that the company, having discovered oil resources, had left them unexploited and that the company still employed foreign labour in disregard of the provisions of the concession. Finally, the Persian Government insisted that its sovereign act had not deprived the company of redress in the Persian courts; the confirmation of that act by the Persian Chamber should be regarded as no more than a motion of confidence in the Persian Government.

The Council appointed a Rapporteur to make a careful study of the statements submitted by the parties and to endeavour with their assistance to reach a provisional arrangement. The following conclusions were accepted.

1. The two parties agree to suspend all proceedings before the Council until the session of May 1933, with the option of prolonging, if necessary, this time-limit by common agreement.

2. The two parties agree that the company should immediately enter into negotiations with the Persian Government, the respective legal points of view being entirely reserved.

3. The two parties agree that the legal standpoint of each of them as stated before the Council in their memoranda and in their verbal statements remains entirely reserved. If the negotiations for the new concession remain without result, the question will come back before the Council, before which each party remains free to resume the defence of its case.

4. In accordance with the assurance given by the Persian Government in its telegram of December 19th, 1932, to the President of the Council, it is understood that, while negotiations are proceeding and until the final settlement of the question the work and operations of the company in Persia will continue to be carried on as they were carried on before November 27th, 1932.

The Council, on February 3rd, approved the agreement and expressed its appreciation of the wisdom of the two parties in refraining from any steps likely to aggravate the situation.

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The Motives Behind the Dispute

While the account of the League of Nations confines itself to a severe statement of facts, the following note in *The Living Age* throws some light on the real motives behind the dispute :

The Persian Government's attempt to cancel the Anglo-Persian Oil Company's concession has provoked a situation that is likely to become more tense by the time this copy of the magazine has reached our readers. But whatever happens after January 23, when the issue was supposed to come up before the League of Nations, there are two points that should be borne in mind. The immediate cause of the dispute is analysed as follows by the *Week-end Review* of London:

"The fall in royalties this year from £ 1,3000,000 to £ 300,000 is serious for the Persian budget, and the Shah is no doubt influenced by the fact that he pays for the modern armaments he is acquiring in Europe from these royalties. It is not generally known that Italian-built Persian gunboats, manned by Italian-trained Persian crews, are about to appear in the Persian Gulf to protect Persian interests. The fact that most of the new sailors are landsmen, and unlikely to become efficient seamen overnight, is the least important factor in an interesting development, full of possibilities for us."

Whereas the Persian Government is chiefly concerned with the immediate problem of paying for armaments, the British Government takes a longer view. William Martin, writing in the *Journal de Geneva*, says:

"If England is interested in Persian petroleum it is chiefly in order to have a formidable reserve in

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time of war rather than to exploit this petroleum immediately. And it is here that England's interests find themselves in direct opposition to those of Persia. What does England want? As little exploitation as possible in order to save large reserves. What does Persia want? As much income as possible in order to strengthen a budget that is burdened with increasing charges by reason of national modernization.

To England, the stakes are the route to India and a fuel supply for its fleet in time of war. These are formidable strategic interests. What is at stake for Persia is the unity of the country, national sovereignty over the southern districts, and the future of the reforms to which Shah Riza Pehlevi wants his name to be attached. In the last analysis, the question is whether Persia has the right to become an independent country or whether it will have to remain a feudal state, tractable and submissive as it was before the war, a state of affairs that was very convenient for England."

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Negro Women

Dr. Paul Schebesta, an authority on the natives of Africa, describes the marriage customs and the position of women among the Negroes. His account is translated in *The Living Age*. Part of it is quoted below :

I was travelling on foot. My caravan, which consisted of twelve Bahutu bearers and two servants belonging to the Banande tribe, was going down-hill when we met another caravan with a sedan chair in the middle of it. To my amazement a well-built, pretty Negro lady—and I use the word 'lady' advisedly—got out, came over to me, bowed elegantly, and greeted me. This unusual experience surprised me so much that I stammered as I shook the hand she offered me. And my astonishment was really excusable, for in all my wanderings back and forth in Africa I had never met such a polite and, in her own way, cultured Negro woman. After greeting me, the bronze beauty climbed back into her sedan chair again and her caravan filed silently out of sight behind the next hill.

This experience occurred in November 1929 in the mountains of Ruanda. Afterward I discovered that the young woman was a chieftain's daughter who was on her way to make a visit at some distant spot. As a gesture of politeness she had left her sedan chair in order to greet the unknown white man. Subsequently I met women and girls in Ruanda who were just as polite, especially at the court of King Musinga, where they formed the entourage of the queen mother.

I mention this encounter in order to show at the outset what a mistake it is to regard all African wives as slaves of their husbands, deprived of any spirit or will of their own. Nor is it necessary to go to Ruanda to meet Negresses whose personal bearing has won them a dominating position in their family, clan, or tribe. In the town of Majalla, deep in the Ituri jungle, I was introduced to the wife of a chieftain and I was so amazed that I neglected to give any present to the ring-bedecked matron and could only stand gaping at her. All the people in the village looked askance at me and I had to send back for a present at once to repair my carelessness.

But as a general thing the black wife occupies a subordinate, dependent position in relation to her husband. This is most evident when one [illegible] families travelling to pay a visit in a neighbo[illegible] village. While the husband, as the master, [illegible] the way, carrying his weapon in his hand, his w[illegible] is bowed down under a load that she carries [illegible] her back, unless there are women slaves to [illegible] the burden. Nevertheless, it would be presumpt[illegible] on the basis of this kind of thing to conclude [illegible] women occupy the position of slaves. A free w[illegible] is never the slave of her husband, who takes [illegible] care not to abuse her or to treat her cruelly, be[illegible] he knows very well that an injured or maltre[illegible] wife can leave him at any time and go back to [illegible] own people, who will help her get her rights. O[illegible] slaves or such wives as are guilty of some kind [illegible] misconduct are comparatively outlawed and there[illegible] subject to harsh treatment. There are so m[illegible] economic, social, and superstitious considerations [illegible] bear in mind in judging the position of the N[illegible] wife that casual observers often come away w[illegible] false picture....

Negro women are models of mother love. [illegible] that reason the children feel very tenderly tow[illegible] them, but the fathers are much less affectio[illegible] When a pygmy boy has been away from his f[illegible] for any length of time he greets his mother [illegible] returning by taking her breast as he did while [illegible] was still being suckled. Here is evidence [illegible] extraordinary love and affection.

No Negro will allow anybody to criticize [illegible] insult his mother. An insult to a man's mother [illegible] the greatest offence conceivable and demands reve[illegible] Mothers are equally devoted to their children. [illegible] understand this fully one should see with one's own eyes how many tears a Negro mother sheds when she lays a dead child in its grave and [illegible] she visits it every day at sunrise and sunset, w[illegible] loud lamentations. I happened to see a boy co[illegible] back to his family and I heard an old woman singing the following song of thanksgiving over the return of her son : 'My joy is the joy of a pup[illegible] when it is wagging its tail.'

The soul of the Negro is as unfathomable as the mother love of the Negro women, who, howev[illegible] under certain circumstances, sacrifice their chil[illegible] without batting an eyelid. Wherever the superstition exists that twins bring danger or bad luck to the community the mother coolly places them alive on an ant-hill, where the poor little creatures are bitten to death by the ferocious ants, or else the babies are put in a big earthen jug and buried alive.

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An Interview with Hitler

The New Republic publishes an exclusive interview with Hitler :

It is extremely difficult for American corres[illegible] pondents to see Hitler. He has a deep-rooted suspicion of them all. It was only after I had been passed upon by the press department of the Nati[illegible] Socialist party that I was permitted to visit the [illegible] Chancellor at his summer "Brown House," a hun[illegible] or so miles from Munich. Here he was living w[illegible] his secretaries and his bodyguards, seeing the m[illegible] callers who flocked to his house daily.

His greeting, when I was introduced to him, was perfunctory suggesting latent hostility, and my [illegible] question brought this forth into full flame. I [illegible] asked him whether his anti-Semitism concerned Je[illegible] everywhere or whether he had something spe[illegible] against German-Jews as such.

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"In America you exclude any would-be immigrants you do not care to admit" he said emphatically. "You regulate their number. Not content with that, you prescribe their physical condition. Not content with that, you insist on the conformity of their political opinions. We demand the same right in Germany. We have no concern with the Jews of other lands, but we are very much concerned about the anti-German elements within our country. We demand the right to deal with these elements as we see fit. Jews have been the intellectual proponents of subversive anti-German movements and as such they must be dealt with."

On foreign affairs Hitler proved uncompromising. In spite of the concessions which Germany had recently received at Lausanne, he considered France to be playing the bully, holding down a helpless opponent and choking him to death.

"How can we have friendly relations with France while this attitude continues?" he asked. He referred to separatist movements in Germany which he evidently feels are receiving aid from French sources. He summed up his comment with this sentence: "The existence of our sixty-five million people is a fact with which France must reckon; they want to live!"

Germany's relations with Russia are always important and I asked him what a National Socialist government would do about that country.

"It is possible, of course, to differentiate between a government and its policies," he said. "The Fascist government of Italy has dealings with Soviet Russia and at the same time carries on vigorous prosecution of Communists in Italy. But it is impossible for a country to have really good relations with Russia if it has a large number of Communists within its own borders."

Some National Socialists visualize a block of Fascist states extending from the Mediterranean to the Baltic. Such a grouping might include Albania, Italy, Hungary, Austria, Germany, Finland, Esthonia and Latvia. Hitler's reaction to the suggestion of this possibility was interesting. "There will be no Fascist block of states," he said. "But remember that Europe is accustomed to being governed by systems which extend over many countries. Many times in the past governmental systems and ideas have crossed frontiers, acquired local colour and flourished. Mussolini once said that Fascism was not an article of export. I would say the same thing of our National Socialism."

"Europe," he continued, "cannot maintain itself, amid the uncertain currents of democracy. Europe must have authoritarian government. In the past this authoritarian leadership was provided by the monarch or by the Catholic Church. The form which the authority takes may differ. But parliamentarism is not native to us and does not belong to our traditions. Yet because the parliamentary system has not functioned we cannot substitute brute force. Bayonets alone will not sustain any government for any length of time. To be viable a government must have the support of the masses. A Dictatorship cannot be established in a vacuum. Any government that does not derive its strength from the people will fail the moment it confronts a crisis. The soldier and the policeman do not constitute the substance of a state. Yes, dictatorship is justified if the people declare their confidence in one man and ask him to lead.'

—

De Valera's Victory

Mr. Brailsford explains De Valera's victory in *The World Tomorrow*:

Mr. De Valera's victory in the Irish Free State elections ranks among those outbreaks of idealism of which nations are capable when their blood is heated by combat. Man is not invariably an economic animal: he is capable in the mass, when his emotions are roused, of action that defies every reckoning of a sagacious materialism. There is a transient splendour in these performances that illuminates history, though it may distort it. One may think the reckless nationalism of Fianna Fail (as De Valera's party is called) an anachronism and an offence against that spirit of co-operation and good will among nations which must shape our future civilization. But there is a gallantry in its stand and an indifference to sordid calculations that extort a reluctant admiration. This little island faces a powerful antagonist unafraid, knowing already by experience his power to injure her. Nor has she the satisfaction, which often accompanies conflicts of this kind, of feeling that the world's public opinion is with her. The world for the most part is indifferent, if not hostile.

Every consideration of common sense and economic sanity should have insured the success of Mr. Cosgrave. He promised first of all, in rapid negotiations, which he said he could complete in three days, to end the quarrel with Great Britain. That would mean, first of all, the restoration of the British market for the Irish farmer's produce, which Mr. Thomas had closed by his penal duties. Ireland would return under more favorable conditions than she had ever known before, for she would enjoy under the Ottawa Agreement substantial preferences over Denmark, her chief rival in this market. Money would again flow into the farmer's purse, and he would be able, as he rarely is today, to meet his debts to the storekeeper and the bank, and to pay the wages of his labourers, if he has any.

Better still, Mr. Cosgrave promised a happy solution of the problem of the land annuities. There should be a complete moratorium for two years, and thereafter the annual payments should be halved. It seemed unlikely that Mr. Cosgrave would have made this confident and detailed promise unless he had obtained for it the assent of Mr. Thomas and the British Government. These annuities, totalling some £5000,000 yearly are the purchase instalments by which the Irish farmers obtained their land from the former landlords of the Protestant "garrison," with the guarantee of the British Treasury, under a series of Acts dating from the Gladstonian era. These payments, moderate enough in the days before the slump, had become, with the fall of agricultural prices, intolerably burdensome.

The same argument which the British government used to justify the scaling down of war debts applies in a less degree to these annuities, and there is no reason to suppose that the British government would resist its applications. This line of approach Mr. De Valera was too proud to follow: "he would not go down on his knees," as he put it, "to a British government"—he preferred a one-sided repudiation, though he has an arguable legal case against Ireland's liability, which he would be willing to argue if the British government would consent to arbitration before a foreign judge. Mr. Cosgrave accepts the liability, but he promised, probably with

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British consent, to reduce it by half. From the farmer's standpoint it matters little who receives these annuities. Mr. De Valera did not propose to cancel them. He too would reduce them, but he would collect them for the Free State Treasury. The farmer's burden in either case was halved, but while Mr. Cosgrave offered to re-open his only foreign market, Mr. De Valera held out no prospect of any end to the ruinous war of tariffs.

That a majority, apparently a decisive majority, of the Irish Electors has rejected this attractive settlement and voted for a continuance of the war with England, is a startling event in this modern world. On the surface of men's minds it is primarily a decision of herd-instinct. This vote was cast in an atmosphere of war. To support Mr. Cosgrave was to desert one's own country mid-way in the national quarrel. Mr. Thomas had used an economic bludgeon against Ireland by closing the English market. By so doing he very clumsily illustrated the force of Mr. De Valera's case. Ireland, so long as she depends on this single foreign market, which her Imperial mistress opens or closes at will, is only nominally independent. She is still, whatever political autonomy she may seem to enjoy, at the mercy of another power. Better, argued this unflinching idealist, be poor but free. Foreign trade may decline: imported luxuries must be dispensed with. The standard of life will fall, but Ireland, sufficient for herself, will at least be her own mistress. This argument had power over a race which cherishes the painful memories of oppression. Denmark, you may say, stands in the same relation of exclusive dependence on this same British market, yet never doubts that she is free. But Denmark has no recollections of a British conquest. She is not the debtor of this Imperial creditor, nor would London hesitate, if in her case a dispute should arise, to accept a neutral foreign arbitrator.

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Christianity and China's Economic Life

Frank Rawlinson is contributing a series of articles on China's changing culture in *World Unity*. In the latest instalment he deals with the effects of Christianity :on the economic life of China :

The Christian influence on and interest in the economic life and problems of China has become increasingly manifest during the last twenty-five years. This period of Christian work has seen a rapid and tremendous rise in the curve of western Christian economic investments in China. This accounts for the rapid increase in Christian institutions. Their maintenance, together with a large measure of support of evangelistic work, has made prominent the economic significance of Christianity. The actual value of [illegible] investments is not known. A few years ago, however, it was estimated that about $10,000,000 [illegible] was thus being invested in China annually. This [illegible] rise in the economic significance of Christianity in [illegible] has accompanied and been an expression of [illegible] dented economic prosperity in the West, particu[illegible] America, from which country the bulk of [illegible] economic outlay has come. At times economic [illegible] property interests have played too prominent a [illegible] in the development and guidance of Christian [illegible] Chinese Christians are now faced with the problem [illegible] handling Christian interests and institutions [illegible] fore conducted on an economic level usually far [illegible] the economic strength of the Chinese.

In other words, the Christian movement has [illegible] one channel along which the higher eco[illegible] standards and power of the West have flowed [illegible] and affected China. Sometimes the eco[illegible] significance of Christianity has beclouded its spiri[illegible] meaning and hindered the free development [illegible] Christian institutions. This period is pass[illegible] Christianity is now being evaluated more in terms [illegible] its spiritual contents and dynamic and somewhat [illegible] in terms of its economic benefits. Recent events [illegible] thrown the question of its economic values into [illegible] shadow of the greater problem of the existence [illegible] real meaning of Christianity. It must not, howe[illegible] be forgotten that the economic significance [illegible] Christianity is one of its cultural aspects [illegible] influences.

The economic significance of Christianity [illegible] affected the economic life of China along at least three lines. In the first place the economic standards of the missionaries and of much of Christian wo[illegible] have been in general higher than those of [illegible] people they sought to serve. In the second place [illegible] economic standards of the Chinese Christian Com[illegible] nity, while much lower than that of their wes[illegible] colleagues, have tended to be higher than the[illegible] generally prevailing in China. In many cases Chi[illegible] Christian leaders now live on a western eco[illegible] level. In the third place, Christian institutions [illegible] helped to spread abroad the knowledge of the econo[illegible] strength and standards of western peoples. We[illegible] Christian circles the question of economic relati[illegible] ships and standards of Christian workers have [illegible] constantly raised. Both within and without Chris[illegible] circles the economic influence of Christianity [illegible] tended to create dissatisfaction with China's [illegible] economic standards and set up new and higher [illegible] The difference of economic levels between wes[illegible] supporters of Christian work in China and Chi[illegible] Christians and people gives rise to some of [illegible] most difficult questions now confronting Chris[illegible] workers. It is another aspect of the conflict [illegible] cultures mentioned above.

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RADHANATH SIKDAR

The Great Mathematician and Discoverer of Mount Everest

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

I

ATTEMPTS have been made from time to time by European explorers to conquer Mount Everest. This year also a band British explorers have started to climb it. is a hazardous venture, and many expeditions have hitherto succumbed to it. This year's venture has been projected under expert guidance. It is to be hoped that this time Everest will at last be conquered.

There is a good deal of misconception about the discovery of Mount Everest and determination of its altitude, and some wrongly give the credit to Sir George Everest, Surveyor-General of India in the eighteen-thirties, who retired to England in December, 1843. It is a matter of pride that it was left for an Indian, by name Radhanath Sikdar, to bring to light for the first time that Mount Everest was the highest peak on earth.

We should know the outlines of the life of such a man.

II

Radhanath Sikdar was born in 1813 in a poor Brahmin family in Calcutta. He entered Hindu College in 1824 and studied there for nine years. While a student there, he had to help his parents with a portion of his stipend which he received from the college. He left the college in 1832 with a certificate of good conduct and proficiency in English language and literature.

Radhanath seems to have studied mathematics himself. For some time he received instruction in Newton's *Principia* from Dr. Tytler, a teacher of the Hindu College. No sooner had he left the college than the charge of maintenance of his family fell on him. Dr. Tytler recommended Radhanath to George Everest, Surveyor-General, for a post in the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India. Everest appointed him as an assistant on a monthly pay of Rs. 30. Radhanath wrote in his autobiography (1813-1832) that he had been appointed surveyor and left Calcutta on Oct. 15, 1832 to work on the Serang Base Line.

Radhanath continued his studies in higher mathematics and Everest was so kind as to help him. Everest was impressed with the rapid progress he had made in the subject. Radhanath's departmental work also gave him satisfaction. He proved himself indispensable for the service in a very short time. The Department, Everest thought, could ill spare the services of a man of Radhanath's stamp. Radhanath applied for the post of deputy collector in 1837 and sought Everest's recommendation. The latter, while refusing to give this, requested the authorities to take such steps immediately as might induce Radhanath to stick to his situation. Everest wrote in the letter :

> Of the qualifications of Radhanath I cannot speak too highly ; in his mathematical attainments there are few in India whether European or Native that can at all compete with him, and it is my persuasion that, even in Europe those attainments would rank very high.....Of the part of the Great Arc just brought to completion, there are an immense number of observations, all to be brought up, without which the labour and expense will have been incurred in vain. If the operation of computing be not gone through, whilst I am in India, it will be necessary as on a prior occasion, that the work should be sent to the India House, in its raw state, and they are brought up, as it best may ; but I think it is quite clear that the Court of Directors will be much better satisfied on all accounts, at having the work sent to them in a complete state for computors comparable to Radhanath cannot be hired in England at a price less than a guinea per diem, and if we were to search for persons who can understand and trace to their origin the various formulas used with an ability equal to that of Radhanath, the search would only end in the conclusion that persons so qualified would not undertake the business on any terms that could probably be offered to them.*

Colonel Everest retired in December, 1843. He was succeeded by Colonel Andrew Waugh. Colonel Waugh was also impressed with the work of Radhanath. Like his predecessor he too wanted Radhanath to stay in the department. It became apparent when Radhanath applied for the post of native magistracy in Calcutta in 1850. Anxious to retain his services in the department, Colonel Waugh recommended him to the higher authorities for an increase of pay. In the course of a letter to them he wrote of Radhanath as follows :

> I would most respectfully observe that it is part of the general policy of Government to encourage the diffusion of genuine knowledge and sound scientific principles among the people of India, and that object perhaps could not be better attained than by specially rewarding those who master the higher branches of learning, and attain eminence in science. This is not a case merely of relative merit, or school or collegiate

* *The Hindoo Patriot*, April 18, 1864. Quoted from the *Hills*.

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success offering the promise of future distinction which may or may not be realized. It is a case of long continued exertion, in an arduous profession of unremitting self-cultivation and professional merit. The masterly character of the papers contributed by Radhanath to the Manual of Surveying has been favourably acknowledged in *The Calcutta Review*, as well as the remarkable purity of a style of writing and severe accuracy of language, so different from the exuberance of orientalism.*

Appreciative references of Radhanath's services were also made in the report submitted by the Great Trigonometrical Survey to Parliament on April 15, 1851 :

> A more loyal, zealous and energetic body of men than the sub-assistants forming the civil establishment of the Survey department is nowhere to be found and their attainments are highly creditable to the state of education in India. Among them may be mentioned as most conspicuous for ability, Babu Radhanath Sikdar, a native of India of Brahminical extraction whose mathematical attainments are of highest order.†

III

By this time Radhanath Sikdar had risen to be the head computor of the Servey Department carrying a salary of Rs. 600. For more than two decades he had traversed thousands of miles in the Himalayas and acquired first-hand knowledge about them. He came back to Calcutta between 1851 and 1852, and began the computation of observations made by various explorers of the Service. It was in 1852 that Radhanath brought to light that Mount Everest was the highest peak on earth. This fact was noted in an article on "Mount Everest : The story of a Long Controversy" published in *Nature* of Nov. 10, 1904.

The account given in this paper runs as follows :

> About 1852 the Chief computor of the office at Calcutta informed Sir Andrew Waugh that a peak designated XV had been found to be higher than any other hitherto measured in the world. This peak was discovered by the computors to have been observed from six different stations ; on no occasion had the observer suspected that he was viewing through the telescope the highest point of the earth.

The geologists of eminence like Major Kenneth Mason, who is now professor of Geography, Oxford University, accepted this version. On its basis, he made the statement quoted below in his speech on "Himalayan Romances" delivered at Simla and published in *The Englishman* of November 12, 1928, p. 17 :

> It was during the computations of the north-eastern observations that a babu rushed on one morning in 1852 into the room of Sir Andrew Waugh, the successor of Sir George Everest and exclaimed, "Sir, I have discovered the highest mountain on the earth."

Some people surmise from the present name of the peak that Sir George Everest was the discoverer. It is nothing short of a myth, because in 1851 or 1852, Sir George Everest was enjoying the life of a retired man in England. Then, how the name 'Everest' came to be associated with the highest peak on earth? The following passage enlightens us on the point :

> The Indian survey had always adhered to the rule of assigning to every geographical feature its true local or native name that the surveyors were able to discover. The Surveyor-General Sir Andrew Waugh, decided to name the great snow-peak "Mount Everest" after his former chief, Sir George Everest, the celebrated geodesist.*

Radhanath's reputation was not confined to officialdom only. Nothing about the discovery of the highest peak on earth was known to the public at that time. Still Radhanath came to be held in high esteem by them for his devoted services in the department. From the post of the chief computor Radhanath was transferred to that of Superintendent of the Government Observatory in Calcutta in late 1852. *The Friend of India* noticed the news in its of issue of November 11, 1852, as follows :

> Mr. V. L. Rees, the Superintendent of the Government Observatory in Calcutta, has retired on a superannuation pension and we are glad to perceive from the *Harkaru* [Oct. 15 and Nov. 8. 1852] that the office has been bestowed on Baboo Radhanath Sikdar. This native gentleman, lately Head Computer in the same establishment, has long been known the first among the few natives, whose scientific acquirements emulate those of Europeans. His services to the Great Trigonometrical Survey were prominently mentioned by Capt. Thuillier, and we have little doubt that he will ably fulfil his duties as head of the office, of which he has long been the soul.

Radhanath Sikdar retired from service in March, 1862. The following extract throws light on the nature of work Radhanath was engaged in at the time of retirement :

> The Computing office in Calcutta, under the superintendence of Baboo Radhanath, Chief Computor, was engaged in completing the triplicate manuscript volume of General Report of the Parisnath, Hurilong and Chendwar meridional series, and in furnishing elements for the various Topographical and Revenue Survey parties requiring them. In March last, Baboo Radhanath retired on a pension, after 30 years service, during which he had repeatedly earned the

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* *The Hindoo Patriot*, April 18, 1864. Quoted from the *Hills*.

† *Report of the Operations and Expenditure connected with the Trigonometrical Survey of India*, April 15, 1851. p. 18.

* *A Sketch of the Geography and Geology of the Himalaya Mountain and Tibet*. By Colonel S. G. Burrard, R. E., F. R. S. and H H. Hayden, B. A. F. G. S. 1907. p. 20.

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approbation of the successive Surveyors-General under whom he had served.*

IV

The foregoing passages have already shown that Radhanath was a methematician of high order. He went on a tour to the Himalayas in 1864. On this occasion the *Hills*, a scientific journal of Dehra-Dun, published a memoir on his career in the Survey Department. *The Hindoo Patriot* gave a summary of it in its issue of April 18, 1864. We have a glimpse of Radhanath's mathematical training and achievements from this summary.

In the calm evening of a long and useful life, says the *Hills*, which has been devoted to the advancement of mathematical science, the late Chief Computor of the Trigonometrical Survey, and Superintendent of the Calcutta Observatory, known as the Leviathan Baboo, has returned to these hills where, thirty years ago, he studied with Colonel Everest, the works of La Place and Newton. These studies, our contemporary justly observes, harmonized with the bent of his mind and he prosecuted them with unusual diligence ; his clearness and acumen enabling him to master the principles of geometrical reasoning. Eventually they formed the ground-work of those investigations which led to the system of computations adopted in the Trigonometrical Survey. There have, indeed, been very few professional men of Radhanath's stamp in India ; for the general idea seems to be that so long as you are practically acquainted with your duties it is of no earthly use to know more. But it was not so with Radhanath. The *Hills* says, men like Colonel Everest, Radhanath, Mr. Arago, would not sympathise with dabblers in science, and would prescribe a course of calculus and fluxions to students about to enter on the study of Astronomy.

Again,

There is no scarcity of mechanical computors and some very rapid ones too in the G. T. Survey ; but men possessing those solid qualifications which make a mathematician in the true sense of the term, are either not now acquired or cannot be found. Radhanath has not written much. The scientific portion of the Manual of Surveying is entirely his, and it is almost enough to say, that, by common consent, it has become the standard authority on its all important subject. He was most fortunate in his early studies, for he then enjoyed the aid and advice of a really scientific man, and feeling the value of the opportunity, he laboured most assiduously not only to learn everything that was placed before him ; but more especially to lay the foundation of the future self-instruction.

The Manual of Surveying is a standard work on Survey, and the first of its kind ever written in India. Radhanath wrote several chapters of the book. The compilers acknowledged their debt to Radhanath in the preface of its first (1851) and second (1852) editons.

In parts III and V. the compilers have been largely assisted by Babu Radhanath Sikdar, distinguished head of the Computing Department of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India, a gentleman whose intimate acquaintance with the rigorous forms and mode of procedure adopted on the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India, and great acquirement and knowledge of scientific subjects generally, render his aid particularly valuable. The chapters 15 and 17 up to 21, inclusive, and 26 of part III and the whole of part V are entirely his own, and it would be difficult for the compilers to express with sufficient force, the obligations they thus feel under to him, not only for the portion of the work which they desire thus publicly to acknowledge, but for the advice so generally afforded on all subjects connected with his own department.

The third edition of the book was published in September, 1875. The portion containing the acknowledgments to Radhanath was omitted in this edition. This omission provoked criticism in the public press. Lt. Colonel MacDonald, Deputy Superintendent of the Trigonometrical Survey of India, while commenting on the book wrote as follows in *The Friend of India* of June 24, 1876 :

.....in this third edition the direction of the wind is shown by the omission in the preface of proper and respectful acknowledgment. Penance must be performed for this cowardly sin and robbery of the dead. Already this dishonesty of purpose has been four times noticed in the public journals, and it is certain that castigation will be inflicted on at regular intervals as it is on habitual criminals, until the cause is removed, this edition called in, and a proper honest acknowledgment made for the personal appropriation of the best chapters in the book,—we mean those devoted to a description and practical application of the working of the "Ray Trace System" invented by Everest, and practically explained by the Hindoo gentleman we have mentioned.....

Colonel H. L. Thuillier, Surveyor General of India of the time, was solely responsible for this edition. Lt. Colonel MacDonald's criticism was too much for him. He (Thuillier) urged the Government to take disciplinary action against MacDonald, a junior officer of his, on grounds of disloyalty. The Government took immediate action, and in a letter dated October 16, 1876, intimated to him that MacDonald had been suspended from service for three months and after the expiry of this period, would be degraded to 2nd grade Deputy Superintendent of the Revenue Survey. It was further advised that he would not again be employed at Head Quarters until further orders.*

Lt.-Colonel MacDonald paid the penalty for his out-spokenness and love of truth. The public and the press including *The Englishman*, *The Friend of India* and *The Hindoo Patriot*, to name only a few, all supported his case and gracefully

* *General Report on the Operations of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India*, (1861-1866.) By Colonel I. T. Walker, p. 7.

* Abridged from the details appearing in *The Friend of India*, Nov. 11, 1876.

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acknowledged the services rendered by him to the cause of honesty and truth.

Radhanath compiled *Auxiliary Tables* for the use of the Survey Department. The treatise was so helpful that a revised edition was published in 1887 under the supervision of H. N. Thuillier and C. T. Haig.

V

Besides official work, Radhanath Sikdar did much for the good of his countrymen. In his early days, he had taken part in the "free schools" movement. After he came back to Calcutta, he again joined the movement for the spread of mass education.

The education of women was always near Radhanath's heart. Radhanath edited the *Masik Patrika*, a Bengali monthly (1854-1856) in co-operation with Pyarichand Mitra. This paper was especially meant for the women-folk and the masses and written in a style intelligible to them. Radhanath was conversant with Greek and Latin. He translated historical tracts from these languages and published them in his paper.

The District Charitable Society of Calcutta (Estd., 1830) had been providing relief for the poor and the destitute in its own way. It sheltered them in its asylum, gave them instruction in handicrafts and procured jobs for them. Radhanath was a member of the society and was appointed its secretary sometime between January and February in 1852.

Radhanath was also a supporter of the widow-marriage movement. He was a signatory to the petition sent to the Governor-General in Council for according legal sanction to the cause.

Radhanath died on May 17, 1870.

THE HONOURABLE V. J. PATEL IN AMERICA

To the Editor of *The Modern Review*

I am sure you will be glad to have me send you a brief last word regarding India's great and honoured leader, Mr. V. J. Patel, on the eve of his departure from this country. He has been in America between four and five months, has travelled in nearly all parts of the land, has been received with distinguished honours wherever he has gone, and has spoken to, I suppose, hundreds of thousands of people in our colleges, universities and largest cities, setting forth with extraordinary clearness and effectiveness India's right to self-rule and her determination to achieve it, however much suffering it may cost.

He has just returned to New York from an extended tour of speaking on the far away Pacific Coast and in prominent cities on his way going and returning. I have this morning received a personal letter from him, written in New York, under date of February 26th, in which he gives the following interesting information concerning himself and his work. He writes :

"I have, so far, addressed 85 meetings all over the country, and established contacts with a large number of important and influential groups and individuals. The other day I had a debate before a large and representative audience, at the Foreign Policy Association in Baltimore, with my predecessor, Sir Frederick Whyte (the Englishman who preceded Mr. Patel as President of the National Legislative Assembly of India) ; and a debate is arranged for me by the New York Foreign Policy Association with Mr. Wedgwood Benn, former British Secretary of State for India, to take place on the 11th of March.

"Immediately after that takes place I expect to leave America for Dublin, London, Geneva, Viena and an Indian prison. I have, for the time being, finished my work, all single-handed, in this country and I feel satisfied."

It ought to be pointed out that no previous visitor to America from India has ever received such high political and official honours as have been extended to Mr. Patel. Rabindranath Tagore, the eminent poet, has been accorded honours as great from American literary men and educators, and Sir J. C. Bose, the distinguished scientist, has been as highly honoured by our Universities and scientific associations ; but the public receptions, official welcomes and political honours extended to Mr. Patel by mayors of cities, Governors of States and members of legislative bodies, state and national, have been unequalled.

This man, honoured by liberty lovers in all the world, as soon as he reaches his native land is perhaps to be again incarcerated. Does America realize that the Washingtons, Jeffersons, Franklins, Adamses and Patrick Henrys of India are mostly in British prisons ? The only reason why Mr. Patel, India's Thomas Jefferson, is in America today is that, in his imprisonment of a year or two ago, the hardships of jail life broke down his health and brought him so near to the grave that the British government, becoming alarmed lest they should have the disgrace before the world of being held accountable for his death, set him free for the time being, on condition that he leave India. He was able, with great difficulty, to make his way to Europe where, in Viena, under the best of surgical and medical treatment, he was restored to partial health. Hence his visit to America.

Now he goes back "home" (?). Is it to rot there in prison ?

J. T. SUNDERLAND

New York
Feb. 28th, 1933.

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THE JUTE PROBLEM

By S. C. MAJUMDAR, B. Com. (Bom.), CERT. A. I. B. (Lond.)

There are two aspects of the problem of ute which are before us :

(*i*) the problem in relation to the ultivator.

(*ii*) the problem in relation to the trade.

The problem in relation to the cultivators is the problem of organizing the cultivators or the growers of the produce in order to enable them to stand against the control of the industry and the trade which is highly organized with huge financial resources behind them. This has been recognized by the Royal Commission on Agriculture, who had very strongly advocated the need for bringing the poor cultivators into an organization, say, in the form of a jute growers' association.

It does not, therefore, need any one to advocate the extreme necessity for such an organization, if the poor disorganized cultivators have to be saved from the clutches of the powerful organizations of the trade and the industry. No doubt the growth of such an organization must develop from within the cultivators themselves and unless and until there is a feeling amongst the cultivators themselves, it would not be possible to make such an organization successful by merely thrusting it on them. This does not mean that we should not make attempt to organize such an organization, and at the same time educate them. In fact, it might take years to bring them under a definite organization. It must, however, be admitted that owing to the magnitude of the problem and the serious implication it bears to the jute trade in general, no such attempt to have an organization will prove successful unless with the full measure of assistance and support from the Government.

Within the scope of such an Association would be (*i*) protecting the interest of the growers by—(*a*) better marketing organization, (*b*) financial help for them to hold out crop for better prices, (*c*) control of the cultivation of the crop, both in quality and quantity, through educative propaganda. Mere propaganda by Government or other agency would be of no use. The cultivators would not care to join such an institution, unless they get real help, financial and otherwise. An institution like the jute growers' association should be able to grant loans to the cultivators at the time of sowing, for seed, plough, and other charges, such as cleaning process, etc., and at the time of granting the loan it should be made a condition that they must buy shares of the Jute Growers' Association Ltd., say, of the minimum value of rupees ten, which may be paid by instalments by the cultivator. Thus gradually they should be brought under this organization, and once they have been brought under some organization, self-interest will drive them to organize themselves in the later processes. Now, if such an institution is expected to work successfully, then in the initial stages it must have cognizance and financial help from the Government. At the present stage of the finance of the Government, it would be idle to expect direct financial assistance from the Government. What the Government can do easily is to levy a cess on jute marketed and exported by boat, rail and steamer at their source, say, at the rate of annas eight per maund or at least annas four per maund. Having in view the permanent benefit such an institution will confer on the poor cultivators, it would not be too much to expect from the Government to adopt this measure immediately. The proceeds of this cess should be handed over to the Association. Care should be taken that this money is not spent out. In fact, it should be standing at the credit of the jute growers in general as a sort of provident fund. But at the initial stages, until the association has been able to attract good amount of capital, a portion of it may be lent to the association, to make capital expenditure which must bear a regular interest ; but for actual measures of relief in case of famine or bad trade with the sanction of the Governor in Council, sums out of this may be spent.

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In order to watch the interest of the Government and the general interest of the cultivators and the public—particularly to see that the cess money is not wasted, Government may nominate three to four directors out of a number of twelve.

Only actual cultivators will be allowed to be members of this Association and no member is to hold shares worth more than Rs. 2,000. In my opinion the function of the jute growers' association should stop here after making the produce in an organized form ready for the market. Here the function of actual trade begins, though sufficient financial power should be behind the association to protect the interest of the cultivators through the association in case any threatening attitude of the trade trying to control the market is found out. In the ordinary course, however, it should be left to the trade to abide by the fundamental economic laws of demand and supply, and thereby to bring out the highest economic value for the produce in the free and competitive market. This brings us to a regular organized marketing system of the produce. Standardization of quality, mark weight, warehousing of produce, and *exchanges* are the problems of organized marketing. This question of organized marketing may be conveniently left to a body like the Central Jute Committee for which there has been constant demand from all sections of the public. But neither the jute growers' association, nor a body like the Central Jute Committee, can do anything to regulate the price actually in accordance with the demand of the trade. The problem is of creating a free and competitive market for the produce which will be in the best interest of the trade as well as the cultivators. Now this problem of a free and competitive market is fundamentally a problem of providing different groups of buyers with adequate funds for purchasing the crop. If that could be done, the main problem of the price of jute, or for the matter of that, of any commodity, would disappear. *I am not at the same time in favour of artificial control of price of jute or any other commodity.*

Undue control of financial power by any group of buyers is the most undesirable aspect of the problem. This prob[illegible] providing adequate funds for the d[illegible] groups of buyers is very closely ass[illegible] with the problem of a proper ware[illegible] system. In fact, organized warehousing [illegible] necessary part of the credit machin[illegible] the country. If this problem of org[illegible] warehousing can be solved, then the pr[illegible] of providing the various groups of b[illegible] with adequate funds is solved. For b[illegible] and other financial agencies will then ad[illegible] against the security of the receipts of [illegible] organized warehouses at a stipulated r[illegible] to all sections of traders without re[illegible] ference to the financial power of [illegible] individual traders. A free competitive m[illegible] with traders assured of financial assis[illegible] against the holding of their commodit[illegible] solve the problem of price.

As for Bengal, the financial assis[illegible] from banks against warehouse receipts [illegible] be easier ; for here the banking power in [illegible] districts is organized to a high degree—th[illegible] to the development of the loan compan[illegible] whose resources are nothing less than tw[illegible] crores of rupees. But these loan comp[illegible] are now in their bad days. They have n[illegible] known how to finance the trade, they h[illegible] so long been advancing only against lo[illegible] properties—and have been earning [illegible] dividends. With the shrinkage of the p[illegible] of agricultural produce and, consequ[illegible] land value, they are all locked up. T[illegible] have been following a dangerous poli[illegible] advancing on landed properties against s[illegible] dated deposit—which is fundame[illegible] opposed to all canons of banking. [illegible] solution lies in relieving them of this [illegible] burden of frozen capital and making it [illegible] liquid. This can be done by immed[illegible] starting a land mortgage bank with [illegible] of long-term debentures to take ove[illegible] landed investment of the loan comp[illegible] The released funds can thus be turned [illegible] financing of trade. The loan compa[illegible] having once burnt their fingers have le[illegible] a lesson, and I hope it would not be a[illegible] difficult to direct their energies tow[illegible] investment in trade. Once this can be [illegible] there will be no financial problem for th[illegible] assistance to the trade of this province.

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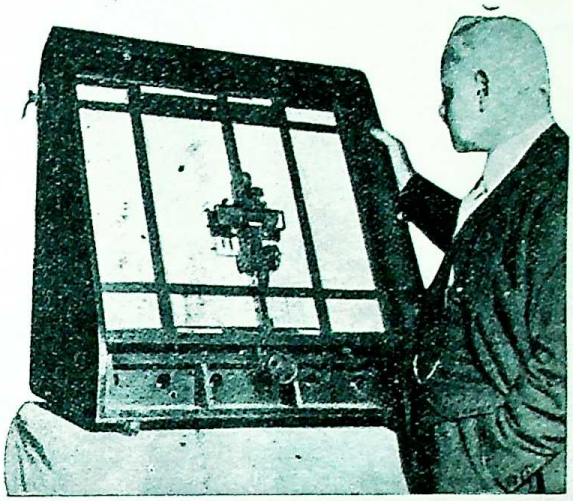
GLEANINGS

Mechanical Pilot for Ships Gives Position Quickly

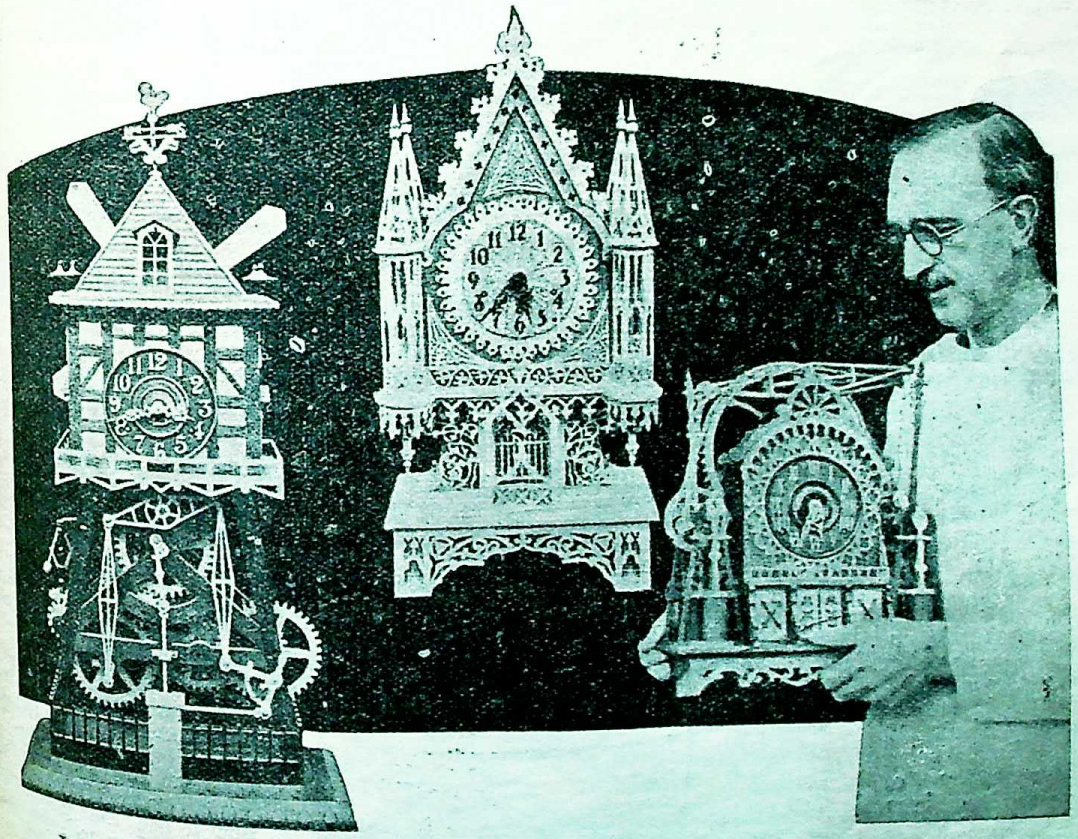
Safe navigation without human aid is said to be made with a mechanical pilot for ships. Reliable in all kinds of weather, the instrument gives the exact position of the ship at a glance, relieving the navigators for other duties.



This instrument shows ship's position at a glance

All-wood Clocks Carved by Hand as Hobby

Carving all-wood clocks by hand is the hobby of a California watchmaker. More than a year's work in spare time is represented by some of the clocks into which are placed as many as seventeen different kinds of wood. One model in the form of a locomotive starts up mechanically, its wheels turning and whistle blowing. More than 1,000 pieces of wood were used in this clock. Other clocks include a Dutch windmill, a steamboat and a cuckoo clock.



Left, windmill clock with works exposed : Centre, cathedral model with symmetrical towers ; Right, another unusual clock held by the artist

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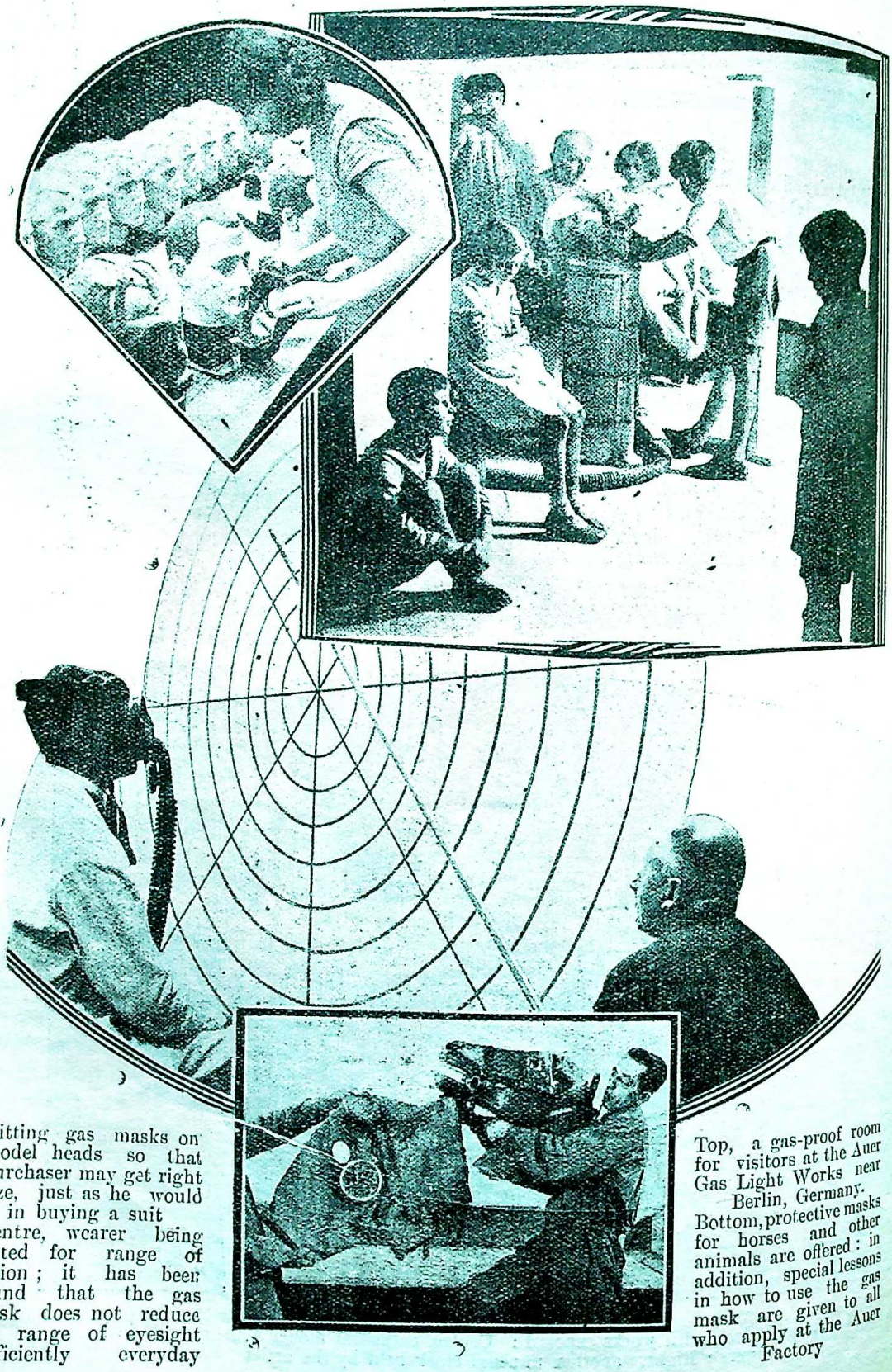
Gas Masks and Lessons in Their Use for All



Fitting gas masks on model heads so that purchaser may get right size, just as he would in buying a suit

Centre, wearer being tested for range of vision; it has been found that the gas mask does not reduce the range of eyesight sufficiently everyday

Top, a gas-proof room for visitors at the Auer Gas Light Works near Berlin, Germany.

Bottom, protective masks for horses and other animals are offered: in addition, special lessons in how to use the gas mask are given to all who apply at the Auer Factory

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Modern Cousins of Dinosaur Exhibited in London Zoo

Two of the most interesting inhabitants of the London zoo are a pair of reptiles believed to be the closest living descendants of the dinosaurs of prehistoric times. They are known as Komodo dragons and are found only on islands in the Java sea. Their tails are short but the creatures may measure as much as ten feet long and somewhat resemble crocodiles.

—*Popular Mechanics*

'Two dragons in the London zoo which are believed to be the closest living relatives to Dinosaurs

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Miss Kapila Khandwala: a graduate of the Bombay University (B. A., B. T.) proceeded to the United States in 1930, on the Levi Barbour scholarship of the University of Michigan and took her M. A. degree in sociology and education in June 1931 from that University. In 1931-32 she was at the New York School of Social Work on the Elizabeth Gamble Fellowship, where she had practical training in different social organizations. For the first quarter, she worked at the States Charities Aid, where she worked amongst illegitimate, neglected and delinquent children. For the second quarter, she did parent education work through the States Charites Aid. The third quarter was devoted mainly to day nursery and nursery school work. She is the first Indian woman to have had this practical experience in social work in New York city.

Before returning to India, she visited social and educational institutions in England, Germany, Italy, Czechoslovakia and other places.

Prior to her going to the U. S. A. she was an active social worker in the city of Bombay and was one of the joint secretaries of the Student's Brother-hood.

Mrs. D. N. Roy: is the only Indian lady in the Philippine Islands. She is studying in the University of the Philippines. She is the wife of Dr. D. N. Roy who is a professor of this university and a frequent contributor to this Review.

Miss Kapila Khandwala

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Mrs. D. N. Roy

Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur Sahiba

RAJ KUMARI AMRIT KAUR SAHIBA: an article by whom appears elsewhere in this number, is a notable champion of women's rights in India. She is the daughter of Raja Harn Singh, and a sister of Kunwar Maharaj Singh, t Agent to the India Government in South Afri

ITINERARY OF THE PERSIAN TOUR

BY K. N. CHATTERJI

WITH the departure from Teheran, the Poet's visit to Persia was officially over and the endless procession of functions also came to an end. This was all the more fitting, so far as the Persians were concerned, because the period of mourning during Muharram had arrived with its religious ceremonies. In Teheran we found that the only observance lay in the official prohibition of music in public places during the days of mourning. This is the sole occasion where any prohibition of music was observed by us either in Persia or in Iraq. As for the "music before mosques" question, it only exists in India.

* * *

Teheran is a wonderful city. It is su prisingly modern considering its comparati inaccessibility and the decrepit mediev condition of the neighbouring countries. the same time it is as yet very much u developed industrially and commercial Perhaps it is for the above reason that t laying out of the city is as yet very incomplet in many essential details.

It is nowhere near Isfahan in the matter o medieval glories, such as palaces or mosq of outstanding merit, nor is it a centre learning like Shiraz. But being the he centre of the modern movement for advan ment, practically every innovation and ev modern idea is first tried out here and th

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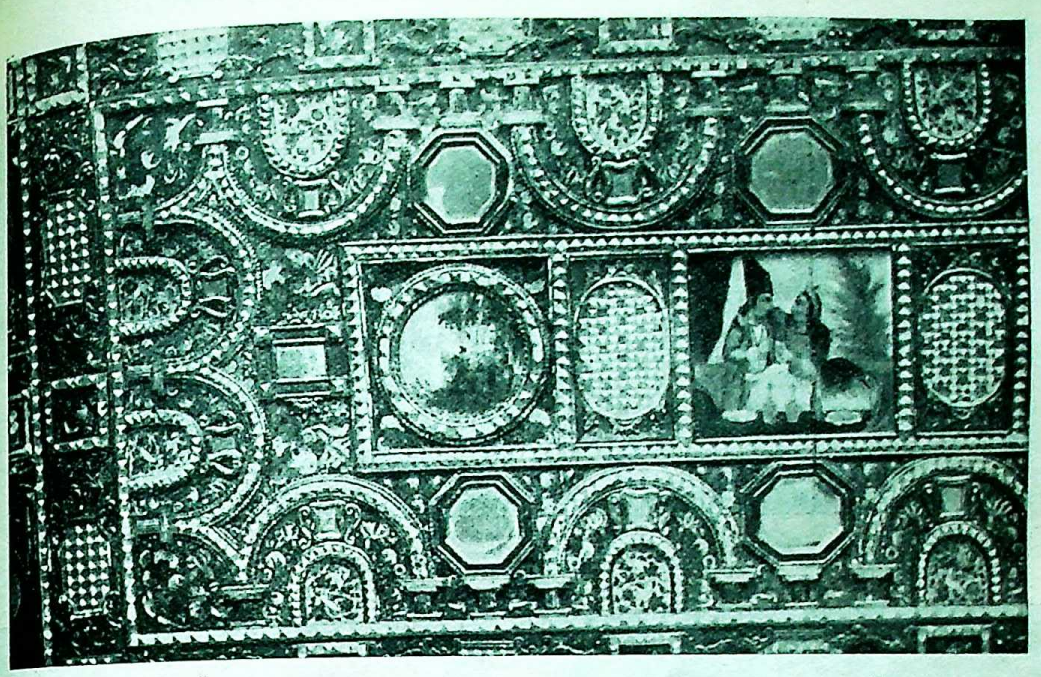
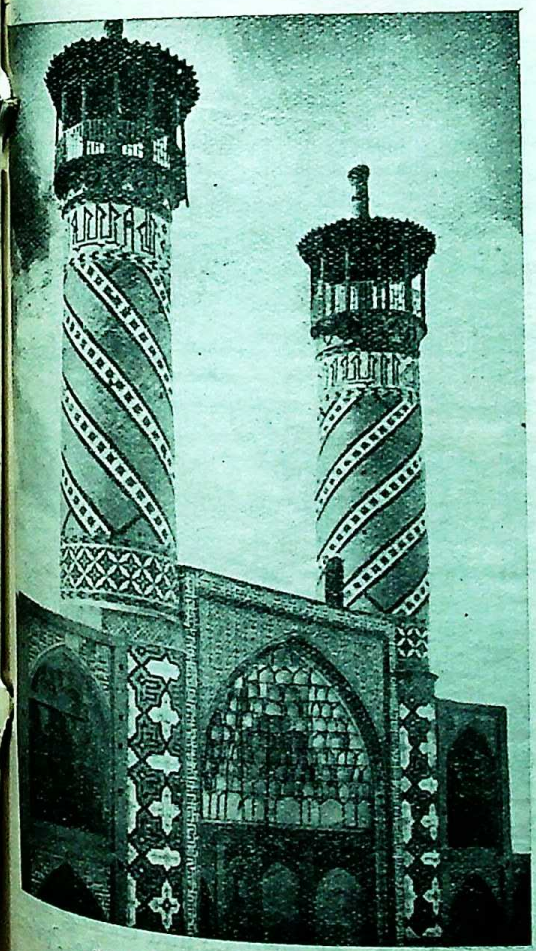
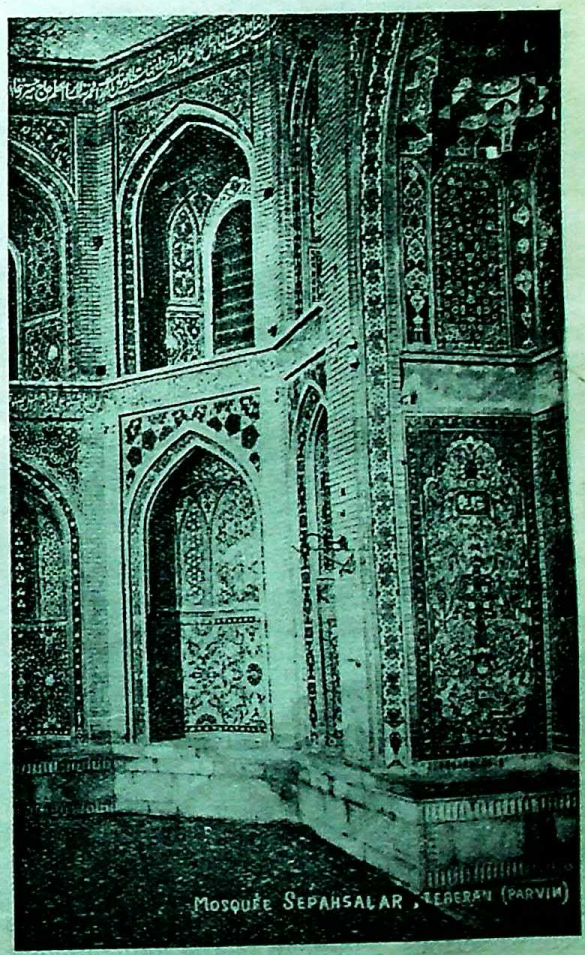


Teheran. Decorations of the Nizamiyeh Palace (now a café)



Teheran. Mosque Said Ismail



Teheran. Interior of Mosque Sipah Salar

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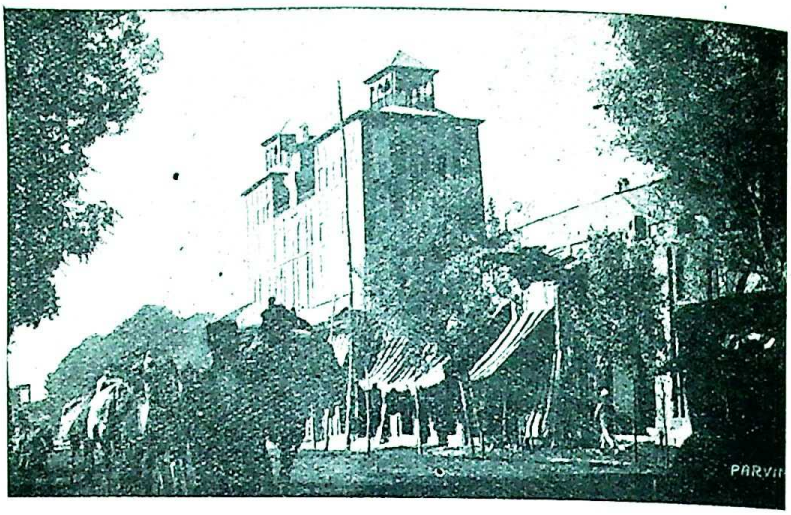
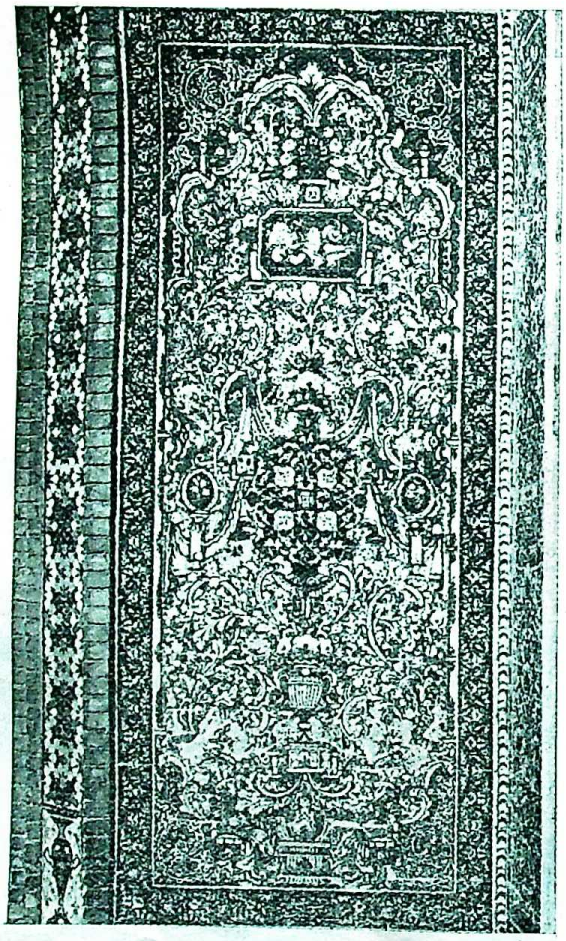
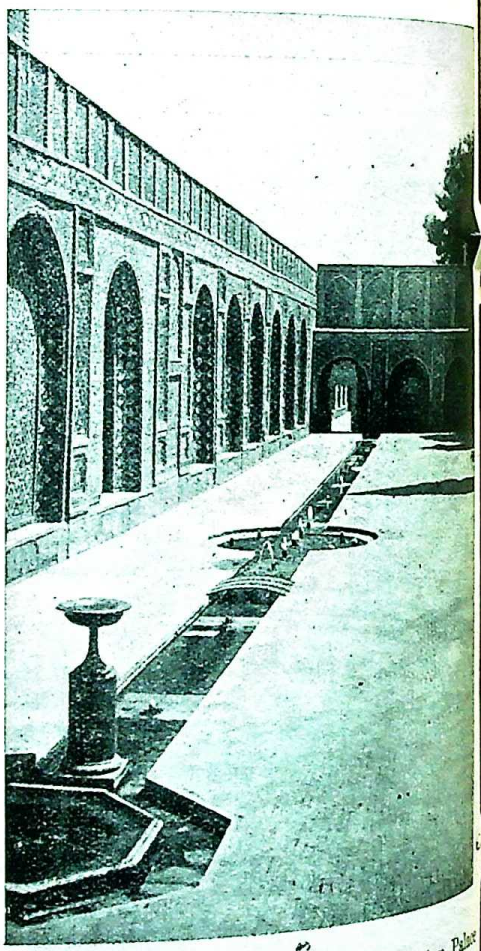


Teheran. Shamsul Emareh Palace



Teheran. Mosaic decoration in the Mosque Sipah Salar



Teheran. Courtyard and walls of Gulistan Palace

tent to the provinces. Want of finance is shemost serious handicap in the development of the country. In the municipal hospital we found a highly trained doctor—w twenty years' experience and training in t best European centres, including the Pasteu

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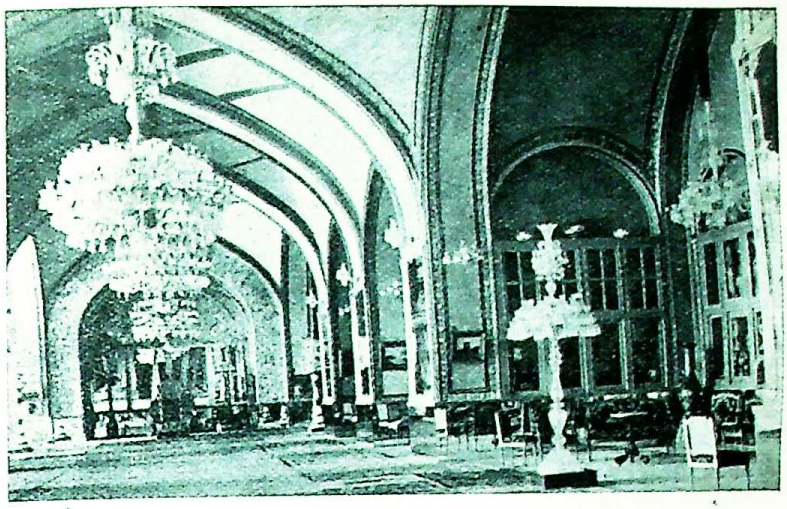
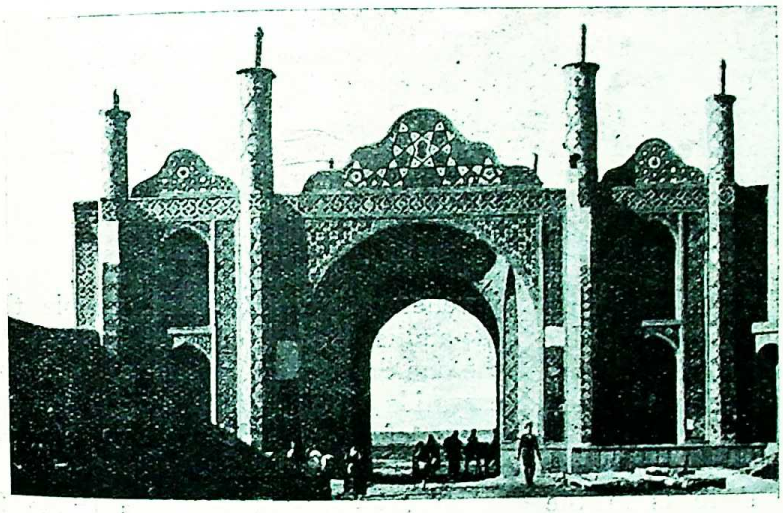
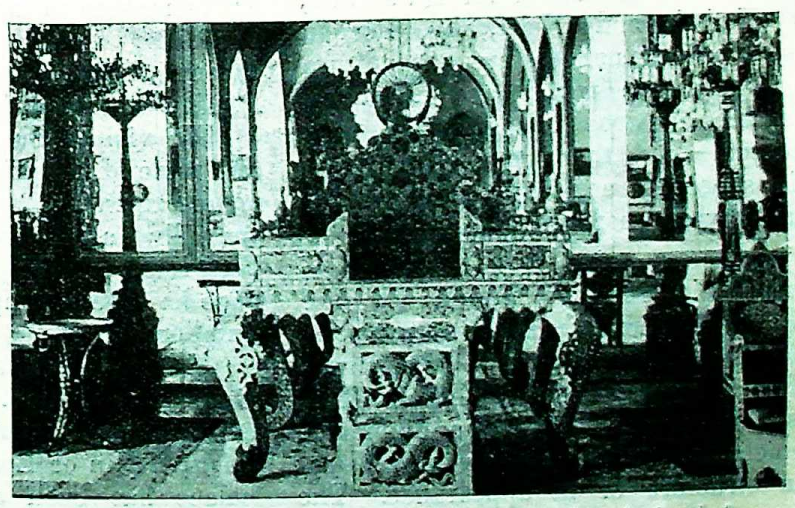


Teheran. The Exhibition Galleries of the Gulistan Palace



Teheran. Porte Khorasan



Teheran. The Throne of the Safavids.

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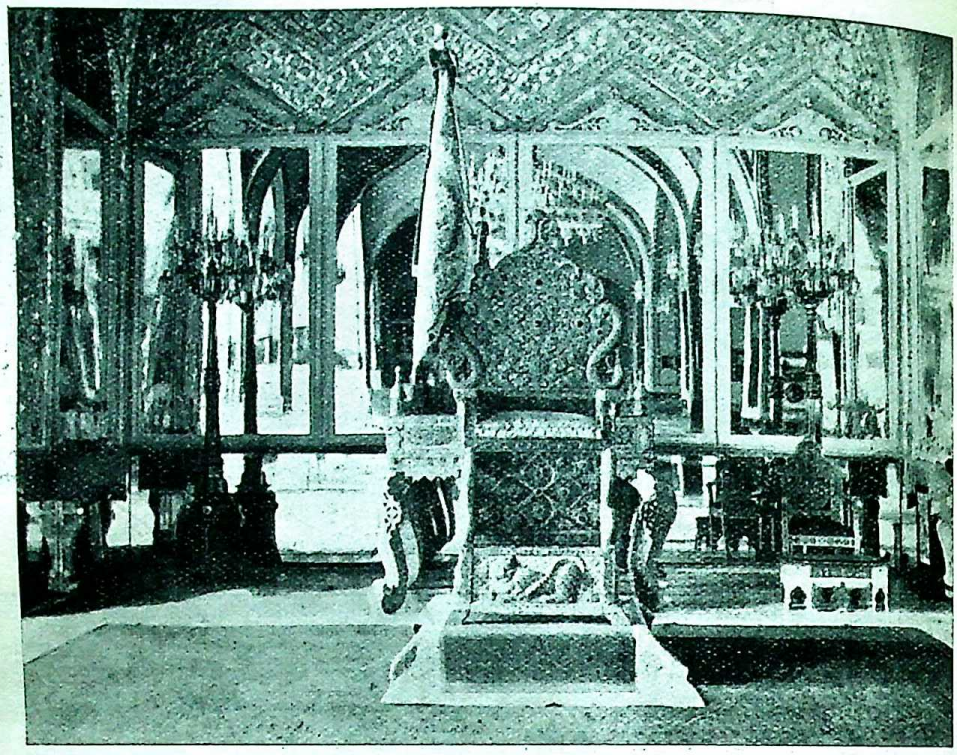

Teheran. The Peacock Throne

Institute, doing his level best under extraordinary handicaps in the matter of suitable apparatus. All the available funds are now being devoted to defence and communications.

Extraordinary measures have been taken to conserve what wealth there is in the country. One of the measures is a total prohibition of the visiting of foreign shrines, such as Kerbela and Nejef, by Persian nationals, to prevent unnecessary expenditure by the pilgrims in travel and donations. Persian shrines are good enough for Persians is the dictum—and there are no riots, no bombastic speeches nor any signs of the country rapidly degenerating !

* * *

We saw the Peacock Throne in the Gulistan Palace. Lord Curzon was perfectly right when he refused to believe that it was the far famed *Takht-i-Tayus* of Delhi. This gorgeous throne with its gigantic diamonds, rubies, emeralds, etc., is certainly not Mogul either in structure or in appearance. The old throne of the Safavids is also in the same hall, an equally ornate and tremendously bejewelled affair. But the marble throne in the audience hall of the Gulistan Palace is the one that struck my fancy. The beautiful caryatids of this platform-like throne reminds one of the thirty two statuettes of Vikramaditya's throne.

The exhibition galleries of the Gulistan Palace hold. priceless treasures of Persian craftsmanship in metal, precious stone, fabric, porcelain, enamel etc. Typical examples, chosen from these, were exhibited in the Persian exhibition in London.

We visited the Sipah Salar mosque and saw some of its priceless collection of ancient manuscripts. One illustrated Nizami was specially attractive. Fabulous offers have been received for this, and as a result every page has been stamped with a state seal and numbered.

Teheran has started to amuse itself in Occidental fashion. Cafés provide prolonged evenings with suitable amusements as in Paris, Berlin or London. The old Nizamiyeh palace has been converted into one of the most popular cafés. The painted ceiling and the walls of the main hall on the first

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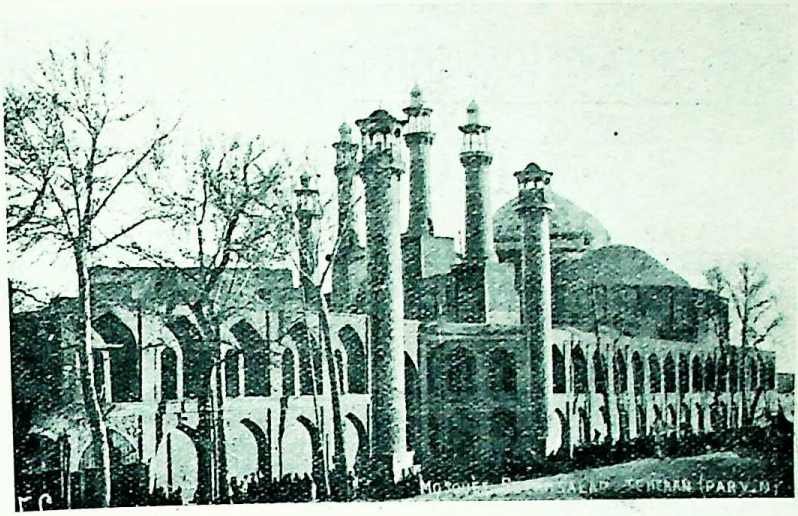
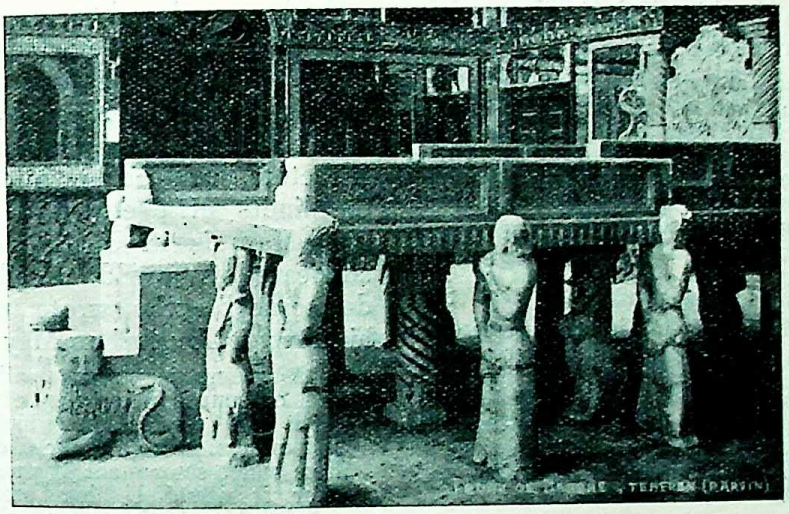


Teheran. Mosque Sipah Salar



Teheran. Takht-i-Marmar (The Marble Throne)

floor now provides the atmosphere for the latest steps and the latest strains from Europe and America.

* * * * * *

Iraq, Persia, Syria etc. are known in European parlance as the "Near East". Rambling about in Teheran one feels that one is in the "Near West" so far as the Oriental is concerned. But is there really any East or West in most of these outward things? It is really the difference of outlook, in matters mundane, of the seventeenth and the twentieth centuries. The European courts of the middle ages were madly copying the fashions of the Eastern courts which then were ahead of the times. In the twentieth century the position has merely been reversed. But listen to the "latest" music of the West as played in their cafés, night clubs and similar places, isn't the East in its most frivolous mood again in the ascendant!

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NOTES

Britain Recognizes India's Growing Political Consciousness and Power

The Marquis of Hastings, Governor-General of India for nine years from September 1813, wrote in his *Private Journal,* in describing the fort at Agra :

> "The massiveness of this building, which is rather a castle than a fort, excites one's admiration on the first view. The great height of the walls, the size of the stones with which it is built, and the excellence of the masonry, extort one's acknowledgment of much scope of mind in both the plan and the execution." *The Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings*, (Panini Office Edition), p. 194.

Again,

> "The first sensation I felt in passing through its tall and massive gateways, was wonder at what had become of the race of men by whom such a pile had been raised. The magnitude of the plan, the size of the stones which composed the walls, and the style of the finishing, do not belong to the class of inhabitants now seen in these regions." *Ibid*, p. 198.

He noted this degeneracy in "the race of men," not only without deploring the fact, but actually considered it lucky for the British people that the fact was as it was. For, after explaining why the Hindus and Mussalmans of the upper provinces still possessed a manly spirit, he observes :

> "This is what has occasioned the manly spirit observed by me as so prevalent in these upper provinces. It is, *luckily for us*, a spirit unsustained by scope of mind ; so that for an enterprise of magnitude in any line, these people require our guidance." [Italics ours. Ed., *M. R.*] *Ibid*, p. 199.

'Luckily,' because their manly spirit being 'unsustained by scope of mind' enabled the East India Company to conquer and keep them in subjection. The expression of such a sentiment was in keeping with the character of the Governor-General, who extended the British dominions in India for adding to the revenues of the East India Company as well as for his own personal gain, during whose administration the industries of India were mostly ruined by unjust taxes and exactions, and who sanctioned "a near relative becoming a partner in the financial house of W. Palmer and Co. at Hyderabad, whose usurious dealings with the Nizam were of a nature to call forth the denunciation of the Court of Directors, as being utterly regardless of the limits of decorum." Yet it was this same Marquis of Hastings—not a doctrinaire advocate of "world freedom" and "world democracy"—who wrote the following in his *Private Journal* on May 17, 1818 :

> "A time not very remote will arrive when England will, on sound principles of policy, wish to relinquish the domination which she has gradually and unintentionally assumed over this country, and from which she cannot at present recede. In that hour it would be her proudest boast and most delightful reflection that she had used her sovereignty towards enlightening her temporary subjects, so as to enable the native communities to walk alone in the paths of justice, and to maintain with probity towards their benefactress that commercial intercourse in which we should then find a solid interest." *Ibid.*, pp. 361-362

This is a deliberate expression of the opinion that at some future time, subsequent to 1818, India would become politically independent with the willing acquiescence of England, and that there would then be only a commercial connection between the two countries—a connection, moreover, which would be voluntary, not enforced, on the part of India. As far as we are aware, no other Governor-General, or Viceroy and Governor-General, has expressed a similar opinion during the 115 years which have elapsed since 1818.

The Marquis of Hastings found it easy to

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write what he did in 1818 with regard to the political future of India, because India as a whole had not then become politically conscious and because the glamour of an Indian Empire, with all the prosperity, power and prestige which it directly implied, had not then cast its spell on the writer. With the gradual extension of the British Empire in India and with the increasing wealth and power of Britain, directly and indirectly due to it, British statesmen became increasingly impressed with the indispensability of the possession of India for the maintenance of Britain's position as a world-power. This is perhaps one of the reasons why no ruler of India after the Marquis of Hastings has dwelt even on the possibility of India's political independence. But in the meantime India has gone on growing more and more politically conscious. British monarchs and statesmen have responded to this growth of political consciousness mainly by "declarations of intention" (*not* pledges or promises, according to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald !)* regarding the boons to be granted to India and by actual gifts of minute doses of power in relation to non-essential matters, thinking that that would be sufficient to satisfy politically-minded Indians in general. Perhaps the so-called Round Table Conference was designed as part of the same process of verbal response to the growing political consciousness of India.

At first, no one belonging to the Congress, the biggest and most powerful political organization in India, was invited to take part in that Conference. Subsequently, a place was found at the Conference table for a few Congresswalas—mainly for Mahatma Gandhi. The other political parties and so-called parties or sections were given such excessive "representation" at the Conference that it was thought that Mahatma Gandhi's voice would be drowned by the hubbub. Things did not, however, happen according to the schedule. But we need not dwell further on that aspect of the matter.

At some stage of the Conference—it cannot be stated exactly when—it appears to have been discovered that, though far greater importance had been given to the Moderates, the Mussalman communalists and other sectionalists than their public spirit, influence and ability could justisfy, yet even they would not, for the most part, be satified with mere honours and personal and party gains ;—many of them appeared to want some measure of real self-rule in addition. The democratic and nationalistic leaven had found its way even into the communal and sectional enclosures. Even they had become politically conscious, and, what was more, large sections of Indians had acquired some political power of the non-official kind—power not given by the Government. This did not accord with the plans of the imperialists. What was to be done ?

At this juncture the brilliant idea of a federation of British India with the Indian States appears to have crossed the brain of some imperialistic genius. It does not matter who—Britishers or Indian Princes—broached the idea. If some Indian Princes did it, it was most probably done at the suggestion of some British politician or politicians who persuaded the princes to believe that for them Federation would mean gains all along the line without any appreciable pains or parting with power on their part, though later some Princes seem to have discovered that Federation must involve parting with some of their powers, however unsubstantial.

Great Britain has thus recognized the growth of India's political consciousness and power, and responded to it by proposing to give her a Federal constitution with autocratic Viceroys and Governors-General and Governors, with plenty of "safe-guards, with more variegated and diversified constituencies than any other country possesses or has yet possessed, and with futilized Federal and Provincial Legislatures.

So long as British statesmen thought that it was only some sections of Indians who had become politically conscious and indulged in mere wordy petitions and protests and criticism, they also thought that wordy sops and remedies for the most part would be sufficient to pacify them. But when it was discovered that the politically minded

* *Vide* the passage from the speech of the British prime minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, in the House of Commons on the 3rd December, 1931, reproduced in *The Modern Review* for February, 1932, page 224.

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sections promised to become nation-wide, had become politically influential with the masses and capable of sacrifice, and had moreover taken to direct action of a non-violent or violent kind, it was thought necessary by the imperialist British die-hards, not to play with the adolescent nationalism of India any longer, but to crush it by the combined, power of the autocratic Princes, the autocratic Governor-General and Governors and, to some extent, the communalists and sectionalists. Assuming that nationalism can at any stage be put an end to, otherwise than by a more effective and higher variety of the self-ruling principle, one can only observe that time will show whether the nationalism of India at the stage at which it has arrived can be crushed.

"Common Interests" of India and Great Britain

The first paragraph of the White Paper runs as follows :

> "In December 1931 both Houses of Parliament adopted a motion expressing approval of the Indian policy of His Majesty's Government, as announced to the Indian Round Table Conference and set out in Command Paper 3972. That policy, stated in the broadest terms, involved the prosecution of further inquiries and discussions with the object of finding a suitable basis for the conversion of the present system of Government in India into a responsibly governed Federation of States and Provinces, on the understanding that the responsible Government so established must, during a period of transition, be qualified by limitations in certain directions. These limitations, commonly described by the compendious term 'safe-guards,' have been framed in the common interests of India and the United Kingdom."

The honesty of those who drafted this paragraph is commendable in so far as they admit that the safe-guards have been framed not in the interests of India alone, but in those of Great Britain also. The question, however, arises : In whose interests primarily have the safe-guards been framed? A neutral reader of the White Paper would say that the whole constitution described therein, including the safe-guards, has been framed primarily in the interests of Great Britain and secondarily, if at all, in the interests of India, or, in other words, certainly far more in the interests of Great Britain than in those of India, if at all.

Is there any self-ruling country whose constitution has been framed professedly in the common interests of itself and another country ?

"Responsible" to Whom?

It is said, India is going to get responsible government. But responsible to whom? Not certainly to the people of India through their representatives. It would be responsible to His Majesty's Government in Great Britain, that is, ultimately to the British parliament and people. A queer form of responsible *self*-rule indeed!

"A Period of Transition"

India's responsible government must be qualified by safe-guards during a period of transition. The length of this period has nowhere been definitely stated or even vaguely indicated. Nor has it been anywhere stated or indicated what the people of India must do or refrain from doing or how they are to qualify themselves to cut short and bring to an end this period of transition. Obviously its length is entirely unconnected with the wishes, demands, aspirations, achievements etc., of the people of India. The British people or their rulers would be able to prolong it indefinitely according to the dictates of their whims or self-interest. A queer form of responsible *self*-rule indeed!

Of course, if the people of India were ever able to take the bit literally between their teeth, that would be another matter. But that would not be legal or constitutional.

Federation Good in Theory

In theory we have nothing to urge against the federal system of government in general. But it cannot be said that the kind of federation proposed in the White Paper between the Indian States and the British-ruled Provinces would be good for the people of either. This does not mean that there cannot be any kind of beneficial and advantageous federation between these two parts of India. On the contrary, for the progress and prosperity of India a

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whole, the two should become one self-ruling political entity. For the racial, linguistic and religious groups which inhabit the British-ruled Provinces, inhabit the Indian States also. They have the same kinds of customs, culture and civilization. It is natural, therefore, that they should form one whole. And unless there is union of the two parts India can never be strong enough to take her place among the nations of the world, contributing her full quota to human enlightenment and progress.

The kind of federation proposed cannot, however, conduce to the consummation desired.

For the harmonious, beneficial and progressive working of a federal system, it is necessary that the administrative and other methods adopted in the different parts should be substantially similar. Different parts should not pull in different directions. But in the federation proposed for India that must be the case. For the proposed Federal Legislature is to consist of "*elected* representatives of British India and of representatives of Indian States *appointed* by their Rulers." Hence the representatives of British India are to be the elected representatives of the people of the Provinces, whereas the so-called representatives of the Indian States are to be the *nominees* of their Rulers, who are, generally speaking, autocrats. How can the nominees of autocrats and the elected representatives of the people pull together? Moreover, the Rulers who are to nominate the so-called representatives of the States are not really masters of themselves. They are the vassals of the British Crown who have been disciplined to be subservient to the wishes of the Viceroy or of the Residents and Political Agents.

It would not be inappropriate to quote in this connection a passage from a speech delivered by Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee at Vizagapatam on the 21st February last, as partly reported in *The Hindu* and reproduced in *The Servant of India*. Referring to Mr. Chatterjee's speech, *The Servant of India* writes:

> In this connection he had the following thoughtful remarks to make:
>
> "If most of the States were governed as at present according to the will of the rulers and if, as was hoped for, the provinces had a somewhat democratic constitution with elected legislatures, then federated India would present the strange spectacle of an assemblage of parts dissimilar and opposite in structure. That was not the case with any other federation at the present day. A notable feature of some of the important existing federal constitutions was a declaration laying down in general terms the form of government to be adopted by the States forming part of the Federation. For example, the constitution of the United States of America contained a provision guaranteeing to every State of the Union a republican form of government. Similarly, according to the terms of the Swiss Federal Constitution, the cantons are required to demand from the Federated State its guarantee of their constitution. This guarantee must be given provided, among other things, they ensure the exercise of political rights according to republican forms, representative or democratic. Likewise, the new German constitution provides that each state constituting the republic must have a republican constitution. In a Federated India the provinces are to have a more or less advanced form of representative government. Such should also be the form of government in the States. Similarity of forms of government in the States and the provinces was not demanded for the sake of artistic symmetry. The States' people should have free representative institutions in their own interests. It was necessary in the interests of the provinces also that the States' people should have citizens' rights."

Now that the "Proposals for Indian Constitutional Reform" are definitely known from the White Paper, though it may still be said that "in a Federated India the Provinces are to have a more or less advanced *form* of representative government," it must be added, in order to obviate any possible wrong impression which Mr. Chatterjee's words might produce, that what we are going to get would be *in substance* far from democratic and representative government, as we shall see later.

The Indian States and the Federation

It is a most deplorable fact, for which both the British Government and the rulers of the Indian States must continue to be adversely criticized, that at all the three so-called Round Table Conferences and at every step leading directly or indirectly to the federal idea, the existence of the 81 million inhabitants of the Indian States has been almost entirely ignored. The population of the Indian States in the aggregate is not negligible. It (81,237,564) exceeds by far

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the population of every country in the world except only China and the United States of America. Think of a constitution being framed, affecting the vital interests of such a vast population, in the third decade of the 20th century by an enlightened Government without consulting them or taking into consideration their widely published views and wishes!

In the White Paper it is stated that the representatives of the Indian States in the Federal Legislature will be appointed by the Rulers of those States, the method of selecting or choosing the men to be appointed being left to the discretion of these Princes. Lord Sankey's third draft report to the Federal Structure sub-Committee contains the information that the Committee have noted the assurance of certain individual members of the States' delegation to the R. T. C. that in States possessing representative institutions, "arrangements will be made which will give these bodies a voice in the Ruler's selection." We are told further therein that "the Committee as a whole are prepared to leave this matter to the judgment of the States."

That being the case, it would best promote the interests of the States joining the Federation, if their Rulers allowed their subjects to elect the representatives to be sent to the Federal Legislature, as by the adoption of this method the people of the States would be made co-workers of the Princes for the good of the States. If, on the other hand, the people are not made such co-workers, the interests of the States cannot be promoted to as great an extent. For, whatever the power and wisdom of a benevolent autocrat, they must be limited, as the power and wisdom of even the greatest of men are limited. It would also be evident that in no country and State can a succession of benevolent, powerful and wise autocrats be ensured. And even if it could be assured, it is a great defect of autocracies, even of a benevolent type, that in a benevolent autocracy the autocrat himself is practically the only patriot and that, therefore, the power to do public good possessed by all the other possible patriots in the State or the country remains undeveloped and unutilized. This is a great loss to the country and the world. On the other hand, in a State having some kind of government by which the people are made co-workers with the rulers, there is a possibility of every adult becoming a worker for the public good. We have argued on the assumption that there are or can be benevolent, powerful and wise autocrats. But unhappily this is seldom the case. Irresponsible power generally leads to abuse of power and oppression and waste.

Whether the States' people have any power or not, the States are likely to suffer from other disadvantages under the proposed constitution. The States will be under a two-fold or three-fold government. In the first place, the States joining the Federation will be required to transfer to the Federation some powers and jurisdiction. It is not clear from the White Paper whether each and all of the States joining the Federation will have to transfer to it the same powers and jurisdiction, or whether individual States will be allowed to transfer more or less powers and jurisdiction according to the wishes and convenience of their Rulers. Whatever may be the powers and jurisdiction transferred, these will be the sphere of operation of the Federal Constitution and Laws. Outside this sphere, the Governments of the States will function. There is bound to be a difference in the spirit and methods of the States' administration proper in one set of affairs and Federal administration in another set of affairs. The power and influence exercised by the Residents and Political Agents—a well-known factor in States' administration—will introduce a fresh complication. Over and above all this, paragraph 3 of the "proposals" in the White Paper, printed below, should be borne in mind as an additional factor:

> Except to the extent to which the Ruler of a State has transferred powers and jurisdiction, whether by his Instrument of Accession or otherwise—and, in the case of a State which has not acceded to the Federation, in all respects—the relation of the State will be with the Crown represented by the Viceroy, and not with the Crown represented by the Governor-General as executive head of the Federal Government. Accordingly, all powers of the Crown in relation to the States which are at present exercised by the Governor-General in Council, other than those which fall within the Federal sphere, will after

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Federation, be exercised by the Viceroy as the Crown's representative."

Indian States and the British Crown

The significance of the last sentence quoted above should be fully understood. The change introduced thereby would be far-reaching in its effects. Perhaps under the present constitution the Indian members of the Governor-General's executive council can shape or influence the policy of the Government of India only to a slight extent, if at all—particularly in so far as it bears on the relations of the Government with the Indian States. But however small this shaping power or influence at present, it would have increased with the gradual Indianization or Nationalization of the Government of India in the future, if any. This possibility will be altogether prevented by the powers of the Crown in relation to the States, at present exercised by the Governor-General *in Council*, being transferred to the Viceroy as the British crown's representative. This means that, whatever happens in that portion of India which is known as British India, Great Britain wants to be and remain more powerful than even now in the Indian States. That means, again, that Great Britain is determined as far as it lies in her power, to prevent simultaneity and similarity in the political evolution of all parts of India, thus preventing the *real* federal unification and solidarity of India.

Separation or Inclusion of Burma

It is stated in a footnote in the White Paper:

> "It has not been possible to include in the proposals any relating to Burma, as Burma has, as yet, made no choice between the alternatives of separation from India, with a constitution as outlined in Command Paper 4004-32, or inclusion as a Governor's Province in the Federation of India."

Perhaps the "National" Government of Great Britain thinks that it is framing a constitution for India which is as unalterable as the Laws of Nature, and, accordingly, wants Burma to make an equally unalterable choice! Alas for the futility of human ambitions!

Composition of the Federal Legislature

In the course of one of his speeches in the House of Commons Sir Samuel Hoare said :—

> "Indeed, I go so far as to say that I believe that a Government set up under such conditions as I mentioned might very well be a stronger Government than we have got in India at the present time."

By the composition of the Federal Legislature and the dictatorial powers given to the Governor-General and the Governors, as described in the White Paper, the Government of India has indeed been made far more powerful than now and the Federal Legislature proportionately more powerless than the Central Legislature existing at present.

> "The Federal Legislature will be bicameral, the two Chambers possessing identical powers, except that Money Bills and Votes of Supply will be initiated in the Lower Chamber, and that the range of the functions of the Upper Chamber in relation to supply will be less extensive than those of the Lower Chamber."

The Upper Chamber or Council of State will consist of a maximum of 260 seats, of whom 100 will be appointed by the Rulers of the States-members of the Federation. The Governor-General will nominate 10 members. Europeans, Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians will elect 7, 2 and 1 members respectively—10 in all. Coorg, Ajmer, Delhi and Baluchistan—the last perhaps by nomination, will have one member each—four in all. 136 seats will be filled by election by means of the single transferable vote by the members of the Provincial Legislatures.

> "It is the intention of His Majesty's Government that Muslims should be able to secure one-third of British Indian seats in the Upper House; and if it is considered that the adoption of proportional representation in the manner proposed makes insufficient provision for this end, they are of opinion that modification of the proposals should be made to meet the object in view."

It is not known what proportion of the members of the Upper House will come from the Scheduled Castes. Being apparently an officially favoured class, so far at least as the Legislature is concerned, these members are likely to be pro-Executive, like the members of the

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Muslim community, which also enjoys official favour. For, though in British India (excluding Burma) out of the total population of 256,627,138, they are only 66,478,669—that is, slightly more than one-fourth and and much less than one-third, they are to have one-third of the British Indian seats.

In a House of 260 members, the official group will practically consist of the 100 members appointed by the Rulers of the Indian States, who are the disciplined and subservient vassals of the British Crown as represented by the Viceroy and Governor-General, the 10 members nominated by the Governor-General and the 10 members elected by Europeans, Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians—in all 120. It may be taken as practically certain that out of the 50 Muslim members at least 20 or 25 will be pro-Executive and at least some Scheduled Caste members will be of the same type. Hence, Government will always be able to count upon the support of more than half of the Upper House. In any case, the nationalist group there will seldom, if ever, be able to count upon similar support.

Let us now consider the composition of the Federal Assembly or the Lower Chamber. This Chamber, otherwise called the House of Assembly, will consist of a maximum of 375 members, of whom 125 will be appointed by the Rulers of the States-members of the Federation. The remaining 250 members will be representatives of British India. They will be allocated to the several communities and interests as follows: Depressed Classes, 19; Sikh, 6; Muslim, 82; Indian Christian, 8; Anglo-Indian, 4; European, 8; Women (special) 9; Commerce and Industry (special), 11, of whom 6 will most probably be Europeans; Land-holders (special), 7; Labour (special), 10; General (Hindus and others), 105.

For reasons stated above in connection with the composition of the Upper Chamber, the Federal Executive would be able to count upon the support of 125 members appointed by the Rulers of the States, 4 Anglo-Indians, 14 Europeans, probably at least 40 Mussalmans, probably at least 9 men of the Depressed Classes, probably at least 3 land-holders, probably at least 4 Indian Christians, etc;—probable total 199. This is more than half the total number of members. Even if the Executive can get 188 supporters, nationalists will generally find themselves powerless.

Thus in both the Houses of the Federal Legislature the Executive will be very strong and the nationalist opposition very weak.

Apportionment of Seats in the Federal Legislature between the Provinces and the States

In the White Paper the separation of Burma from Federated India has been practically taken for granted.

Including Burma the total area of the British Provinces is 10,94,300 square miles and that of the States 7,11,032 square miles. Excluding Burma, the respective areas are: British Provinces, 8,60,593 square miles; and the States, 7,11,032 square miles. So, the separation of Burma makes the claim of some Princes on behalf of the States to half the seats in the Federal Legislature appear more plausible, seeing that there is not very great difference between the total areas of the Provinces and the States. Whether this plausibility was one of the things indirectly aimed at by the separation of Burma is more than we can say. But we shall show that it is a mere plausibility.

The Federal Legislature would be bicameral and its Upper and Lower Chambers are to consist of 260 and 375 members respectively. The number of members proposed for each Chamber is inadequate. For convenience of comparison we give below the populations (in millions) and the number of members of the Upper and Lower Chambers of some countries.

Country	Population	Members, U. Ch.	Members. L. Ch.
Britain	45	740	615
U. S. A.	123	96	435
Germany	64	66	577
Japan	66	404	466
India	*338*	*260*	*375*

The Upper Chambers in Great Britain and Japan consist of Peers, the Upper Chamber (Senate) in U. S. A. consists of two senators from each of its 48 States. In Germany the Upper Chamber (Reichsrat) is a State Council. But everywhere the Lower

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Chamber consists of elected members. Their number in all the four countries is very much larger than the number proposed for India, though the population of India is much greater than theirs. It is not, of course, to be forgotten, that India is a comparatively poor and illiterate country; but that is no reason why there should be inadequate representation of the masses. On the contrary, unless some means be devised for giving them political power, they cannot make economic and educational progress as rapidly as is desirable.

Under the Representation of the People Act of 1928, in Britain there is one member of the House of Commons for every 70,000 of the population. In the United States of America there is one member in the House of Representatives for every 210,415 inhabitants. In the German Reichstag there is one representative for every 75,000 voters. In Japan the proportion in the House of Representatives is 1 member to every 133,309 of the population. In India one member of the Lower Chamber will represent a very much larger number of persons than elsewhere; hence the representation will be very inadequate here.

The allotment of seats is over-generous to the States and unjust to the provinces.

It is true that out of the area of 1,571,625 square miles of India, the States occupy 711,032 square miles. But representation is given, *not* to clods of clay and stretches of soil, heaps of sand and dust, blades of grass, and trunks and branches of trees, nor to wild and domesticated animals, but to human beings. Hence different areas in India should, generally speaking, have representatives in the Legislature in proportion to the number of their human inhabitants. And this reasonable principle has been actually and generally followed in alloting seats to the British-ruled Provinces. For example, take the areas and populations of Ajmer-Merwara, Assam, British Baluchistan, Delhi and N.-W. F. Province, and the number of members allotted to them in the Lower Chamber.

Province	Area in Sq. m.	Population	Seats
Ajmer-Merwara	2,711	560,292	1
Assam	53,015	8,622,251	10
Baluchistan	54,228	463,508	1
Delhi	593	636,246	2
N.-W. F. P.	13,419	2,425,076	5

If allotment of seats had been made according to area, British Baluchistan should have had at least as many seats as Assam. But evidently in alloting seats population has been the guiding principle, and, as less than one seat could not be given to any province, one seat each has been given to provinces with very small population.

Numerical strength being the reasonable guiding principle, we shall consider how many seats the States would be entitled to on that basis.

India contains a population of 338,321,258, of which the States contain 81,237,564, or 24 per cent of the whole. Let the States have 25 per cent of the seats. Then in the Upper Chamber they would have 65 seats out of 260, and in the Lower 94 seats out of 375. Instead, they have been allotted 100 and 125 seats in them respectively, leaving quite an inadequate number for the British-ruled provinces. There is no valid reason why there should be discrimination in favour of the States and against the Provinces. As a whole, the former are not more advanced in public spirit, education, culture, business enterprise and the arts of civilized life than the latter. Nor are they more used to and greater adepts in the ways of democratic government. Even if they were superior to British-ruled Provinces in all these respects, such discrimination in their favour as has been recommended would not be justifiable. The Princes are undoubtedly important persons in their own way. But so are the people in theirs. Hence, though the Princes may have abundance of honours, they ought not to have more political power than the people.

Apportionment of Seats in the Federal Legislature Among the Provinces

The British Indian Provinces will have the following number of seats in the two Houses of the Federal Legislature.

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Province.	Population in millions.	Seats in U. H.	Seats in L. H
Madras	45.6	18	37
Bombay	18.0	18	30
Bengal	50.1	18	37
U. P.	48.4	18	37
Panjab	23.6	18	30
Bihar	32.4	18	30
C. P. & Berar	15.5	8	15
Assam	8.6	5	10
N.-W. F. P.	2.4	5	5
Sind	3.9	5	5
Orissa	6.7	5	5
Delhi	0.6	1	2
Ajmer	0.6	1	1
Coorg	0.2	1	1
Baluchistan	0.5	1	1

In assigning seats to the different Provinces no principle has been consistently followed. Some provinces with comparatively small populations have been favoured at the expense of some other provinces with larger populations. Let us confine our attention to the bigger provinces. As any favour shown to some provinces is likely to excite jealousy or envy against them and place them in an invidious position, thus affecting the solidarity of the nation as a whole, the "favoured" provinces themselves ought to be the first to protest against any such "favoured province" treatment.

Bengal, Bihar, Madras and the United Provinces have been given less than the quota they are entitled to on the population basis, and Bombay and the Panjab more than their due quota. Lord Sankey's third draft report sought to justify this discrimination in favour of Bombay and the Panjab on the ground that if the population ratio were followed as the sole guiding principle,

> "it would immediately reduce the Bombay Presidency, a province of great historical and commercial importance, which has for many years enjoyed approximately equal representation in the Central Legislature with the other two presidencies and the United Provinces, to less than half the representation these latter will secure."
>
> ".....some adjustment will be required in recognition of the commercial importance of the Bombay Presidency and of the general importance in the body politic of the Panjab, which it will be generally conceded is not strictly commensurate with its population as compared with that of other provinces."

Let it be taken for granted that of all the provinces Bombay alone has historical and commercial importance and the Panjab alone has general importance. In all countries which have representative government, some regions may be commercially more important than other regions, and some may have made history more than others. But is it the generally accepted principle that historical making and commercial importance should entitle such regions to weightage in representation? We are not aware that it is. If it were, living history-makers should have been promised the right to cast at least a hundred times as many votes as ordinary electors. Again, if a province of commercial importance, *i. e.*, one which contains many big merchants, is to get excessive representation on that score, why are not mercantile millionaires to be each entitled to cast 1,000 votes for the single vote cast by a man who possesses only a thousand rupees?

To give weightage to any province on the ground of its commercial or historical importance is unreasonable, unjustifiable, and against any modern precedent in constitution-making. The ground of "general importance" is also absurd.

The supreme commercial importance of Bombay was not allowed to pass unchallenged even in the R. T. C. Mr. Gavin Jones denied that Bombay was commercially more important than Bengal. Undoubtedly the cotton textile industry of Bombay is not rivalled in that line by any other part of India. But it is not the only thing of economic importance. Other things must be taken into consideration.

> "Among all the crops grown [in India] rice stands an easy first in importance. On an average it occupies 35 per cent of the total cultivated area and is the staple food of most of the people of the country. Bengal is the most important rice growing province." *India in 1927-28*, p. 86.
>
> "Although jute occupies only 1.3 per cent of the total area under cultivation in British India, it contributes 26 per cent of the export trade of the country. Nearly 85 per cent of the [jute producing] area is in Bengal." *India in 1927-28*, pp. 90-91.
>
> "An analysis of the total quantity of piece-goods imported into India during 1927-28 shows that 50 per cent was received in Bengal. Bombay came second in importance as a distributing centre." *India in 1927-28*, p. 187.
>
> "The mineral wealth of the [Bombay] Presidency is small and is confined to building stone, salt extracted from the sea and a little manganese." *The Indian Year-Book, 1931*, p. 97.

Of all the minerals produced in India the total price of coal raised is the highest, being £ 6,668,591 in 1929, and "most of the coal raised in India comes from the Bengal

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and Bihar and Orissa—Gondwana coal-fields."

From the latest (1932) edition of the *Statesman's Year-Book*, page 137, we find that in 1930-31 India exported the following among other articles of private merchandise to the value mentioned against each :

	Value in Rupees.
Exports.	123846694
Jute (raw)	318944511
" (manufactured)	463280408
Cotton (raw)	52154426
" (manufactured)	259671014
Rice	235592538
Tea	

This is not, of course, a complete list. We have picked out only a few articles to show that the pre-eminence of Bombay in economic importance is not unquestionable, jute, rice, tea, etc., not being Bombay articles. Jute is mostly grown and manufactured in Bengal, tea in Assam and Bengal, and rice in Bengal and Burma.

As regards total imports and exports by sea, the following is from the *Statesman's Year-Book* for 1932, page 140 :

"The total imports and exports of the largest ports in private merchandise only in 1930-1 were in rupees: Bombay, 113.2 crores ; Calcutta, 131.0 crores ; Karachi, 37.6 crores ; Rangoon, 44.3 crores ; Madras, 28.4 crores ; Chittagong, 6.9 crores ; Tuticorin, 4.9 crores."

It is to be borne in mind that both Bombay and Bengal serve other provinces which are not maritime.

Bombay commerce is no doubt more in the hands of Indians than Europeans, whereas the opposite is the case with Bengal. But as Lord Sankey's report speaks of "adequate weightage of the special representation which we have recommended for *Indian* and *European* Commerce," which may be a dodge for giving Europeans a few more seats, and as the Bombay Presidency is certainly not superior to every other province in economic enterprise, outturn and importance, taking both Indian and European *entrepreneurs* into consideration, we do not see why Bombay should have any weightage on the ground of a non-existent superiority, even assuming that such superiority was a valid ground for weightage, which it is not.

We now come to the question of Bombay's historical importance. We do not deny its historical importance, as we do not deny its commercial importance. What we do deny is that it alone, to the exclusion of the other provinces, possesses historical or economic importance, or is pre-eminent in either respect. When historical importance is spoken of, which period of history or 'pre-history' is referred to ? Or are all such periods as a whole to be taken into consideration ? And is the history of reigning dynasties and of wars and conquests alone to be considered; or the history of the people also to be taken into account ? Are we or are we not to lay stress on the history of the arts, literature, philosophy, science and culture in general ? On a broad and profound view of history, it will be found that no major province of India is without some special historical importance of its own. But why speak of major provinces alone ? The minor provinces, Delhi for example, may also lay claim to special historical importance. Even desert Baluchistan claims to have yielded the earliest and most important find of pre-historic painted pottery in India at Nal in the Jhalawan district.

As regards the "general importance" claimed for the Panjab, it is not clear what exactly is meant thereby. It does certainly possess general importance, as does many another province. Perhaps the reference is to its being the recruiting ground of a larger number of sepoys than any other province. If so, the other provinces which formerly furnished sepoys are not to blame. Sepoys ceased to be drawn from them for political and other similar reasons, but *not* because they were unable to supply very good fighting material, as has been shown from authoritative sources in articles published in this *Review* in July and September 1930, and January and February 1931.

Giving weigtage to Bombay has been sought to be justified on the additional ground that she has long enjoyed almost equal representation with the most populous provinces. But injustice to the latter cannot lose its character of unjustness because of the length of its duration.

This discussion of the claims of different provinces has not at all been to our liking. Moreover, it may indirectly help the efforts of our enemies to foment provincial jealousies. It has been undertaken from a sense of duty

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in the interests of justice, so that no feeling of injustice may rankle in the breasts of the people of any province. There is no animus against either Bombay or the Panjab. They are important limbs of India, without which the country would be weak indeed. Not to speak of ancient or mediaeval history, who can forget or minimize the contributions made to the building up of modern India by Dadabhai Naoroji, Ranade, Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Pherozeshah Mehta, Tilak, Gokhale, J. N. Tata, Badaruddin Tyebji, Swami Dayananda, Lajpat Rai, Swami Shraddhananda, Mahatma Gandhi and others? If only the people of every Province would try to discover in what respects the other provinces were important, their efforts would surely be crowned with success in every case. They may rest assured that they would thus find in every province some special kind of excellence which was not very marked in the other provinces. In this way, every province would appear important and the declaration by interested parties of some special importance of a province or two to the exclusion of the rest would be treated with just suspicion.

Seats Allotted to Communities and Interests in the Federal Legislature

The most glaring example of "favoured community" treatment is the number of seats given to the Eurepeans. According to the census of 1931, the number of Europeans is only 168,134. But to this small number of persons *seven* seats have been out of the 150 in the Upper House for British India and *fourteen* seats in the Lower House out of the 250 for British India. It is to be borne in mind that, according to Appendix II of the White Paper, the 257.1 million inhabitants of British India are to have these total numbers of 150 and 250 seats in the Upper and Lower Houses respectively. So in the Upper House every 1⅔ million persons get one seat, and in the Lower House there is one seat for a little less than one million people. But the Europeans are such supermen that only 168134 of them get 7 seats in the Upper House and 14 in the Lower!

We have already said that Mussalmans are much less than one-third of the population of British India. Yet in both the Houses they have been given one-third of the British Indian seats. Excluding Burma, there are 66,478,669 Mussalmans in India. Excluding Burma again, there are 40,254,576 Depressed Class people in British India. That is to say, they are somewhat less than two-thirds of the Muslim population. But whereas in the Federal Assembly or Lower House Muslims are to get 82 seats, the Depressed castes are to get only 19; and apparently in the Upper House no seats have been reserved for them. Yet British diehards, imperialists and officials profess great anxiety for the welfare of the Depressed Classes! Further instances of unequal treatment need not be multiplied. But it must be added that 10 seats for Labour and 9 for Women are quite inadequate.

To prevent misunderstanding it should be stated that we are against reservation of seats for any community or interest. But as the principle of reservation has been accepted by the Government, the number of seats reserved ought to have been strictly in proportion to population, without weightage.

The Majority Converted to a Minority in the Federal Legislature

The total population of British India *minus* Burma is 256,627,138. Of these 177,157,035 are Hindus. Deducting 40,254,576 Depressed Class Hindus, we get 136,902,459 as the number of the "Caste" Hindus. They form the biggest group by themselves.

But they alone are not entitled to the "General" seats. Parsis, Buddhists, Jains, Jews, Animists, and others share these seats with them. These latter number 91,74[illegible], 342161, 408622, 17625, 4666634 and 1538[illegible] respectively in British India. So that for the "General" seats there are altogether 143,967,258 claimants.

It has been stated above that the total population of British India *minus* Burma is 256,627,138. The 143,967,258 claimants for the "General" seats are thus more than half the total population of British India, Burma excluded. The 136,902,459 "Caste" Hindus alone are also more than half the total

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population of British India, excluding Burma. Even if Burma were included, the total number of claimants (143,967,258) to the "General" seats, would be the majority in British India. Hence they ought to have got more than half the total number of seats provided for British India. In any case they ought to have got at least half the seats. But in the Federal Assembly, out of the 250 British Indian seats only 105 have been allotted to them! *Thus the majority has been converted to a minority!* One of the "14 points" laid great stress upon by Muslim Indians is that by no arrangement must a majority be reduced anywhere to a minority or even an equality. Therefore justice-loving Muslims should condemn this conversion of the non-Muslim majority to a minority.

And who are the men who form this majority? They have among them the largest number of the ablest, the most public-spirited, the most self-sacrificing, and the most prosecuted fighters for self-rule in India. Verily they have got their reward in being reduced to a position of hopeless impotency in the Federal Legislature.

On the other hand, a few hundred Princes of India, who have not striven for Indian self-rule but who would, on the contrary, be used as tools to fight Indian nationalism, are to have 100 seats out of 260 in the Upper House and 125 seats out of 375 in the Lower placed at their disposal to be filled by their nominees.

Even if their subjects numbering 81,237,564 had the right to elect their representatives to the Federal Legislature, they would not be entitled to more seats than the 134,967,258 claimants to the "General" seats.

This White Paper Not Final

The British Parliament is to set up a Joint Select Committee to consider the proposals contained in the White Paper in consultation with Indian representatives, and to report upon them. After this report has been laid it will be the duty of His Majesty's Government to introduce a Bill embodying their own final plan. So it must not "be assumed that the present proposals are in all respects so complete and final that a Bill would contain nothing which is not covered by this White Paper."

The Indian "representatives" are only to be consulted. They are like witnesses, or assessors without votes. Even if they had the right to vote, their number being comparatively small, they would not have been able to improve the proposals in any way.

It may be taken for granted that the Joint Select Committee would not in their report recommend more powers to be given to the Federal and Provincial Legislatures than are proposed in the White Paper. It is not implied that the White Paper *has* proposed to give any real power to the people of India. Changes in the proposals would generally be in the direction of strengthening the Executive. In the Bill to be drafted by the Cabinet that process of strengthening the Executive would be continued. When the Bill is considered and debated upon in Parliament, the Churchillian and other die-hardest groups would try their utmost to still further strengthen the Executive.

So we do not know the worst yet.

When will the Federation be Inaugurated?

First the Constitution Act will have to be passed. That is not a question of weeks or months. When it is passed, then alone will the States be in possession of complete knowledge of the character and powers of the Federation to which they are asked to accede.

> "So far as the States are concerned, His Majesty's Government propose as the condition to be satisfied before the Federal constitution is brought into operation that the Rulers of States representing not less than half the aggregate population of the Indian States and entitled to not less than half the seats to be allotted to the States in the Federal Upper Chamber shall have executed Instruments of Accession."

This will take an appreciable period of time, particularly as some Princes of the Jam of Navanagar group have given indications of reluctance to accede to the Federation.

Then there is another condition. The proposals relating to responsibility for the Finance of the Federation are based on the assumption that

> "before the first Federal Ministry comes into being, a Reserve Bank, free from political influence, will have been set up by Indian legislation and

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be already successfully operating. The Bank would be entrusted with the management of currency and exchange."

As "the successful establishment and operation of such a bank" depends "on world economic conditions," some of the conditions are said to be outside the control of the British and Indian Governments.

The proposed Reserve Bank of India is required to be free from political influence. Many, if not most, of the Indian capitalists, industrialists and commercial magnates who understand finance and problems of currency and exchange, have direct or indirect political affiliations. They must not, it seems, have anything to do with the Reserve Bank. The alternative would, therefore, be either that the Bank would be controlled entirely by Britishers. Indian figureheads with little or no understanding of the problems involved, or with no backbone to oppose the Britishers, may be associated with them.

There is some similarity bstween the proposed Reserve Bank of India and the Bank of England. As England is not a subject country, the political life and policy of Great Britain and the operations of the Bank of England and its many economic institutions are closely knit together.

The condition that the Reserve Bank must be free from political influence means in plain language that it must be free from pro-India influence—there would, of course, be no objection to its operating under pro-Britain political influence.

However, the establishment and successful operation of a Reserve Bank is a condition precedent to the functioning of the Indian Federation. This will take some time.

There is another pre-requisite.

"It is the intention of His Majesty's Government that the Federation shall be brought into being by Royal Proclamation, but that the Proclamation shall not be issued until both Houses of Parliament have presented an Address to the Crown with a prayer for its promulgation."

Are both Houses of Parliament dying to present an Address to the British Crown with a prayer for the promulgation of the Royal Proclamation bringing the Federation into being? Would they be in a hurry?

Our readers are sufficiently intelligent to understand that what has been written in this Note does not imply that we are impatient for the early establishment and functioning of a Federation like the one outlined in the White Paper. What is really wanted, and wanted as early as practicable, is the establishment of a Federation making the whole of India an autonomous self-ruling unit, or, in any case, the promulgation of a constitution which will *automatically* lead to the establishment and functioning of such a federation at an early date. If that is impossible at present, nothing would please us more than the postponement *sine die* of even the consideration of the federal plans outlined in the White Paper.

Will There be only "Provincial Autonomy" First?

The kinds of Central Responsibility and provincial autonomy described in the White Paper are not only valueless but would be injurious to the interests of the nation and, therefore, unacceptable. Hence we are not eager for either. But as Indian nationalists have asked for the simultaneous inauguration of both, of course of a desirable type, it is necessary to try to find out what probability there is for such simultaneity.

It seems to us that behind a cloud of words one can clearly discern the great probability, amounting almost to moral certainty, of "provincial autonomy" alone being given to British India first. With regard to this matter paragraph 13 of the Introduction, reproduced below, seems to breathe hot and cold at the same time. We are first told that

"His Majesty's Government do not contemplate the introduction of the new autonomous constitutions in the Provinces under conditions which will leave Federation as a mere contingency in the future."

This *non-contemplation* is followed immediately by the statement of the following *probability* of a different kind:

"It is probable that it will be found *convenient or even necessary*, that the new Provincial Governments should be brought into being in advance of the changes in the Central Government and the entry of the States." [Italics ours. Ed., *M. R.*]

Seeing that this may cause despair in the minds of those who have set their hearts

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When getting Federation and Provincial Autonomy simultaneously, the draftsman of the White Paper immediately injects the following heart-stimulant :

"But the coming into being of the autonomous Provinces will only be the first step towards the complete Federation for which the Constitution Act will provide ;"

This is followed again by a sedative and cordial combined in the subjoined form :

"And His Majesty's Government have stated that if causes beyond their control should place obstacles in the way of this programme they will take steps to review the whole position in consultation with Indian opinion."

This is non-committal with a vengeance. By the way, could anybody tell us the number of those Indians who still believe in any advantage to India of Government's "consultation" with what is officially declared to be "Indian opinion"?

Paragraph 13 of the Introduction from which we have made extracts above ends thus :

"Provision will accordingly be required in the Constitution Act for the period, however short it may be, by which Provincial autonomy may precede the complete establishment of the Federation."

For "however *short* it may be," many will be inclined to read, "however *long* it may be." The duration of the period is nowhere mentioned or indicated.

"The nature of the transitory arrangements contemplated for this purpose is explained in paragraph 202 of the Proposals," partly thus :

"The Constitution Act, though treating the Federation as a whole, will contain provisions enabling the Provincial Constitutions for which it provides to be brought into being, if necessary, before the constitution as a whole comes into being.

All these extracts from the White Paper justify us in considering it morally certain that there will be an indefinitely long interval between the introduction of provincial autonomy and complete Federation. During that interval, by virtue of transitory provisions to be included in the Constitution Act, "the executive of the Central Government, though necessarily deprived of much of its present range of authority in the Provinces, would for the time being be placed in substantially the same position as that occupied by the Governor-General in Council under the existing Act !"

Governor-General's Instrument of Instructions

In exercising his powers "the Governor-General will act in accordance with an Instrument of Instructions to be issued to him by the King."

"The draft of the Governor-General's Instrument of Instructions (including the drafts of any amendments thereto) will be laid before both Houses of Parliament, and opportunity will be provided for each House of Parliament to make to His Majesty representations for an amendment of, or addition to, or omission from, the Instructions."

The fact that it has been considered necessary to provide for laying the Instrument of Instructions before Parliament, etc., shows that the British Government want to have the advantage of consulting public opinion. But it is British public opinion which they want. Indian opinion does not count.

The Governor-General's Powers

"The Governor-General will himself direct and and control the administration of certain Departments of State—namely, Defence, External Affairs and Ecclesiastical Affairs."

Defence and External Relations are essential functions of autonomous countries. But in the case of India these are to be placed outside national control. No indication is given as to when, if ever, they would come under national control. As for Ecclesiastical Affairs, India not being primarily or mainly a Christian country, there is no reason why there should be here any Ecclesiastical department at all.

Apart from his exclusive responsibility for the Reserved Departments (noted above) the Governor-General in administering the government of the Federation will be declared to have a "special responsibility" in respect of

(*a*) the prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquility of India or any part thereof ;

(*b*) The safeguarding of the financial stability and credit of the Federation ;

(*c*) the safeguardiug of the legitimate interest of minorities ;

(*d*) the securing to the members of the Public Services any rights provided for them by the Constitution Act and the safeguarding of their legitimate interests ;

(*e*) the prevention of commercial discrimination ;

(*f*) the protection of the rights of any Indian State

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(g) any matter which affects the administration of any Department under the direction and control of the Governor-General.

In all these matters the Governor-General "is to act, notwithstanding his Ministers' advice, in such manner as he judges requisite for the due fulfilment of his special responsibility." If anything proposed to be done by any Minister or Ministers is considered by the Governor-General to even indirectly affect the due discharge of any special responsibility of his, he will have and exercise over-riding powers.

In the Introduction it has been explained why the Governor-General must have these special responsibilities. We have no space to examine these reasons. Suffice it to say that the Governor-General and Governors have been given such extensive powers as to leave the Ministers and Legislatures without any final powers. This would be clearer still when the Governor-General's law-making and ordinance-making powers and his powers relating to assenting or not assenting to legislative enactments are taken into consideration.

Why the Executive Must Have So Much Power in India

Perhaps there are certain underlying assumptions in the minds of the British Ministers which may explain the giving of plenary powers to the Executive in India. These are indicated below, as far as we could guess. The Members of Indian Legislatures and the Ministers will be for the most part Indians. Indians are generally fools, nincompoops, imbeciles, blind and narrow-minded partisans, or persons who are generally either indifferent to the welfare of their countrymen or ill-disposed towards them. For this reason, it is necessary to give extraordinary powers to supermen imported from overseas to do what Indians cannot do and undo or prevent the wrong things done or intended to be done by Indians.

That the Executive in Europe and America are not invested with such extensive and not always well-defined powers is because in those continents there are and have been no sectarianism, no partisanship, no minorities suffering from disabilities, and no race or religious riots, and there has always been an abundant supply of indigenous supermen wise, capable and well-disposed to their compatriots.

Why Not Safeguard the Interests of the Majority ?

That the legitimate interests of a minority should be protected goes without saying. But the best and perhaps the only way to do it is to evoke and depend on the good will of other minorities and the majority. To treat a country as if it were the battle-ground of warring camps is to make it such, if it be not one, or to keep it a battle ground for ever, if it be one. Such treatment can result only in the prevention or putting off of the growth of national solidarity.

It has been shown in a previous note in this issue that the majority has been reduced in the Federal Legislature to the position of a minority.

Hence our suggestion is that *the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of the majority should be one of the special responsibilities of the Governor-General.*

Will the Executive's Extraordinary Powers Lie Unused ?

It has been said that though the White Paper proposes to arm the Executive with extensive powers, these will be seldom used. Such a plea or excuse is contrary to experience. Even the old Regulations of the early years of the 19th century have been repeatedly resorted to. The Foreigners' Act of the year 1865 (?) is being used for political purposes against the inhabitants of the Indian States doing business in British India. The powers of certification and of ordinance-making have been repeatedly used.

"Introduction" and "Proposals" of the White Paper

The White Paper has been very carefully written. But it suffers from one glaring defect. There is much in common between the "Introduction" and the "Proposals," involving much tiresome repetition. In examining and commenting on any of these two main parts of the White Paper one has constantly to turn to the other. It would not

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have been at all difficult to make the Proposals the main text of the White Paper with the explanatory matter contained in the Introduction relating to any Proposal printed under it.

The Plea that Presidents of Republics Have Large Executive Powers

In extenuation of the large discretionary powers proposed to be given to the Governor-General it has been said that the Presidents of Republics—the United States of America, for example, have such powers. But these Presidents are *Nationals* of their country and *elected* by their fellow-citizens, and, therefore, they are presumed to act in the sole interests of their own country.

Moreover, there is generally some remedy for their mistakes, their arbitrary acts, their vetoes, etc. Take the case of the President of the United States of America. The Senate is entrusted with the power of ratifying or rejecting all treaties made by the president with foreign Powers. The Senate is also invested with the power of confirming or rejecting all appointments to office made by the President ; and its members constitute a High Court of Impeachment. The House of Representatives has the sole power of impeachment. If the President vetoes any legislative enactment, Congress has the power of passing such a law again by the prescribed majority, and in that case the President cannot veto it again.

The Federal Legislature of India is not going to be vested with any such powers.

Other Powers of the Governor-General

Apart from the Reserved Departments and the specified 'special responsibilities' of the Governor-General outside the sphere of those Departments, there is a third category of matters in which the Governor-General will not be under any constitutional obligation to seek, or, having sought, to be guided by, ministerial advice.....In this range of "discretionary powers" .....His Majesty's Government anticipate that the following matters will be included :

(a) The power to dissolve, prorogue and summon the Legislature ;

(b) The power to assent to, or withhold assent from, Bills, or to reserve them for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure ;

(c) The grant of previous sanction to the introduction of certain classes of legislative measures ;

(d) The power to summon forthwith a Joint Session of the Legislature in cases of emergency, where postponement till the expiration of the period to be prescribed by the Constitution Act might have serious consequences.

To the foregoing must be added :

(e) The power to take action, notwithstanding an adverse vote in the Legislature ;

(f) The power to arrest the course of discussion of measures in the Legislature ;

(g) The power to make rules of legislative business in so far as these are required to provide for the due exercise of his own powers and responsibilities.

The Governor-General will have the power to enact a Governor-General's Act at his discretion, if after receiving a Message from him relating to it, it is not passed by either Chamber or both of them. A Governor-General's Act so enacted will have the same force and effect as an Act of the Legislature.

The Governor-General will have the power to make and promulgate ordinances, and renew them for a second period, "if at any time he is satisfied that the requirements of Reserved Departments, or any of the 'special responsibilities' with which he is charged by the Constitution Act, render it necessary."

He will also have the power of making and promulgating other ordinances, "for the good government of British India," if at a time when the Federal Legislature is not in session his Ministers are satisfied that an emergency exists.

Both kinds of ordinances, while in operation, will have the force and effect of Acts of the Legislature.

Finally, there is the following paragraph (44) of the Introduction, with the corresponding paragraph (55) of the Proposals "in the event of breakdown of the constitution" :

> "44. The proposals indicated above have no reference to situations where a complete breakdown of the constitutional machinery has occurred. It is the intention of His Majesty's Government that the constitution should contain separate provision to meet such situations, should they unfortunately occur either in a province or in the Federation as a whole, whereby the Governor-General or the Governor, as the case may be, will be given plenary authority to assume all powers that he deems necessary for the purpose of carrying on the King's Government."

No Provision for Attaining Freedom by Evolution

There is very much more to write about the White Paper to make its real character

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understood. But a thorough examination of it would be impossible unless at least two entire issues of *The Modern Review* were devoted to it. What, however, has been already written will enable the reader to realize that those who have drafted this document have made all provisions imaginable and humanly possible to keep complete British domination over India intact for a period to which no limit has been fixed. But there is not a word anywhere in the White Paper to indicate how the people of India may become free and self-ruling. There is nothing in the constitution to show how it may automatically, by evolution, become the constitution of a self-ruling India. The words, period of transition, transitory provisions, etc., or their equivalents, are indeed to be found in the document. But there is nothing to indicate when this period will come to an end. In fact, it cannot be inferred from anything in the White Paper that the idea has ever crossed the mind of His Majesty's ministers that the period of transition may, should or will at all terminate at any future time. Is the period of transition intended to be on everlasting one?

We have used the words, "how the people of India may become free and self-ruling." Such words are not to be found in the White Paper. No one would expect to find them there. The words which one actually finds there are "the conversion of the present system of government in India into a responsibly governed Federation of States and Provinces." That is the final goal;—not absolute independence, nor even Dominion Status. And there are the limitations or safeguards "during a period of transition," to which no limit has been set or indicated.

The British Ministry perhaps do not entertain the idea that India should evolve into a free country. Nor do they mention it anywhere that at some future time the British people may be pleased, out of sheer generosity, to make India free. Where there can be neither a free gift of freedom, nor the attainment of freedom by political evolution, history shows that the only alternative left is revolution. But that also cannot be the intention of the British ministry. What, then, is their intention? What is the reading of the future?

Vetoing Power of His Majesty in Council

It is a hope-inspiring feature of the White Paper that in one small paragraph of the Proposals there is an indication that the British ministry are capable of imagining that even the supermen who are appointed Governors-General may sometimes make the mistake of assenting to Bills which are harmful! For this paragraph lays down that

> "Any Bill assented to by the Governor-General will within twelve months be subject to disallowance by His Majesty in Council."

As the King acts only on the advice of his advisers, this means that if the Governor-General makes a mistake in assenting to some particular Bill, the King's advisers in far-off London will be able to find it out and rectify it within the brief period of twelve months.

Fundamental Rights

Regarding "a series of declarations commonly described as a statement of 'Fundamental Rights'" the White Paper says:

> "His Majesty's Government see serious objections to giving statutory expression to any large range of declarations of this character, but they are satisfied that certain provisions of this kind such for instance, as respect due to personal liberty and rights of property and the eligibility of all for public office, regardless of differences of caste, religion, etc., can appropriately, and should, find a place in the Constitution Act.

Ordinances and laws similar to Ordinances have enabled the Executive in various parts of India—in the province of Bengal and elsewhere, to arrest and detain persons without charge or trial for an indefinite length of time and to seize the movable and immovable properties of persons without any trial according to the ordinary processes of law. Does the passage quoted above mean that the Constitution Act will make such things impossible in the future? If so, why has the same White Paper made provision for arming the Governor-General and Governors with Ordinance-making powers and the power to enact Governor-General's and Governor's Acts? If not, what is the value of the words "respect due to personal liberty and rights of property?"

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The paragraph relating to fundamental rights in the Introduction concludes thus :

"His Majesty's Government think it probable that occasion may be found in connection with the inauguration of the new constitution for a pronouncement by the Sovereign, and in that event, they think it may well be found expedient humbly to submit for His Majestys consideration that such a pronouncement might advantageously give expression to some of the propositions suggested to them in this connection which prove unsuitable for statutory enactment."

Unless the propositions are actually stated, one cannot examine them or take it for granted that they are unsuitable for statutory enactment.

Whatever that may be, the question that is really important is whether the propositions to be laid down in His Majesty's pronouncement are intended to be honoured and carried out by the Governments in India. If they are, we do not see any reason for not embodying them in the Constitution. If they are not, they should not find place in a royal pronouncement.

English not being our mother tongue, we do not possess sufficient knowledge of the English language and English usage to clearly understand the difference between a Royal Proclamation and a Royal Pronouncement. Perhaps the two are substantially the same or similar. If so, it would not be right for Englishmen to expose a Royal pronouncement to the risk of being interpreted as Queen Victoria'a Proclamation has been, for instance, by Sir James Stephen. That eminent jurist said that that proclamation was a mere ceremonial document ; it was not a treaty and so it did not impose any responsibility and obligation on the English people.

Nor is it desirable that the suggested royal pronouncement should be classed with the documents which the historian Freeman has referred to slightingly in the following passage :

"But when we come to manifestoes, proclamations, . . . here we are in the chosen region of lies, . . . He is of childlike simplicity indeed who believes every act of Parliament as telling us not only what certain august persons did, but the motives which led them to do it ; so is he who believes that the verdict and sentence of every court was necessarily perfect righteousness, even in times when orders were sent beforehand for the trial and execution of such a man."—Freeman's *Methods of Historical Study*, London, 1886, pp. 258-259.

Let the British Ministry do what they can in relation to the people of India, but let them spare His Majesty George V.

National Control over Finance Absent in the White Paper

Control over finance is an essential element of national power. What little of it there will be under the Constitution Act appears from the following paragraphs :

"49. Proposals for appropriation of Revenues, if they relate to the Heads of Expenditure enumerated in this paragraph, will not be submitted to the vote of either Chamber of Legislature, but will be open to discussion in both Chambers, except in the case of the salary and allowances of the Governor-General and of expenditure required for the discharge of the functions of the Crown in, and arising out of, its relation with Rulers of Indian States.

The Heads of Expenditure referred to above are :

(*i*) Interest, Sinking Fund charges and other expenditure relating to the raising, service, and management of loans ; expenditure fixed by or under the Constitution Act ; expenditure required to satisfy a decree of any Court or an arbitral award ;

(*ii*) The salary and allowances of the Governor-General ; of Ministers ; of the Governor-General's Counsellors ; of the Financial Adviser ; of Chief Commissioners ; of the Governor-General's personal and secretarial staff and of the Financial Adviser ;

(*iii*) Expenditure required for the Reserved Departments, for the discharge of the functions of the Crown in and arising out of its relation with Rulers of Indian States ; or for the discharge of duties imposed by the Constitution Act on a principal Secretary of State.

(*iv*) The salaries and pensions (including pensions payable to their dependants) of Judges of the Federal or Supreme Court or of Judicial Commissloners under the Federal Government ; and expenditure certified by the Governor-General after consultation with his Ministers as required for the expenses of those Courts.

(*v*) Expenditure required for Excluded Areas and British Baluchistan ;

(*vi*) Salaries and pensions payable to, or to dependants of, certain members of Public Services,* and certain other sums payable to such persons.

* These include practically all important and highly paid officers. Ed., *M. R.*

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The Governor-General will be empowered to decide finally, and conclusively, for all purposes, any question whether a particular item of expenditure does or does not fall under any of the Heads of Expenditure referred to in this paragraph.

"50. At the conclusion of the budget preceedings the Governor-General will authenticate by his signature all appropriations, whether voted or those relating to matters enumerated in paragraph 49; the appropriations so authenticated will be laid before both Chambers of the Legislature but will not be open to discussion.

In the appropriations so authenticated the Governor-General will be empowered to include any additional amounts which he regards as necessary for the discharge of any of his special responsibilities, so however that the total amount authenticated under any Head is not in excess of the amount originally laid before the Legislature under that Head in the statement of proposals for appropriation.

The authentication of the Governor-General will be sufficient authority for the due application of the sums involved.

"51. The provisions of paragraphas 45 to 50 inclusive will apply with the necessary modification to proposals for the appropriation of revenues to meet expenditure not included in the Annual Estimates which it may become necessary to incur during the course of the financial year."

There are similar provisions and similar non-votable Heads of Expenditure in relation to the Provinces.

The paragraphs quoted above, show that, though the people of India will have to pay large sums in the form of taxes, they will not have any control over the expenditure of a very large of the total revenues of the Government of India and the Provincial Governments. Most of the liabilities have been incurred without their consent. Many officers will continue to be appointed without their consent on salaries not sanctioned by them. They will have no control over these officers. But their salaries, pensions, etc., must be paid by them. This will be responsible Government with a vengeance !

Administration of the Provinces

In our comments on the White Paper we have not hitherto said anything about the Executive and the Legislature of the Provinces. Nor have we said anything about the proposed Statutory Railway Board, which will deprive Indians of the legitimate right of controlling a principal means of developing their trade and industries and place this means in the hands of their rivals, the British capitalists, who will use it to foster theirs to the detriment of Indian interest. There is no room for any detailed comment on them in this issue. It may, however, be observed briefly that the Governors of the Provinces have been made as autocratic within their jurisdictions as the Governor-General within his. The Governors will have the power to make and promulgate two kinds of Ordinances, to enact Governor's Acts, to act contrary to the advice given by their ministers or without consulting them, to make appropriations of revenue irrespective of the opinions of their ministers or legislatures, and, in the event of a breakdown of the Constitution, "to assume to himself all such powers vested by law in any provincial authority as appear to him to be necessary for the purpose of securing that the government of the Province shall be carried on effectively."

The Provincial Legislatures, too, have been made as powerless as the Federal Legislature.

Prevention of Commercial Discrimination.

One of the special responsibilities of the Governor-General is the prevention of commercial discrimination. The following "Proposals" are intended to prevent commercial discrimination :

122. The Federal Legislature and the Provincial Legislatures will have no power to make laws subjecting in British India any British subject (including companies, partnerships or associatiations constituted by or under any Federal or Provincial law) in respect of taxation, the holding of property of any kind, the carrying on of any profession, trade, business or occupation, or the employment of any servants or agents, or in respect of residence or travel within the boundaries of the Federation, to any disability or discrimination based upon his religion, descent, caste, colour or place of birth; but no law will be deemed to be discriminatory for this purpose on the ground only that it prohibits either absolutely or with exceptions the sale or mortgage of agricultural land in any area to any person not belonging to

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some class recognized as being a class of persons engaged in, or connected with agriculture in that area, or which recognizes the existence of some right, privilege, or disability attaching to the members of a community by virtue of some privilege, law or custom having the force of law.

A Federal or Provincial law, however, which might otherwise be void on the ground of its discriminatory character will be valid if previously declared by the Governor-General or a Governor, as the case may be, in his discretion, to be necessary in the interests of the peace and tranquility of India or any part thereof.

[Without qualification of this kind, legislation such as, for example, the Indian Criminal Tribes Act, would be invalidated by the provisions of this paragraph.]

123. The Federal Legislature and the Provincial Legislatures will have no power to make laws subjecting any British subject domiciled in the United Kingdom (including companies, etc., incorporated or constituted by or under the laws of the United Kingdom) to any disability or discrimination in the exercise of certain specified rights, if an Indian subject of His Majesty, or a company, etc. constituted by or under a Federal or Provincial law, as the case may be, would not in the exercise in the United Kindom of the corresponding right be subject in the United Kingdom to any disability or discrimination of the same or a similar character. The rights in question are the right to enter, travel and reside in any part of British India; to hold property of any kind; to carry on any trade or business in, or with the inhabitants of, British India; and to appoint and employ at discretion agents and servants for any of the above purposes.

Provision will be made on the same lines for equal treatment on a reciprocal basis of ships registered respectively in British India and the United Kingdom.

[A question which will require separate consideration arises with regard to the registration in India of medical practitioners registered in the United Kingdom. A Bill which has an important bearing on this question is at present under consideration in the Indian Legislature.]

124. An Act of the Federal or a Provincial Legislature, however, which, with a view to the encouragement of trade or industry authorizes the payment of grants, bounties or subsidies out of public funds will not be held to fall within the terms of the two preceding paragraphs by reason only of the fact that it is limited to persons or companies resident or incorporated in India, or that it imposes on companies not trading in India before the Act was passed as a condition of eligibility for any such grant, bounty or subsidy that the company shall be incorporated under laws of British India, or conditions as to the composition of the Board of Directors or as to the facilities to be given for training the Indian subjects of His Majesty.

By land alienation legislation certain Hindu castes, for instance in the Panjab and Sind, have been discriminated against, and Muslims have been favoured. Paragraph 122 says that such a law is not discriminatory!

Paragraph 123 says in effect that generally Britishers in India will not be subjected to any disability to which Indians are not subjected in Great Britain. On the surface this appears quite just and fair. But on a closer examination it appears glaringly unjust and unfair. In Great Britain, speaking generally, all branches of trade and industry, all mineral concessions and rights, all agricultural and forest lands, all water rights, and all facilities for coastal navigation as well as oceanic traffic, are already in the hands of Britishers. Indians, even if they were very enterprising and very rich, can do little in the way of poaching on the preserves of the Britishers in their home-land. India, on the contrary, is still largely an undeveloped country. The vegetable, animal, and mineral resources of India have still to be exploited to a very great extent. Most of the concessions relating to the most valuable mineral deposits, so far known, are already in the hands of Europeans. That is the case with many other kinds of rights and concessions. Inland and coastal traffic, not to speak of oceanic traffic, is almost a British monopoly. We need not dwell on how all this has happened. What the Britisher wants is that what he has not yet appropriated in India, he may have the right to appropriate without let or hindrance. With an air of self-righteousness he appears to say to Indians: "Come to my country and take what you like, and allow me to go to your country and take what I like," forgetting that in Great Britain there is not much left for any foreigner to take but that in India there are still very valuable and extensive rights to acquire. Britishers also forget that in Great Britain they are masters and can

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prevent foreigners in various ways from acquiring any rights which may injure the interests of the natives of that country, but that in India Indians are not masters and cannot and have not hitherto been able to prevent the Britishers or other foreigners from forestalling them (Indians) in any kind of highly remunerative occupation; on the contrary, here it is the Britishers who can prevent Indians from, or at least place obstacles in the way of their prospering in various kinds of business.

Efforts have been hitherto made to reserve the right of coastal navigation for Indians, now almost a British monopoly. The White Paper definitely puts its foot down on all such endeavours in future, though such reservation for nationals is the rule in most or at least many civilized countries.

What the White Paper says in relation to medical practitioners is very revealing. British medical practitioners know less about tropical conditions and diseases than the graduates of our medical colleges do about British conditions and diseases. For, our medical graduates are trained in the Western allopathic system of medicine with the help of English text-books. Yet the White Paper mentions only "the registration in India of medical practitioners registered in the United Kingdom," ignoring altogether the question of the registration of our medical graduates in the United Kingdom.

Recruitment to Some All-India Services

The Secretary of State will after the commencement of the Constitution Act make appointments to the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Police and the Ecclesiastical Departments, and, of course, their salaries, pensions, etc., will be non-votable. A footnote adds:

> Under existing conditions the personnel required for External Affairs and for conducting relations with the States belong to a common department—the Indian Foreign and Political Department. After the commencement of the Constitution Act, the latter will be under the Viceroy and their recruitment will be controlled by His Majesty's Government. The personnel of the Department of External Affairs will be under the Governor-General, who will himself direct and control that Department. The method of recruitment to it has not yet been determined by His Majesty's Government. For some time at any rate it may, for practical reasons, be found desirable to make the two departments interchangeable.

Paragraph 189 of the "Proposals" ends thus:

> At the expiration of five years from the commencement of the Constitution Act, a statutory enquiry will be held into the question of future recruitment for those Services, except the Foreign Department and the Ecclesiastical Department. The decision on the results of this enqniry, with which the Governments in India concerned will be associated will rest with His Majesty's Government, and be subject to the approval of both Houses of Parliament.

So appointments to the Ecclesiastical Department and the Indian Foreign and Political Department will continue to be made by the Secretary of State till doomsday! And when at the expiration of five years from the commencement of the Constitution Act a statutory enquiry will be held into the question of the future recruitment of the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police, the people of India will have no voice in it—their business being only to pay, the decision will rest with His Majesty's Government, and be subject to the approval of both Houses of Parliament!

A Great Fault of the Proposed Constitution

There are in the proposed constitution so many different kinds of constituencies according to different communities and interests that any united and common constructive national endeavours will be very difficult. Very difficult also will be a joint fight against anti-Indian moves by the opponents of Indians.

Hindu Mahasabha Working Committee and Hindu M. L. A.'s' Conference

The sub-Committee consisting of Messrs. B. Das, Lalchand Navalrai, Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee, Raja Narendranath and Mr. Harbilas Sarda, appointed by the joint conference of the Hindu Mahasabha Working

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Committee and Hindu members of the Central Legislature, submitted the following resolutions to the open conference on the 27th of March :

There is no advance in the constitutional status of India following from the proposals in the White Paper and they would not allay, but increase, discontent, as being most disappointing and even retrogressive, for the following reasons :—"The whole conception of the constitution is not based on the principle of the sovereignty of the people, but on the fact that India is a conquered territory, belonging to the Crown of England and to be administered, not in the interest of India, by the agents of the Crown ; (2) the communal award forming the basis of the structure of the constitution is predominantly pro-Moslem and highly unjust to Hindus ; (3) that though it agreed to the introduction of central responsibility leading to Dominion Status to be accompanied during transition by safeguards demonstrably in the interest of India, the period of transition has not been provided, nor its period fixed, and safeguards have not been conceived in the interest of India ; (4) Central responsibility has been made dependent on the one hand ultimately on the will of the princes and on the other on world economic conditions making establishment of reserve bank feasible, and more particularly on the will of both Houses of Parliament to present an address to His Majesty if and when they choose to proclaim establishment of the federation ; (5) that the Governor-General is endowed with extraordinary powers under categories called reserved departments, special responsibilities, discretional, special and legislative powers ; (6) that the federal legislature has been denied the power of constituting the Railway Board ; (7) that no provision has been made for compelte Indianization of the army within a reasonable time, and powers are still retained by the Secretary of State for recruitment of public services, and fundamental rights are not defined nor included in the Consitution Act ; (8) that allocation of seats to the Hindus in the Lower House of the Central Legislature and Bengal, Sind and Punjab legislatures, where the Hindus are in a minority, is grossly unjust as compared with the seats assigned to Muslims where they form minorities ; (9) that the Conference is of opinion that the time has come for bringing about political unity in the country on a broader basis, notwithstanding the controversies on the communal problem, so as to enable the country by capturing the legislature and presenting a united front to meet the crisis that has arisen in consequence of the reactionary proposals in the White Paper. —*Free Press.*

The next annual session of the Mahasabha will be held at Madras in the last week of April, or in the beginning of June.

The Joint Conference of the Mahasabha and Hindu legislators under the chairmanship of Dr. Moonje had a prolonged sitting till late at night to consider the resolutions submitted by the sub-Committee. About forty members attended. Though controversy arose over the wording of some of the resolutions, the basic priniciples of most of them met with approval. The conference endorsed all the resolutions with minor alterations, excepting the last one which was amended materially. The amended resolution which was passed states that the conference is of opinion that political unity should be brought about in this country to present a united front to evolve a common line of action to meet the crisis that has arisen in consequence of the reactionary proposals in the White Paper.

The Working Committee of the Mahasabha has declared April 9 to be observed as an All-India Day to condemn the White Paper and support the resolutions passed at the meeting.

Arrest and Imprisonment of Congressmen

It was announced in the papers weeks ahead that the next session of the Indian National Congress would be held in Calcutta on the 31st March and 1st April. To prevent the session being held, the police are arresting persons connected with this ensuing session (we write this on the 29th March) and they are being sent to jail after trials in which they do not take any part except admitting their connection with the Congress. All this has come to be considered quite normal. But what sense is there in taking persons of the academic standing and social status of Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal, PH. D. (Lond.), for example, to the police lock-up handcuffed. They are not guilty of any offence involving moral turpitude, they work quite openly, and they do not resist arrest or try to escape.

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Muslim Bengalis Condemn White Paper

A meeting of the Council of the Bengal Presidency Muslim League was held on Sunday the 26th March 1933 at 7 p. m. to consider the White Paper. Maulavi Abdul Karim, M. L. C., President of the League, presided. There was a large gathering. Amongst those who attended were Maulavis Mujibar Rahman. S. M. Moazzam, M. A., Abdul Hakim, M. L. C., Nazir Ahmed Chowdhury, H. Manowar, B. L., Abdul Hakim Khan and Dr. R. Ahmed.

After a lengthy discussion the following resolution was unanimously adopted.

"The Council of the Bengal Presidency Muslim League records its deliberate opinion that the White Paper is thoroughly unsatisfactory and unacceptable, in as much as its proposals are reactionary and of illusive character and particularly detrimental to the vital interests of the Muslim Community. It is not calculated to satisfy any section of political Indians. The Council of the League expects that all parties and communities in India will combine in vigorously opposing the proposals.

"The Council of the League has noted with great dissatisfaction that, flouting the unanimous opinion of the Muslim Community and the verdict of the Bengal Legislative Council, it has been proposed to form a second chamber for Bengal, altogether overlooking the interest of the peasants and labourers who form an overwhelming majority of the population of the Province."

No Freedom of Speech in Hyderabad and Most other Indian States

The Servant of India writes :

A Deputation recently waited upon the Police Member of the Nizam's Government to plead with him for the grant of the elementary civic right of freedom of speech to the people of Hyderabad State. Lest it should be thought that the demand was engineered by the disgruntled Hindu subjects of the Nizam and did not command general support, it may be mentioned that the deputation included two of His Exalted Highness's co-religionists. This shows that the inconvenience resulting from the restrictions on public meetings that are enforced in the State is felt no less keenly by the Muslims than by the Hindus. The principal complaint of the deputationists was that, whatever the intentions of the Nizam's Government may be, the practical effect of the enforcement of the rules governing the holding of public meetings has been to make any kind of public meeting impossible in the Nizam's territories. In the first place, no meeting, however innocuous, can be held in Hyderabad without the previous permission of the authorities, for which an application a days in advance is necessary. Those who have anything to do with the organization of public meetings will have no difficulty in realizing how it is sometimes physically impossible to comply with this requirement. But even in cases in which the submission of the prescribed application is possible, there is no guarantee of its being accepted. Indeed, if past experience is any guide, the tendency of the Hyderabad officialdom has been in the direction of discouraging such public activity by withholding the requisite permission. The case would have been different if these stringent regulations had been imposed as a result of any seditious or objectionable activity in the State. According to the deputationists, however, no judicial proceedings for any seditious or inflammatory utterance or writing have so far become necessary. And these restrictions on the people's right to assemble for the discussion of public affairs, which helps forward their political education as well, are looked upon by them as a slur on their loyalty to the Nizam and his house. The restrictions, it is officially claimed, are designed to strike at the hobbies of political meetings. Apparently the Nizam's Government is not subtle enough to detect any distinction between seditious meetings and political meetings : to them both are synonymous and therefore equally undesirable.

But why need anybody be so harsh upon the Nizam for denying this elementary right to his people, since the restrictions on free speech prevailing in Hyderbad have their counterparts in most Indian States ?

Government of India Loan Conversions

The White Paper professes to be dead against commercial discrimination, and it is really so when the interests of Britishers are affected, though discrimination in favour of Indians is merely the advantage which all nationals naturally get in their own countries. But when there is real discrimination in practice in favour of Britishers, it is alright. This is borne out by the following paragraphs from *The People* :

The Government of India have a fairly large conversion scheme afoot. The Finance Member referred to it in his speech while presenting

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the budget and congratulated himself on the success his scheme was achieving. We grudge him neither the success nor the congratulations, but we do hope he is giving urgent attention to the point raised in the course of the debate —that the conversion schemes should embrace the sterling loans also. The sterling loans of the Government of India (keeping aside local and provincial loans) amount to £336 millions. That is a pretty large sum for India, and the interest on that is a big charge on India's revenues. Now that the Government of India are busy reducing the burden of interest charges, they cannot leave out of account the heavy sterling loans. Money is now cheap, and we can see no difficulty in the way of a conversion scheme for the sterling loans—specially after Britain's own example. The Government can now pay back part of the sterling loans. The rate of interest of many of India's sterling loans is very heavy indeed. In 1921 the Government of India borrowed £7·5 millions in London at 7 per cent, whereas in the same year 49 crores were raised in India at 6 per cent. There are many examples like that. Out of India's foreign debts £100 millions had been raised to make a free gift to Britain to fight Germany. The Britishers obliged India by lending her this amount—and are still charging a heavy interest on it!

The foreign loans should have been given the first attention, because the Government of India does not get anything out of the interest she pays on them in the form of income tax. The interest paid on Indian loans partly goes back to the Indian exchequer in the form of income-tax, or super-tax or surcharge. But for foreign loans the Government of India pay the full amount of the interest without making anything on it in these forms. It is about time the Government of India started a conversion scheme for the sterling loans.

Government of India's Budget a Decade Ago

In the Report of the Retrenchment Committee appointed by the Bengal Government it is stated that in 1921-22 the total revenue of the Government of India was Rs. 64,52,66,000. In the recent Budget speech of the Finance Member of that Government, it was stated that its revenue in 1931-32 was Rs. 121,64,00,000 and that it was estimated that it would be Rs. 127,13,00,000 in 1932-33, and Rs. 124,52,00,000 in 1933-34.

This means that in a decade Government's revenue had nearly doubled, or that Government was taking from the people double the amount which it used to take a decade ago. Have the people become twice as rich in the meantime? There is nothing to prove that they have. Is Government then terribly overtaxing the people?

"People Live for the Comfort of Government Officials"

In the course of the debate on the finance bill Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed observed:

> Before the French revolution a political theory existed that people existed for the comfort of kings, but as a sequel to revolutions the theory that came to prevail was that Governments existed for the comfort of the people. But now the Treasury Benches have evolved a new theory, namely, that people lived for the comforts of Government officials. He said, the Ordinance Act or the Finance Bill was made as special favours to officials but did not care for the interests of the people. He dwelt on the export of gold and criticized the uses Government made of exceptional circumstances in the matter of paying annual commitments to London, which he characterized as unsound finance.

"The Outlawry of Japan"

Under the above caption *The People's Tribune* of Shanghai writes:

> The adoption, by a unanimous vote, of the Draft Report, prepared by the Committee of Nineteen and completed by the determination of the composition of the Committee of Negotiation, by the Assembly of the League of Nations on February 24th last has at long last vindicated not only the action of the Chinese Government in appealing to the League of nations for a verdict against the Japanese international lawbreakers, but the very existence of the League itself.
>
> Geneva has with great hesitation at last decided that on practically every issue in the Sino-Japanese conflict China was in the right and, in delivering the verdict of "guilty" against one of its most important members has emerged a stronger, revitalized organization. China has accepted the Report without reserve, in spite of the exception which may be taken from the Chinese point of view to some of the passages and to its insistence less on the responsibility for past actions than on the means of avoiding their repetition.
>
> The categorical denunciation of Japan—implied in the adoption of the Draft Report—by the assembled representatives of the 42 States which voted for the Report, is certainly a surprise to those who during the last

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seventeen month were accustomed to the irritating procrastination and pin-pricking legalism ef some of the Geneva leaders. It is not because of a lack of appreciation of the action of the League of Nations that we wish to point out here that, if at the outset of the dispute the League had denounced Japan's violation of international treaties, Japan would long ago have climbed down, the puppet-State never been been formed, or at least "recognized," and the situation never have become so serious as it is now; . . .

On the same subject *The Month* of London, published by Longmans, observes :

As it is, the prescriptions of the Covenant have been faithfully followed. According to Article 15 Sec. 4, having failed after seventeen months' effort to effect a settlement, the Council reports on the facts of the case and makes recommendations. The recommendations made are—the retention under Chinese sovereignty of a largely autonomous Manchukuo; the full recognition of Japanese treaty-rights therein; the appointment of a conciliation Committee to settle future relations between Japan and China; common action by all the Powers in the sense of these proposals.

Japan, represented at present by a military Government which rules without democratic sanction, prefers the old way of maintaining her rights, the way familiar to all who have any knowledge of history, the way of the sword. Such procedure, now that the world is so closely linked together, is equivalent to civil war. It is the mark of a nation which has not yet acquired the sense of human solidarity that Christianity emphasizes. Yet it cannot be ascribed merely to the fact that the country as a whole is outside the pale of Christianity, for the militarist is alive and active and vocal in many Christian lands. It is not so long ago that we heard the late Lord Brentford, then Sir W. Joynson Hicks, exclaim in the Commons*—"We conquered India as an outlet for the goods of Great Britain...we did not conquer India for the benefit of the Indians...that is cant. We conquered India by the sword, and by the sword we shall hold it." Sir William was never reckoned a model of political wisdom, but these words of his, with the exception of the last clause, are true historically, and express the views of many of his fellow countrymen. Nor is there any great Power of which something similar cannot be said. Accordingly, it would ill beseem any European statesman to reproach the Island Empire with its itch for territorial aggrandizement without owning and deploring the like fault of his own nation, and proving that his nation now repudiated the spirit that begot them—. . .

* March 2, 1926: quoted in "Faith and Society," by M. B. Reckitt, p. 278.

Pupil Becomes Teacher

By setting up the puppet independent State of Manchuria, in order to swallow her up as well as some other parts of the republic of China and thus to weaken China, Japan has shown that she can teach her occidental teachers in imperialism an original trick or two. From the interpretation of Japan's 'divine' mission in China which Mr. Yosuke Matsuoka has given to an American paper it is evident that some Japanese have become past masters in sanctimonious hypocrisy, too. Says Mr. Matsuoka :

Japan's mission is to lead the world spiritually and intellectually... We do not take. We are in a position to give... Our occupation of Manchuria is not a question of 'taking' anything away from Manchuria in a moral sense. It is Japan who is giving Manchuria precious principles of self-development, progress and spirituality. This melting pot of Asia, where meet and mingle Japanese, Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Koreans, Sibereans and Russians, Red and White, one day may be able to save the whole of China. We in Japan would do a very great deal to help China toward peace and unification... We want to inspire and educate Manchuria in high, humanitarian and spiritual principles. We hope that Manchuria will be a beacon to Asia... Japan can offer spirituality to America and the entire western world. Japan, I am convinced, will be the cradle of a new Messiah. This Messiah will be a Japanese priest, who will interpret the Sermon on the Mount in terms of Hindu philosophy. We must be strong for the sake of our ideals.

Why drag poor Hindu philosophy through the imperialist and militarist mire?

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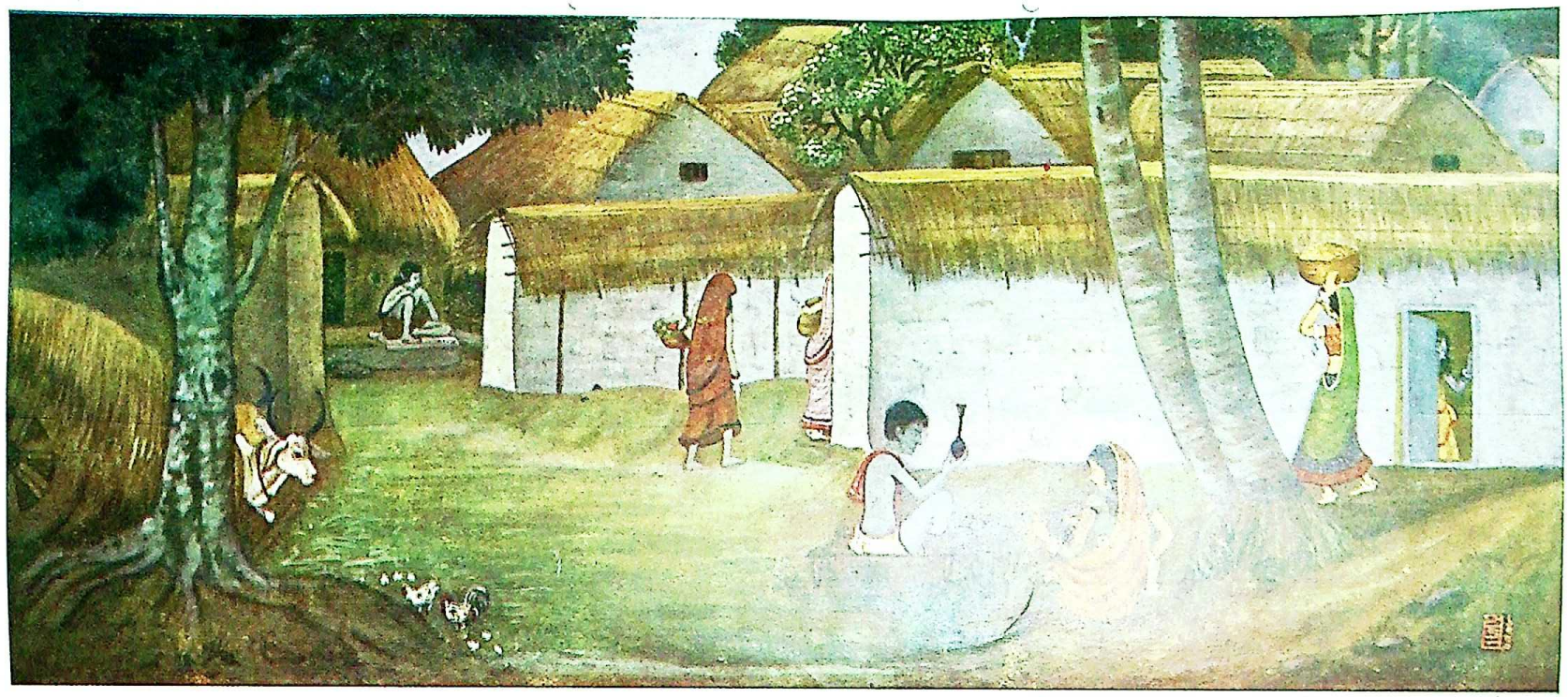

IN THE VILLAGE
By Ajit Krishna Gupta

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INDIA AND THE WHITE PAPER

The Labour Party's Standpoint

BY MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

FULL responsible self-government for India has been declared by every political party in this country as its goal. There are differences of opinion as to the rate at which progress towards that end can be made. We in the Labour Party believe that nothing on our part should be left undone to make that progress as rapid as is possible, in close co-operation with Indians. This, indeed, is what has been promised to India by Great Britain.

As long ago as 1857, in her Proclamation as Empress of India, it was stated by Queen Victoria that:

"It is Our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race and creed, be freely and impartially admitted to office in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity duly to discharge.

"In their prosperity will be Our strength: in their contentment Our security: and in their gratitude Our best reward."

No one will pretend that we ever tried to put into practice these admirable sentiments, nor that there is in India the contentment which is essential to the security referred to in the Proclamation.

THE PRIME MINISTER ON INDIAN GOVERNMENT

The progress of India towards self-government was described by the present Prime Minister in these words:

"In 1858 the control of Indian affairs passed into the hands of a Secretary of State assisted by a Council: in 1861 a kind of legislature was established in the Provinces: in 1892, a semblance of representative authority was given to these Councils: in 1909 this semblance was made more of a reality."—*The Awakening of India*, p. 232.

THE NATIONAL CONGRESS BEGINNINGS

Meanwhile, in 1885, the Indian National Congress was founded with the object, as stated in the circular calling its first meeting, to

"form the germ of a native Parliament and, if properly conducted, would constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India was still wholly unfit for any form of representative institution."

How did it succeed? Again I quote the Prime Minister:

"The history of the National Congress is a history of the nationalistic movement. Started in 1885 by men who were rich, who were Liberals, and who had been educated in western ways, it was purely political. Its demand was for enfranchisement and for responsibility. It was never anti-British it has always contented itself with demanding a measure of self-government under the British Raj.

"But it gave birth to a left wing, which gradually gained an independent position and drew away from it. The Anglo-Indian administrator lost his opportunity. The Congress, which ought to have been accepted by him as a useful critic, was regarded by him as an irreconcilable enemy. He resented it. He misrepresented it. He handed it over to the mercy of its left wing. The doctrine of a Sinn Fein kind of self-help, the dream of

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the political boycott, were encouraged by the blunders of the Government."

—*The Awakening of India*: by Rt. Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald

The Coalition Government Declaration

The Great War with its slogan of "self-determination" had its echoes in India. Indians fought side by side with our own men and felt that they also had established their right to self-determination.

Then there was the famous declaration in the House of Commons by the late Mr. Edwin Montagu that

> "The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of *responsible government in India as an integral part* of the British Empire." (August 20th, 1917)

That was the declaration of the Coalition Government.

Mr. Montagu went out to India and with the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, made an exhaustive enquiry. This was followed by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report which frankly admitted that up till then India had been ruled by "a system of absolute government."

Then came the Government of India bill of 1919. The new constitution was inaugurated by H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught who, on behalf of H. M. the King, used these words :

> "For years—it may be for generations—loyal Indians have dreamed of Swaraj for their Motherland.
>
> "Today you have the beginning of Swaraj within my Empire, and the widest scope and ample opportunities for progress to *the liberty which my other Dominions enjoy*."

In the revised Instrument of Instructions to the Governor-General, on 15th March 1921, it is stated :

> "For above all things it is Our will and pleasure that the plans laid by Our Parliament...may come to fruition to the end that British India may attain *its due place among Our Dominions*."

There is no ambiguity about these words. They connote nothing more or less than Dominion Status—and were accepted by all parties in the House of Commons as a solemn pledge to India.

The Failure of Diarchy

It was not long, however, before it was discovered that the new constitution—founded as it was on the principle of Diarchy—was an impossible one. As one Minister who had tried to work it stated in evidence before the Reforms Enquiry Committee in 1924, the system of Diarchy worked well only so far as it was departed from !

Indeed the new constitution had not been working for more than a few months before it was seen that it could not function satisfactorily. It was admitted in the Indian Legislative Assembly by Sir William Vincent, the Home Member of the Government of India, that he did not believe that the "present transitional scheme could last as long as was expected"—that was, for ten years.

This was realized here and in 1924 a Committee—the Reforms Enquiry Committee—was set up in India. The Prime Minister in referring to the setting up of the Committee, said :

> "We know of the serious condition of affairs in India, and we want to improve it. As Lord Olivier says, without equivocation, *Dominion Status for India is the idea and the ideal of the* Labour Government...
>
> "An inquiry is being held by the Government which means that inquiry to be a serious one. We do not mean it to be an expedient for wasting and losing time. We mean that the inquiry shall produce results which will be the basis for consideration of the Indian constitution, its working and its possibilities, which we hope will help Indians to co-operate on the way towards the creation of *a system which will be self-government*."

A change of government took place in this country and no action followed as the result of the Report of that Committee. Naturally the agitation in India continued with increased vigour.

What is Dominion Status ?

Dominion Status is a phrase that has been used from time to time. Its meaning has been subject to growth and change. What is Dominion Status ?

In March 1920 the late Mr. Bonar Law defined it in these words :

> "What is the essential of Dominion Home Rule? The essential is that *they have control of their whole destinies*, of their fighting forces, and of the amounts which they will contribute to the general security of the Empire. All these things are in and there is not a man in the House who will

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not admit that *the connexion of the Dominions with the Empire depends upon themselves.*

"If the self-governing Dominions of Australia or Canada choose to-morrow to say, 'We will no longer make a part of the British Empire' we would not try to force them.

"Dominion Home Rule means the right to decide for themselves."

The Imperial Conference in 1926 tried to give an exact definition to show its implications and consequences.

The Inter-Imperial Relations Committee of the Imperial Conference in 1926 said of "the group of self-governing communities composed of Great Britain and the Dominions" that each of them had "as regards all vital matters, reached its full development."

They went on to define their position and mutual relation as follows :

> "They are autonomous Communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."
>
> (Cmd. 2768 of 1926, p. 14)

The Irwin Declaration

Lord Irwin, as Viceroy, speaking in 1929 in opening the Indian Legislative Assembly, said :

> "I tell this Assembly again and through them India, that the Declaration of 1917 stands and will stand for all time as the solemn pledge of the British people to do all that can be done by one people to assist another to attain *full, national, political stature, and that the pledge so given will never be dishonoured.*
>
> "And as actions are commonly held more powerful than words, I will add that I should not be standing before you here to-day as Governor-General if I believed that the British people had withdrawn their hands from that solemn covenant."

The Irwin Declaration, made on the authority of the British Cabinet, explicitly reaffirmed that it was

> "implicit in the Declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as there contemplated, is *the attainment of Dominion Status.*"

Again there is no ambiguity whatever in the goal set before India by Great Britain.

The Conservative Declaration

Now let us come to the Leader of the Conservative Party. Mr. Baldwin, speaking in the House of Commons on 7th November 1929, said :

> "...Can there be any doubt whatever, in any quarter of the House, that the position of an India with full, responsible Government in the Empire, when attained, and whatever form it may take so far as the internal Government of India is concerned, must be one of *equality with the other States of the Empire?*
>
> "Nobody knows what Dominion status will be when India has responsible Government, whether that date be near or distant, but surely *no one dreams of a self-governing India with an inferior status.*
>
> "No Indian would dream of an India with an inferior status, *nor can we wish that India should be content with an inferior status, because that would mean that we had failed in our work in India.*
>
> "No Tory party with which I am connected will fail in sympathy and endeavour to help in our time to the uttermost extent of our ability to a solution of the greatest political problem that lies before us to-day."
>
> (Hansard. Vol. 231. Col. 1312. 7th November 1929.)

The Round Table Conference

In trying to further the progress of India towards full self-government, in co-operation with Indians, we had a Round Table Conference in 1930. At that Conference unfortunately only certain sections of Indian opinion were represented.

A Second Session of the Round Table Conference was held in London in 1931. At this Second Round Table Conference all sections of Indian opinion were represented, including the Indian National Congress.

This Conference was sitting when the last General Election took place. Soon afterwards an attempt was made, but was happily unsuccessful, on the part of the National Government to terminate that Conference. It was, however, adjourned with many problems still unsolved—some not even discussed.

The Labour Government and National Government Declarations

It is worth quoting the actual words of the speech made by the Prime Minister at the conclusion of the Second Round Table Conference, speaking, as he was, on behalf of the present National Government :

> "At the beginning of the year I made a declaration of the policy of the then Government, and I am authorized by the present one to give you and India a specific assurance that it remains

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their policy. I shall repeat the salient sentences of that declaration :

'The view of His Majesty's Government is that responsibility for the Government of India should be placed upon Legislatures, Central and Provincial, with such provisions as may be necessary to guarantee, *during a period of transition* the observance of certain obligations and to meet other special circumstances, and also with such guarantees as are required by minorities to protect their political liberties and rights.

'In such statutory safe-guards as may be made for meeting the needs of the transitional period, it will be a primary concern of His Majesty's Government to see that the reserved powers are so framed and exercised as not to prejudice the advance of India through the new constitution to *full responsibility for her own government.*"

That was the declared attitude of the present Government and on that India was entitled to rely.

Can anyone suggest that the scheme outlined in the White Paper leads to full responsible government within a reasonable period of time ?

There is nothing in this Paper to suggest that the reservation of certain subjects is to be for a limited period of time. Nor is there any indication as to the duration of the period of transition.

Although the Second Session of the Round Table Conference was only adjourned until a Third Round Table Conference should be summoned, the National Government changed their views and decided to have no further Round Table Conferences.

Circumstances in India caused them to alter their point of view and to summon a Third Round Table Conference, which, however, was much less representative of Indian opinion than its predecessor.

That Conference came to an end at Christmas and we, and India, have had to wait until the issue of this White Paper to see how the Government propose to implement their undertakings to set India on the road to "full responsibility for her own government"—as promised by the Prime Minister in the Government's Declaration which I have just quoted.

The White Paper

The White Paper makes no attempt to carry out these pledges—pledges given separately on behalf of Coalition, Conservative, Labour and National Governments in this country.

This White Paper by no stretch of imagination proposes to give responsible self-government. It is hedged about on every side with safe-guards and emergency powers, which undoubtedly *do* prejudice the advance of India "through the new constitution to full responsibility for her own government."

Sir Arthur McWatters on Financial Safe-guards

In this connection one can quote the opinion of Sir Arthur McWatters in a lecture given to the East India Association. Sir Arthur spent nearly thirty years in the I.C.S. and for eight years, from 1923 to 1931, was Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Finance. His opinion is therefore of special value. What he said was that we must pay particular attention to the Indian view of any measures limiting Indian financial responsibility, because

"if the period after the introduction of the new Constitution is to be one of continued agitation against its checks and safe-guards, it will be difficult to avoid a series of constitutional crises, and the effect upon the stability of the Constitution and credit of India will be serious."
(*Evening Standard*, p. 6. Col. 2., 22nd March 1933.)

The First Principle Ignored

It has been proposed and urged that we should go back to the Report of the Simon Commission and base the new Constitution on that Report. What does that Report recommend ?

The Statutory Commission, presided over by Sir John Simon, emphatically stated in their Report :

"The first principle which we would lay down is that the new constitution should, as far as possible, *contain within itself provision for its own development.*"--*Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, Vol. 2.

Recommendations p. 5. para. 7.

And further on it also stated :

"*Those who have to work a temporary constitution tend* inevitably to fix their minds upon the future instead of on the present. Instead of making the most of the existing constitution and learning to deal with practical problems under existing conditions, *they constantly endeavour to anticipate the future and to push forward the date for the next instalment of reforms.*"
Ibid., Recommendations, p. 5, para 8.

This important principle seems to have been ignored by the authors of the White

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Paper which proposes to fix on India a rigid constitution, with no provision for its own development.

The inauguration of such a constitution would inevitably be the signal for a fresh agitation for further reforms necessarily resulting in frequent crises and conflicts.

Chief Points of Criticism

Our *chief points of criticism* of the White Paper are :

(*i*) There is no date given for the inauguration of the Federation. Indeed, if India has to wait for the fulfilment of the conditions proposed in para. 32 on p. 17 of the White Paper it would be impossible to foreshadow the date of the beginning of the Federation.

(*ii*) The White Paper does not make it clear that after a period of transition there will be complete responsible self-government in India.

Nor is it indicated by what process the further changes that will lead to this goal are to be made.

(*iii*) The proposal to set up provincial autonomous governments before the Federation is formed, and indeed before it has been ascertained that the Federation can be brought into being, will be severely criticized and resented by all Indian opinion.

The White Paper states :

"It is probable that it will be found convenient, or even necessary, that the new Provincial Governments should be brought into being in advance of the changes in the Central Government and the entry of the States....

"Provision will accordingly be required in the Constitution Act for the period, however short it may be, by which Provincial autonomy may precede the complete establishment of the Federation." (White Paper, para 13. p. 9).

But what the White Paper does not make clear is what is going to happen after the provincial governments are set up, and are working, if by any chance circumstances make it impossible to set up the Federation.

Nothing will cause more dissatisfaction in India than the establishment of the new provincial governments without responsibility in the Central Government.

In that event all that the White Paper promises is that H. M. Government "will take steps to review the whole position in consultation with Indian opinion."

Any such delay and uncertainty as regards the date of the establishment of the Federation would create a very serious situation in India.

(*iv*) There is no provision for enabling India to take over her own defence at any future date or for training her for that purpose.

There is no indication that at the end of five years, fifteen years or fifty years, India will have control of her own Army.

We, in the Labour Party, are of opinion that a definite policy for the building up of an Indian National Army, within a reasonable period of time, should be laid down—possibly in the Instrument of Instructions to the Governor-General.

(*v*) In the 1919 Government of India Act there was at least the safe-guard that there had to be a statutory enquiry at the end of ten years.

The Simon Commission were unanimously of opinion that the new system should be one *which contained within itself* provision for its own development.

But the White Paper *envisages no period at the end of which* India can hope to have complete self-government, or the steps by which more responsibility for the conduct of the government of their country can gradually and automatically be transferred to Indians.

(*vi*) The recruitment to the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police is still retained in the hands of the Secretary of State instead of being handed over to the Government of India as recommended by the First Round Table Conference.

This is the negation of self-government.

(*vii*) In the last Conservative Government an attempt was made to pass a bill to remove the disqualifications of I. C. S. officials from acting as Chief Justices. That attempt was defeated, but in this White Paper another attempt is being made to allow I. C. S. officials to be appointed as Chief Justices in the High Courts.

This is causing grave disquiet in India, as it is a reversal of the policy which has in the past been followed.

(*viii*) The legislative powers given to the Governor-General and the Governors are far

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greater than anything they have ever had in the past. Not only is there the power of the Governor-General to make Ordinances, but this power is now extended to Governors in the Provinces. In addition, the Governor-General and the Governors are given new powers to make laws without the concurrence of their ministers or of the legislatures.

These powers, it may be said, merely take the place of the old powers of certification—but in fact they *further increase these powers* by providing for initiation as well as for final approval.

(*ix*) Any Act passed by the Legislature in both Houses and assented to by the Governor-General is, within 12 months, to be subject to disallowance by His Majesty in Council.

This power of disallowance, before the Statute of Westminster, obtained in Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.

There is no such provision in the Irish Free State Constitution.

It was abolished for the other Dominions by the Statute of Westminster. Why should it be specially revived for India? *In practice* no Act is assented to without the previous consent of H. M. Government.

The Vital Departments.

Of the vital departments of the Government of India, Army, Foreign Affairs and the Ecclesiastical Department are to be absolutely reserved.

Finance is to be transferred, but subject to so many safe-guards and restrictions that Indians cannot see any stage at which they will have effective control.

The Indian Finance Minister will have control over only about 20 per cent to 25 p. c. of the total expenditure.

Railways are to be administered by a Statutory Railway Board and the Federal Legislature is to have only a general control over policy. No Indian is likely to object to this, but rather to be in favour of it, but is this not a matter for the Federal Legislature itself rather than for the Constitution Act?

Commerce is to be transferred subject to certain safe-guards, such as commercial discrimination.

What else is left? Perhaps post and telegraphs and a few minor departments.

Can this by any stretch of imagination be described as responsible government at the Centre?

By what process, or after the lapse of what time, or on the fulfilment of what conditions, are all these departments to be brought under the control of a self-governing India?

There is also the Ecclesiastical Department. Is it not time, if we want bishops and clergy in India for the spiritual guidance and benefit of our own people there, that we should begin to pay for them ourselves? At present even their pensions, when they return to England, are paid out of Indian revenues.

Ireland And India

Mr. Asquith (Lord Oxford) speaking in the House of Commons, in March 1917, as recorded on page 55 of his biography, said:

"Consider what will be the position of Ireland, the condition of government in that country under the system you are about to introduce, representative institutions upon the terms that the voice of the great majority of the people shall be systematically ignored and overridden, the right of public meeting tempered by Viceregal proclamation: a free press subject to be muzzled at the will of the officials; judges and magistrates, by their tradition independent of the Crown, but in practice and in theory inextricably entangled up with the action of the executive.

"What conceivable advantage can there be either to Ireland or to Great Britain from the continuance of this gross caricature of the British Constitution?

"*There is much virtue in government of the people, by the people, for the people. There is much to be said for a powerful and well-equipped autocracy, but between the two, there is no logical or statesmanlike halting place.*"

For "Ireland" in that speech read "India" and you have the position in India today.

The Labour Party's policy towards India is one of close co-operation with Indians in working for full self-government and self-determination—in a word for Dominion Status for India on a basis of absolute equality with Canada, Australia, and the other Dominions, and with Great Britain herself.

In the debate to take place in the House of Commons for three days next week on the government of India and the White Paper just issued I believe that position will be made clear without a shadow of ambiguity.

24th March, 1933.

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THE FARMERS' REVOLT

By JOHN EARNSHAW

I

THERE is an unfortunate tendency to-day to regard the problems of India as being peculiar to India, and practically to disregard events which are taking place in other countries. This would not be of necessity a bad thing, but at the same time it is to be remembered that political ideas, political theories, and above all the political remedies which one hears so often discussed in India, are not Indian, but are imported from foreign countries. There are therefore two alternatives, the one is to follow an isolationist policy, to separate India from the rest of the world, and then naturally there would be no need for India to consider what was going on in other countries. The alternative is to recognize that an isolationist policy is not possible, and, therefore, it is necessary to study what is actually going on in other countries. It is not enough to accept the ideas, slogans and catchwords of Western civilization. These same ideas and phrases should be tested in the light of experience.

Now speaking generally, the ideas which are at present current in India, are ideas which were current in Western civilization some fifty years ago. True a local colouring is sometimes given, but the ideas are essentially the ideas of the Victorian era. If the ideas of the Victorians had justified themselves in practice, then little complaint could be made against them. But instead of peace and plenty, civilization today reveals a picture of barbaric luxury existing side by side with the most squalid poverty; plenty everywhere, but nowhere peace; work wanting to be done, the materials to do the work waiting to be used, the labour to do the work pleading to be employed. As a recent economic book suggests, possibly this world is "the lunatic asylum of the Universe," since man has conquered Nature, but is in turn conquered by the machines he has himself created. The lesson of this for India is surely that in Western ideas, and organization there are certain dangers, and therefore, it is only by studying where the Western system has broken down that the dangers of the West may be avoided.

Now one of the things that is most frequently alleged as the difference between India and the West, is that the West is industrialized, whilst India is a purely agricultural country. This may be true, but it is often forgotten that the industrialized West can grow sufficient raw materials, such as cotton, wheat, and other commodities to export to the agricultural East. There is therefore an agricultural side to Western civilization, and the success or failure of the agriculturalists in other countries, contains lessons which India may well learn. If one finds that the agriculturalist in the West suffers from the same difficulties as the agriculturalist in the East, and if further, one discovers that the agriculturalist in the West has discovered certain means for overcoming those same difficulties, there is the possibility that the adoption of the same means might prove to be beneficial in India. The difficulties which the agriculturalist has to face in India, are, first, the *natural difficulties* due to the difficulty of being certain about the rainfall, and, secondly, the *artificial difficulties* due to taxes and the difficulties of marketing. Now, the natural difficulties can be overcome by scientific means. For example, one of the reasons for the increased production of wheat in Canada is that it was discovered that a particular brand of seed grew in a shorter space of time. Formerly the crop had sometimes been caught by the frost, but with the quicker-growing seed, the danger of the frost was removed. Similarly the problem of maintaining a regular water supply, can be overcome by the creation of irrigation canals. In short the conquest of the *natural* difficulties of the agriculturalist

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is only a matter of time, and further investigation. But the mere solving of the natural difficulties, will not touch the *artificial* difficulties. These latter difficulties are created by society, on account of the present order of society, and as things stand at present, the faster the natural difficulties are removed, the faster will the artificial difficulties grow up. To return to the idea which has been emphasized above, either India can remain indifferent to the West, which in this case means continuing an agricultural system which will be at the mercy of the natural elements, or alternatively, India can study the success and failure of the agricultural system in the West.

II

The most highly developed agricultural section of Western civilization is most probably that of North America. Turning therefore to examine the conditions obtaining at present among the farmers in the United State of America one can make certain general remarks. First of all, the farmers are complaining that whilst they can grow materials and commodities, whilst they work and are willing to work, and whilst they are willing to be law-abiding citizens, the law is preventing them from remaining law-abiding citizens. The law allows them to the turned away from their holdings, when they are conscious that they have done no wrong and, therefore, since the law will not help them they have learnt to help themselves and by farmers' strikes, farmers' holidays, and forced sales, they are preventing independent members from being evicted. The United States farmer is usually a staunch conservativetin his outlook on life and in all his ideas, and therefore his revolt is of historical importance. As a rule, each farmer has his farm, which he manages as far as possible by himself with the help of his family, and a generous use of machines. During the rush period and during the harvest times, he depends on vagrant labour to help him to reap his crops. Since the crops in the northern States naturally occur later than those in the southern States there is a steady stream northwards throughout the summer months, of vagrant labourers who pay for their board and lodging by their work, and so pass the summer months. During the winter of course this labour is to be found swelling the numbers of the unemployment in the big industrial towns. That however is no concern of the farmer, he wants his labour only for short periods of the year, and it would not pay him to keep a full staff, since for a fairly long period there would not be much they could do to earn their living. As a rule, the farmer has been compelled to invest a certain amount of money in modern farm machinery, such as tractors, threshing machines, and other things, which have become necessities for farmers in the West. In order to buy the machinery it has often been necessary for the farmer to raise the money by a mortgage, or else by buying on the hire parchase system, in which case he is compelled to make steady payments out of the money he receives for selling his crops. It follows, therefore, that his stock, which includes his animals, is necessary to him if he is to continue production, and earn his living. The farmer also knows that his success or failure depends on his own efficiency, and therefore he has, as a rule, little patience with the talker and the theorist; what he wants is acts not words; and a few years ago the man who had suggested that it was not fair to sell up a farmer who got into money difficulties, would not have been listened to. Now it is just this class, the conservative agriculturalist class, usually the staunch supporters of individualism, it is these people who are now the most restless, and the most likely class in the United States to rebel against "law and order."

In order to understand how this has come about, one must first understand a little of what has happened to the money system of the world, so that at present the more efficient an individual or a nation becomes in production, the more certain is it that destitution is being brought nearer and nearer with each fresh stage of efficiency. It is all due to the fact that money has ceased to fulfil its primary functions, and instead of being a medium of exchange and a measure of value, it has become a *commodity*; therefore, at present it is better to possess money, which one can neither eat, nor wear, rather

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than food or clothes which are necessary to maintain life. Consider for a moment how this change has come about; at one time people used to barter, or exchange articles which they possessed but did not want, for other articles which they did not possess but did want; then this system was found to be too cumbersome, and therefore exchanges were arranged by expressing the value of commodities in terms of some common object, or commodity, as for example, salt; salt however has certain disadvantages, since one is not able to keep the salt, a rainstorm on the way home from a market might reduce a farmer who had just sold his commodities to bankruptcy! It was found however that gold was the ideal substance to use as money; it was valuable, it could be hoarded without diminishing in value, and it did not vary in quality. Thus it came about that metal came to be used as money; at first the money was expressed in the weight of the metal, for example, the English pound sterling originally meant a pound in weight; then it was found that it was more convenient for the State to guarantee the quality of the metal, and to issue the metal in small pieces, and of different sizes so that it could be carried about easily, this led to the use of coins. During the last fifty years or so, whilst the population has been growing fairly steadily throughout the whole world, there has been an increase in scientific inventions, and as a result of these scientific inventions it has been found possible to produce more commodities with a smaller amount of labour. The result is that though the population has increased and with the increase in the population the needs for a larger supply of commodities have also increased, the supply of the commodities has increased at an even faster rate. Now if the gold which is used for money had at the same time increased in supply no great harm would have been done, but though the production of gold has increased it has not increased at the same rapid rate. In other words the position comes to this (1) commodities are expressed in terms of gold, (2) commodities have increased, (3) gold has not increased to the same extent, (4) therefore *the number of commodities one can buy for a given quantity of money has increased, in short, prices have fallen.*

So far then the position comes to this, the increase in the supply of commodities, together with the amount of gold not increasing in the same proportion, *automatically reduces prices.* Now in a previous paragraph it was pointed out that the American farmers had often had to mortgage their farms in order to produce more efficiently. Now as prices fell it became necessary for them to sell a *greater quantity of commodities to obtain the same amount of money.* In other words, the fall in prices drove them to greater productive efforts, but because they produced more commodities without any corresponding increase in the amount of gold it meant that prices fell still lower, both on account of the ordinary economic law of supply and demand, and also on account of the increased commodities being expressed in terms of another stationary commodity. This situation is one which is favourable to a creditor, whether an individual or a nation, it means that the creditor gets more commodities. Thus if the creditor lent the equivalent of 100 units of commodities when he is repaid he now gets the equivalent of 154 units of commodities. But just as the situation favours the creditor it is equally unfavourable for the debtor. When he borrows he borrows the means to purchase 100 commodities; when he pays back he has to repay the means to purchase 154 commodities; therefore, he has to produce and sell 154, where before 100 would have been sufficient; but as he produces more the supply automatically increases, and as the supply increases the price will fall. Thus the harder the farmer works the more do his difficulties increase! The situation is a veritable nightmare, the farmer might well be compared to a child running as hard as it can to catch its own shadow.

III

Such then was the general situation of the American farmers in 1932. They wanted to work honestly, they wanted to keep the law, but they found themselves faced with the prospect of being forced to sell out, of being evicted, and driven with their

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families into the cities where already there were too many people wanting work. They therefore decided to take matters into their own hands. First of all some of them tried to force up prices by cutting off Sioux City from getting fresh milk supplies. Roads leading to the town were picketted and anyone coming along the road with milk, or vegetables was firmly persuaded to return whence he came. The effort failed, as was not unexpected, but it showed that there was unrest. Then later on came the celebrated Farmers' March on Washington, the capital of the United States. The farmers from the different agricultural areas organized themselves, selected delegates and then sent the delegates off in old motor lorries to see President Hoover, and demand that he should do something, and do it quickly! The result of this second action was not unexpected; the deputation was received; the President shook hands with the delegates; the delegates spoke; the President promised; the delegates were shown out.

Now the farmer is not starving, but other people in America are! The farmer returned to his farm, having seen the bread-lines where the unemployed are given free food in the cities. On his farm are stored the various foods which the townspeople need, but which the farmer literally cannot afford to send to the towns since the cost of transport exceeds the price of the articles in the market! The farmers found that nothing came of their visit to the President, but at the same time, he, with food and to spare many were faced with the danger of eviction. The net result of all this is what have come to be known as the Farmers' Holiday Associations. The farmers have decided that they want fair treatment, and are not getting it; but they do not want to injure anyone, and have no wish to default on their loans. If a note falls due, or a mortgage is about to be foreclosed, then the creditor is asked to grant a longer time for payment. If the creditor refuses and a sale is arranged, then on the day of the sale the farmers meet together at the farm where the sale is to take place. They stand there in a mass, silent, and ominous. The auctioner tries to play his part, he speaks loudly of the value of the property, but met by a stony silence. As the leader of the farmers expresses the matter, "there's no body wants this farm 'cept the folks there at present. Anybody who thinks he does had better remember that this crowd does not agree." The sale goes on, the owner bids, but since he is the only bidder the prices are naturally low! A cow goes for two rupees, a motor car for eight annas, a threshing machine for one anna and so on. Very often on a four hundred dollar mortgage only some twenty dollars will be realized. The creditor must then take what he has got, and since there is no more to be said must cancel the debt.

IV

The following quotations come from an article by Oswald Garrison Villard who was till lately the editor of *The Nation*, describing a visit to the farming area of America:

> "Next me was the man who had started the first "farmer's holiday" in that State ....He explained he was bound to the capital on an insurance matter; the insurance companies are in trouble, at least the farmers' mutual insurance companies. "We have had to assess our policy-holders—our August loss was 55,000 more than the largest previous monthly loss in our history. There is a lot of arson going on around here but I don't blame the farmers. If you were as desperate for money as they are, you'd burn a chicken-house, or a garage, or a barn, or even your house, as they sometimes do to get clothes and shoes for your children. We don't just know what we are going to do, but I'll tell you this, we want the Eastern bankers to stay out in their country and leave us alone in the West. They can have their gold if they can keep it but we are going to hold on to our farms. We had a tax sale not far from here on the fourth of January; there were 1,800 farmers there. They said they weren't making any threats, and weren't going to do anybody any harm, but that the first fellow who made a bid on any of those properties would go right out of the first-story window. That sale was postponed.....Last year I had fine crops, got in lots of corn and have a cellar full of vegetables, but you can't get anything for them. I am burning my corn in my furnace right now. It is just as cheap to sell it for four or five cents a bushel after a long haul to the nearest town, and then buy coal with what you get. I know it's a rotten deal for the coal miner but what can I do?"... I found John Wirds who has now organized 90 per cent of the farmers of his county in the union, and the movement is spreading into adjoining counties. From one of the latter there came to him one morning five telephonic appeals

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for help.....He jumped into his automobile, and drove at full speed for the place—in time to prevent bloodshed, in time to see the discomfitted mortgage-holder withdraw in haste. About 250 members of the crowd followed him into one of the rooms of the court-house and asked what he thought of the proceeding. He told them that he did not like what they had done; they had not done enough for the mortgagee, and they had not insisted that the owner of the farm should pledge himself to do what he could to pay something however little, to the mortgagee. "We are running this thing along Golden Rule lines" said John Wirds "and we are going to be just as square about it as we can possibly be." The crowd at once began to take up a collection for the mortgage-holder."

The above quotations have been selected since they give an accurate picture of the movement as a whole, its motives, and its methods. For its strength the movement depends largely on man power,—sheer weight and corporate presence and purpose. In the background there are threats, and possibly a few carelessly dangled coils of rope, but save for one or two cases there has been no firing. The underlying belief of the movement is that soon, that is in the course of a year or so, prices will rise, but whether they will rise sufficiently to wipe out the indebtedness is doubtful. Again the conservative element which makes up these organizations should be noticed. The names adopted are suggestive; Council of Defence, Loyal Order of Picketers, The Modern Seventy-sixers. Notice, too, the aims as voiced by the Woodbury County, Iowa, Association; "To pay no taxes, to permit no foreclosures, stay on the farm until we receive cost of production."

One is now in a position to sum up the importance of this movement, and its historical significance. First of all the individualistic, and conservative element is in revolt. The farmers moreover are not the only people who find it difficult to pay debts, and it is possible that the movement may spread. Individual companies can go to the law-courts, and can get the permission of the courts to cancel a great part of their subscribed capital, thus reducing their indebtedness and the interest they have to pay. Possibly this privilege may also be extended to individuals. Then again, this revolt is the natural outcome of a situation which has developed automatically and naturally. Therefore, even if the present difficulty is solved, if the present system continues, the difficulty will again arise.

I. C. S. GOVERNORS

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

EXCEPTING the three Presidencies of Madras, Bombay and Bengal, where Governors are usually appointed in Great Britain, in the remaining seven provinces hitherto the Governors were as a matter of course appointed from amongst the members of the Indian Civil Service. During Lord Hardinge's administration it was proposed to raise the status of the United Provinces to the same level as that of a Governor's province; but the resolution in the British Parliament to that effect was negatived in the House of Lords. Under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, with a view to raise the status of the U. P., the salary of its Governor was made equal to that of a Presidency Governor in the Government of India Act, 1919; but no Governor has been appointed from England during the last thirteen years. In the coming constitution the number of smaller provinces are going to increase. Sind and Orissa are to be constituted into separate provinces. Berar demands separation from the Central Provinces; and a resolution to that effect has been passed in the local Legislative Council. Its fate depends upon the negotiations going on with the Nizam. In all these provinces, an I.C.S. man is sure to be appointed Governor. When once a post is annexed by the I. C. S., it is supremely difficult to make even the least change. It is taken into actuarial calculations in determining the normal rate of promotion and privileges; and perhaps it comes within the ambit of the proposed safe-guards for members of the White services.

The virtues claimed for an I. C. S. Governor are his intimate local knowledge

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and his administrative experience. If the proposed provincial autonomy is to be real, the Governor is to be guided by the advice of his ministers, whose local knowledge is *still more* intimate. Further, to meet the exigencies of service conditions, often an I.C.S. man is imported from another province. Take the cases of Sir Charles Innes, the ex-Governor of Burma, who spent his lifetime in Madras; and of Sir Michael Keane, the present Governor of Assam, who is an U. P. civilian. Can it be claimed for them that they have more intimate local knowledge than their ministers? As for his administrative experience, in future the Governor is not going to administer, but to guide the administration. If it be held to be a *sine qua non* of a successful Governor, then we must admit that Bengal, Bombay and Madras, and all the self-governing colonies have been badly administered.

The disadvantages of a member of the I. C. S. being a Governor are that often the Secretary becomes the Governor over the head of the minister, and he has his local bias. Take, for example, the case of Sir James Sifton, the present Governor of Bihar, who in 1923 was the secretary in the municipal department under Sir Ganesh Dutt Sinha.

A junior member of the I.C.S. whose rapid promotion is due to the preference shown by Mr. A., the minister and as such the leader of a particular party in the Council, cannot be expected to hold the scales even between that party and its opponents when he becomes the Governor. This is common sense, and experience. Sir James McNeill, who owed his appointment to the suggestions of Mr. Cosgrave, could not hold the scales even between him and Mr. De Valera; and had to be removed. On the other hand, Sir Philip Game, who was appointed from England did not hesitate to dismiss Mr. Laing, the Premier of New South Wales.

MAHASTHAN (BOGRA) MAURYA INSCRIPTION

By K. P. JAYASWAL

THE new inscription found at Mahasthan, Bogra, Bengal, which was mentioned in a meeting by Mr. Stapleton the other day, is a record of great importance. Dr. Bhandarkar's reading, I understand, will be published in the *Epigraphia Indica*. While at Patna I heard conflicting reports about it, which made me examine it at Calcutta recently.

There is no doubt that the inscription is a genuine Maurya record. In fine lettering it is engraved on a white-red stone, similar to many pieces discovered in the Pataliputra excavations. All the letters have the older Brahmi forms found in Asoka's inscriptions. Its importance, which has not yet been pointed out, consists firstly, in the fact that it is the first secular, administrative Maurya record, Asoka inscriptions being all religious. We have a similar document, though having more ancient forms of letters, in the Sohgaura plate, which is a public notice cast in a bronze tablet.

I would not like to anticipate Dr. Bhandarkar's reading, but as he has already published the purport of the inscription, there is no breach of etiquette in commenting on the substance of the record. The interpretation of the inscription was a difficult matter. This has been successfully done by Prof. Bhandarkar. In a storehouse grain had been stored by the then Government of Bengal, and along with grain probably cash was also ordered to be lent. It seems to have been a time of distress. The seat of Government was at *Pundra Nagara* (पुण्ड्र नगल), and there seems to have been [*Maha*] *matras* in Bengal for the government of the *Sa(m)vamgiya* (सं वंगिया). Secondly, the record is a wonderful confirmation of the tradition of the Jaina

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literature that a prolonged famine visited Northern India for twelve years in the reign of Chandra Gupta Maurya, which led to the migration of Jaina ascetics to the South. Thirdly, I should not be surprised if the Sohgaura plate turns out to be a similar royal order, and both these inscriptions may prove to refer to Chandra Gupta Maurya's reign. The solution of the Sohgaura plate becomes possible now, thanks to Prof. Bhandarkar's interpretation of the Mahasthan stone. Lastly, the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya is confirmed by the Mahasthan inscription. Kautilya includes Vanga within the rules of his Manual. That is the Manual shows that Bengal was a part of the Maurya Empire. The Mahasthan tablet proves the assertion.

THE OXFORD MAJLIS

By G. K. CHETTUR, M.A. (Oxon)

ONE evening, when Mahomed Ali was at Oxford, I got him to come out on the river with me in my punt I had acquired some skill is punting myself, and was, I suppose, (O vanity of vanities!) anxious to display it. Unfortunately I got no chance to do so, for I had reckoned without my guest, who, when I was about to take the pole, snatched it from me and said, "You sit comfortably there. I am going to do all the work this afternoon." I was so surprised that I yielded the pole without a word, but my astonishment was still greater when I observed the dexterity with which he manoeuvred the punt out of the "New Cut," and sent it swiftly gurgling and plashing along, with graceful lunges. "It's years since I handled a punt," he said, smiling at my very obvious wonder.

Mahomed Ali's was at all times an impressive figure. His well-knit person never ran to the generous proportions of his brother Shaukat; and his bold handsome face set with piercing eyes, and fringed by a heavy finely trimmed black beard, the whole surmounted by an imposing Astrakan cap ornamented with the star and crescent, is one which once seen can never be forgotten. The picture he made, standing clad in white flannels at one end of the punt and wielding the pole deftly and gracefully in the middle of the Cherwell, is one which comes vividly before me as I write. Was this, I wondered, the uncompromising political fighter, of whom even the Government was rumoured to stand in dread? Was this in very truth the "Ex-President from Lincoln," who, the previous evening at the Majlis had thundered forth his fiery denunciations? There he was, so obviously enjoying himself, so obviously appreciating the many curious and admiring glances that were levelled at him from other punts. I need hardly say that for me it was a notable experience.

I have begun these reminiscences of the Oxford Majlis with my recollections of Mahomed Ali because he was one of its founders. The Majlis is today an important institution. It has a large membership. It plays an important part in the life of the Indian undergraduate at Oxford. It offers a meeting place for, and thus exerts a unifying influence upon the Indian population, which would otherwise be scattered and lost in the whirl of University life. It serves to make its members feel less lonely in a foreign land. It helps to strengthen national sentiment and acts as a spur on individual ambition. But when it was started over a quarter of a century ago it had only nine members, after the manner of that (not less famous) society which was, and still is, associated with the name of Johnson. And appropriately enough it was called *The Nabaratnam Club.* Out of this little club sprang the Majlis of today. Majlis, I may explain here, is a Persian word meaning *assembly.*

When I went up to Oxford in 1918 the Majlis had only twenty-three members, and its place of meeting was a little basement room in a house in New-in-Hall Street. I still remember vividly the first meeting which I attended. The dark streets through which we went (it was war time and streets were not lit at night for fear of air raids), the steps leading down to the basement, the drawn curtains, the black gowns, the whispering little groups, all served to give the occasion an air of mystery, and I felt as though I were participating in the ceremonies of some weird secret society. The sad faces of some of the members, their whispered colloquies, and a general atmosphere of gloom which I thought very strange at first were easily enough explained when I learnt that the President-elect for the term (who had not yet taken his seat) had suddenly expired the previous week, and that we were met to choose another in his place.

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A condolence resolution was first passed, all standing. Then name after name was proposed for the vacancy so sadly created, but each one, (for sentimental reasons, I did not doubt) declined the honour with thanks. At last one was found courageous enough to flout sentiment.... At a subsequent election, the Majlis distinguished itself by choosing a lady as President, the first society at Oxford to uphold, nay assert the equal rights of women. And, mind you, this was long before women got their vote! It must not be supposed, however, that the election of office-bearers was a tame business. It was usually an exciting affair, each place being keenly contested. When I myself was elected President for the Hilary term (1920) it was by a bare majority of one.

The place of meeting was changed soon after to a first floor room in the Turl. It was known as St. Mildred's Hall, and belonged to a man who kept a school for dancing. There was a little yard in front, and a spiral staircase gave on to a narrow wooden landing rather like a veranda, and a door led into the "Hall," at one end of which was a raised platform a foot (or perhaps it was a foot and a half) high. When this room became too small to hold the members conveniently (for after the war there was a rush of Indian students to England, and the membership of the Majlis went up rapidly) we hired the hall used by the Theosophical Society which was in an attic up four pair of stairs, but rather more central, because it was close to Carfax. The next move, not long after, was into more spacious and certainly more imposing premises, the Mission Hall in the High; and here, I believe the Majlis still meets, on Sundays after dinner at 8-30 P.M.

The procedure at these meetings was (and still is) largely modelled on that of the Union Society. Visitors were allowed, but previous intimation had to be given to the President, if you wished to bring a guest. Private business consisted in passing the minutes of the previous meeting, and in asking inconvenient and (sometimes) highly personal questions of the office-bearers. There they sit, the three of them at one end of the Hall, the President in the middle, with the Secretary and the Treasurer on either side of him, majestically, in evening dress, making an excellent target for the witticisms of the members. "Is it true, Sir, that the Honourary Secretary was almost progged* last Thursday in highly questionable company; and if so what steps do you intend to take in the matter?" asks one member, and there is general laughter. "I believe it is true," replies the President rising, but I do not see that I am called upon to interfere. The Honorary Secretary himself took the necessary steps immediately, and just managed, I understand, to elude the Bulls."* The following question was once levelled at a Treasurer who was known to be too fond of boozing. "Mr. President Sir, may we know whether the Honorary Treasurer is following the example of the money market which is reported to be tight?" "I have often been in tight corners," answered the victim, when requested to do so by the President, "but thank heaven I haven't a screw loose like the Honourable Member who has put the question." On another occasion a certain member who was always getting into difficulties with the authorities of his college (a fact well known to everyone) suddenly remembering the President's habit of going about with a superfluity of vests and mufflers got up and asked, "Sir, is there any truth in the rumour that the Oxford climate does not agree with you, and that you habitually wear seven waistcoats to keep out the cold?" "Even if I wore seventy of them, Sir," came the reply, "I do not think I should find Oxford too hot a place to be in, as my honourable friend occasionally does.'

Question time over, the House adjourned for coffee and biscuits. This was a pleasant interlude which lasted for ten or fifteen minutes, that is until the President recalled us by resuming his seat and shouting, "Order! Order!" Public business usually consisted of a debate on some subject connected with India; occasionally it was a lecture by some well-known Oxford Don or some celebrity specially got down from London. When I look back upon these debates and lectures, I smile to think how seriously we took ourselves. Our thunders and our ranting were very real to us, and often we worked ourselves into a passion, which, albeit generous and noble, fills me in retrospect with a kind of melancholy amusement.

And what a procession of important personages goes through my mind when I think of those Majlis meetings! Mrs. Sorojini Naidu in her fascinating *sarees* was frequently with us thrilling the hearts of Young India with her passionate orations. Tagore came and went like a prophet once. Yeats gave us one unforgettable lecture. Sir J. C. Bose and Sir P. C. Ray were full of valuable advice on different occasions. Rothenstein (now Sir William) assisted at a debate on Indian art and culture. Mr. Fenner Brockway addressed us on Labour problems. Mr. Jinarajadasa, Sir Bhupendranath Basu, Mr. Ananda Coomaraswamy, Mr. B. Horniman, Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar, Mr. Satyamurti—we had the privilege of listening to all these on art or life or politics, at one time or another. And on one memorable occasion we had Sir Henry Stone and Lord Chelmsford (this was soon after the latter's return from India) as visitors; and I remember the curious thrill I had when I noted the handsome dog

* Seized by the Proctor for disobeying University regulations after 8 P.M.

* The Proctor's assistants.

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lined scholarly face of the ex-Viceroy, and contrasted the old rain coat he wore over his evening dress, with the imperial splendours of his viceregal habiliments. I happened to be sitting by his side. Somebody had just finished a very telling humorous speech, a reply to some arguments against the Montagu scheme. "That was a clever speech," I said, turning to Lord Chelmsford. "Brilliant!" he agreed, smiling. "Just like Oxford!—But does it lead anywhere?"

Sometimes we invited the Union Society to debate with us, and these debates were very successful. They served to show, if they did nothing else, that we could hold our own in debate with Englishmen in their own language. On one occasion, I remember, the President of the Union, who was one of the speakers, could not keep back his surprise at the high level of speaking maintained by the members of the Majlis. "I have no hesitation in saying," he said, "that in this matter there is little the Majlis needs to learn from the Union, or any other body for the matter of that." This was not uttered patronizingly, but in a tone of frank admiration.

Once a term was indulged in what was termed a "Musical Evening." It was a gay affair, any number of guests could be brought, and on such occasions the fair sex was in greater evidence. Dilip Roy, who was at Cambridge, would almost invariably come down for these evenings, and help to liven up things. One came into the Hall, and found it laid out as for a tea-party, with little groups of tables and chairs, and palms and other floral decorations, which served to accentuate the gaiety of the occasion. And as song after song winged us back home, what a glamour fell upon us! Forgotten the strange country, the alien habits, the indifferent looks, the slights, the vexations, the torments and the anxieties, that life in a far-off foreign country inevitably entails; forgotten everything, while that surge of feeling, borne on a throbbing note, spanned six thousand miles of land and water. O those musical evenings! How eagerly we looked forward to them and what a keen memory they left behind!

Once a year we indulged in a grand full-dress dinner. This annual function, which was keenly looked forward to, was held in the second or Hilary term (January to March), usually at the Randolph Hotel. Members were at liberty to bring as many guests as they pleased provided they paid for them. I don't know what it is now, but the dinner subscription used to be sixteen shillings per head. The guests of honour were usually two in number, an Oxford celebrity and a London celebrity, and they sat on either side of the President at the cross table. In 1920, when I was President of the Majlis, our chief guests were Dr. Canon Streeter of Queens College, Oxford, and Mrs. Despard, a famous Labourite, sister of Lord French. Both vegetarians and non-vegetarians were catered for as may be seen from the following which I take from the *menu* cards I still keep with me as cherished mementoes of the occasion.

MENU	MENU (*Vegetarian*)
Hors d'OEuvres variés	Hors d'OEuvres variés
—	—
Consomme à la Hindostan Potage Malabar	Potage Amritsar
—	—
Eletan Poche à la Travancore	Epinards aux Eufs Pommes frits
—	—
Kari de volaille au riz	Pilau Superbe à la Madras
—	—
Quartier d'Agneau	Omelette aux fine herbs
—	—
Petit Pois. Choux Bruxelles. Pommes Chateau. Pommes Purée	Chauxfleur au gratin. Seakale
—	—
Peches à la Madras	Pounding à la Lucknow
—	—
Croûtes à la Ceylon Coffee	Croûtes à la Ceylon Coffee
—	—
Dessert	Dessert

The following list of toasts which I take from the same card will give some idea of the number and variety of the speeches which followed:

TOASTS

To Propose	*To Respond*
"THE KING"	
The President	
"INDIA"	
Mrs. Despard	The President
"OUR GUESTS"	
J. L. C. Rodrigo (Balliol)	Dr. Canon Streeter
"THE OXFORD MAJLIS"	
V. S. Ram (Cambridge Representative)	K. K. Menon (Christ Church)
"SISTER SOCIETIES"	
C. Suntharalingam (Balliol)	(London Representative)
"HOME-GOING MEMBERS"	
R. J. Stephens (Non-Coll.)	M. Haib, Ex-Pres. (New College)

"The King" was, of course, according to time-honoured convention drunk without a speech. But most amusing were the speeches made in proposing or replying to the other toasts.

Generally speaking what one may say about Oxford might equally well be said of her sister University Cambridge, and what I have said of the Oxford Majlis applies, therefore, largely to the Majlis at Cambridge; with this difference that the Cambridge Majlis boasts itself an older institution by a few years, and is, therefore, never at pains to disguise its feeling of superiority founded on this claim of greater age. In 1921 I happened to be chosen as the Oxford Representative at the Cambridge Majlis dinner, and the honour of proposing the Toast of the

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Cambridge Majlis fell to me. The dinner was held at the Lion Hotel on February the 20th, and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the Master of Sidney Sussex, the Mistress of Girton, and the Hon. Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan, then a member of the India Council, were the chief guests. I have the Menu card of this dinner also, and the crowded signatures on the back of it bring back pleasing memories of a very jolly evening. I give the *menu* itself as well as the toast list, as they may be found interesting, at least by way of comparison.

MENU	MENU *Vegetarian*
Hors d'Œuvres	Hors d'Œuvres
—	—
Thick Tomato Soup Clear Mock Turtle	Thick Tomato Soup
—	—
Fried Plaice—Italian Sauce	Fried Plaice...Italian Sauce
—	—
Savoury Cutlets Frecasseé of Chicken	Savoury Cutlets
—	—
Saddle Mutton...Currant Jelly Roast Mutton	Scrambled eggs...Spinach
—	—
Various Vegetables	Vanilla Ice
—	
Vanilla Ice	
—	—
Dessert Coffee.	Dessert Coffee.

TOASTS.

To Propose	*To Respond*
"THE KING"	
The President	
"INDIA"	
The President	Mrs. Sarojini Naidu
"The Cambridge University"	
The Vice-President	The Master of Sidney Sussex The Mistress of Girton
"The Guests"	
H. I. Rahim (Pembroke)	Hon. Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan
"Sister Societies"	
S. B. Zaidi (Fitz-Hall)	The London Representative
"The Cambridge Majlis"	
G. K. Chettur (Oxford Rep.)	S. Govindrajulu (Magdalene)
"Home-going Members"	
M. U. S. Jung (Christ's)	P. Parija, Ex-Pres. (Christ's)

When it came to my turn to speak, I made good use of this splendid opportunity to twit the Cambridge Majlis on its fancied superiority. I began by saying that I had come there in a spirit of humility, to praise and to admire, as befitted a younger sister, not to cavil or to criticize; that we at Oxford made no pretences to fancied superiorities; that whatever superiority we had or felt was of the effortless variety; and so on. Presently, reducing the topic to the terms of Oxford and Cambridge, because between men of these rival Universities, all discussion invariably becomes an Oxford-Cambridge [illegible] I said there was one thing about Cam[illegible] which I could not understand, which I th[illegible] of with pain, and which ill-accorded wi[illegible] ancient and glorious traditions. "We at Oxf[illegible] I said, "have many things to boast of, [illegible] perhaps not the least of our remarkable qu[illegible] is our determination to *face* things boldly [illegible] cheerfully, but what is to be thought of [illegible] regrettable conduct of Cambridge which [illegible] turns its *backs** on would-be admirers. Wh[illegible] ever I ask anybody what the sights of Cambri[illegible] are, the invariable reply is "Have you [illegible] our Backs?" Well, well, well, I say to my[illegible] a strange custom, but perhaps they have no[illegible] better to show." This was received with a [illegible] of laughter, which made it impossible for me [illegible] proceed for a couple of minutes. "Do you thi[illegible] I went on, "that we at Oxford have no back[illegible] Of course we have, but we don't run ro[illegible] asking all and sundry whether they have se[illegible] them. All the world knows, however, that wh[illegible] Oxford men put their backs into a thing, th[illegible] thing, whatever it might be, is bound to be [illegible] success." . . . It was all, I need hardly say, take[illegible] in great good part, and when I sat down, I [illegible] so with the feeling that Oxford had got a [illegible] of its own back.

II

I ought, perhaps, to say a word here of th[illegible] feeling that some of us had, even then, that whil[illegible] the Majlis served an excellent purpose in bringi[illegible] the Indian students at Oxford together, an[illegible] focussing their national characteristics an[illegible] aspirations, it sometimes overshot its mark b[illegible] encouraging too great an exclusiveness. Afte[illegible] all, one goes to a foreign country not merely fo[illegible] the sake of an examination degree, but with th[illegible] object also of enlarging one's views, one's soci[illegible] as well as intellectual horizon; and the Indi[illegible] student who, for one reason or another, kep[illegible] himself to himself or confined himself to th[illegible] company of other Indians, lost a great deal o[illegible] the charm as well as the profit of his stay i[illegible] England. It was because some of us felt th[illegible] there was a tendency in this direction, that i[illegible] 1920 we started a club which in composition wa[illegible] half Indian and half British, and the objects o[illegible] which was to bring Indian and English student[illegible] more together. How necessary an institution [illegible] of this kind was, to foster good feeling an[illegible] mutual respect between the two races, th[illegible] following incident which I may set down [illegible] here will illustrate. Some months previously [illegible] I had gone to the theatre at Oxford wi[illegible] some friends. The play was *Tilly* [illegible] *Bloomsbury* by Ian Hay. I had read one [illegible] or two of Mr. Ian Hay's books. So I sent [illegible]

* A part of the river flows behind some of the Colleges at Cambridge, and the *backs* of these Colleges with their glorious lawns leading to the river's edge constitute Cambridge's best known beauty-spot.

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down to enjoy what promised to be a very amusing comedy. But a rude shock was in store for me. Before long I discovered that one of the characters in the play was an Indian student who was made to cut a ridiculous, nay, a humiliating figure. What was amusing to the other members of the audience was offensive and insulting to me. My blood boiled with indignation. My ears burned with shame and anger. And when in one scene this character plumped down on his knees before his fat coarse land-lady and demanded, in the sacred name of British justice, redress against a fellow lodger who had stolen his tea and his sugar, (all this in the best *Bobo Jabberjee* style) I could not bear it any longer and rushed precipitately out of the theatre. I ran all the way back to college and burst into my tutor's rooms, who seeing my excited condition thought something very terrible had happened. It took me some time to calm down and explain what I had seen. I said I dreaded to think the devastating effect such a play as this with such a character in it would have upon the relations between Indian and English students at the University. I said it was a gratuitous insult to every Indian. I said—O, I said a whole lot of other things to which my tutor listened with patient and sympathetic interest. At last he suggested that I should write to the Vice-Chancellor about it and request him to exert his authority and have the offending scenes cut out of the play, at least while it was showing at Oxford. I sat up a long while that night composing this letter, and a very emphatic letter it was when I had finished. I read it over to myself several times with great satisfaction. The next morning, I was not quite so sore. A sudden thought prompted me to seek the help of my tutor again. He read it through and smiled. "This wont do at all," he said, shaking his head. "It is far too strong. You had better tone it down. As it is, it will only succeed in irritating him." So I went back with it and cut out all the purple patches. In fact, I almost rewrote it, for by this time I was a great deal calmer, and had begun to take a less excited view of the affair. "Ha! That's better," said my tutor, when I showed him the letter again, "That's very much better. Let us see what he will do. He ought to do some thing." Thus reassured I sent the letter off, and back came the reply the very next day. Dr. Blakiston of Trinity, who was then Vice-Chancellor, said he had read my letter with great surprise, and proceeded to point out that Scotchmen were daily ridiculed on the English stage without any offence being intended to or taken by them. Dramatic representations, he said, would become impossible if offence was taken so easily. He saw my point however, and promised to take the necessary action. I never went to see that play again and to this day I have no idea of its plot, but I was told that the offensive scenes were omitted from the performance during the rest of the time the company played at Oxford.

To come back, however, to the Lotus Club,* (for that was what we called our new venture). R. G. C. Levens of Balliol was its first President. I succeeded him. In fact it was one of the conventions of the club that the President should be alternately of English and Indian nationality. We met in each other's rooms and consumed unlimited quantities of coffee (or cocoa) and biscuits, held informal discussions on a variety of subjects, and generally contrived to enjoy ourselves hugely. Sometimes we invited distinguished persons to be present at our gatherings. On one occasion Mr. (now Dr.) Ernest Barker gave us his impressions of America, soon after his lecture tour in that country. This meeting was held at my rooms in New College. "Vim, Pep, Punch, and hair on the chest," said Dr. Barker, were the qualities an American looked for in a "hundred per cent red-blooded he-man." On another occasion Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, the present Editor of the *Hindu*, Madras, gave us (also in my rooms) an interesting talk on the political situation in India. Under the joint auspices of the Majlis and the Lotus Tagore delivered one memorable lecture, his *Message from the Forest*. The passionate (if noisy) enthusiasms of Vachell Lindsay filled us with wonder on a fourth occasion.

The Lotus Club did supply a need, and we felt that it did much good in the sense that it brought Indian and English students together in a way in which they never would have come otherwise. I wonder if as much could be said for two other societies which sprang up at about the same time; I refer, of course, to the Commonwealth Club and the Asiatic Society. The former, as its name implies, was imperialistic in character, and frequently India was left out of their discussions altogether, a fact which did not pass unnoticed by the Indian members who, naturally enough, resented this show of exclusiveness. The object of the Asiatic Society was professedly to promote interest in the study of Asian problems, and its memership was thrown open to all nationalities. It was carried on rather cleverly for some time. Attractive programmes were arranged and visitors to its meetings were made very welcome. Several times in the term distinguished ambassadors and politicians came down from London to speak on questions of the moment, and among the members there were two earls. For some time my name (horribly mis-spelt) had the honour of appearing on the little card printed by the Society, but the deadly earnestness with which they conducted their meetings, and the almost complete absence of a sense of humour in the proceedings, soon wearied me. These subtle Asian problems seemed to affect the

* I understand the Lotus Club still flourishes at Oxford.

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members in a distressing manner. But on one meeting of this Society, which was anything but dull or tame, I have a vivid recollection.

Mr. Lionel Curtis was the Society's guest that evening, and had come down, I gathered, at the express invitation of the President. I had had the pleasure of hearing Mr. Curtis on other occasions, and it was chiefly the prospect of listening to another of his polished and reasoned discourses that drew me to the meeting. It commenced with the reading of an intolerably tedious paper on "The Situation in India" by one of the Indian members. At the end of the reading, therefore, the adjournment for coffee was very welcome. When the house resumed its sitting, the opinions of those present were invited on the subject, and matters livened up directly. The first two or three speeches were of a comparatively harmless order, expressions either of sympathy or of ignorance. But these were followed by a virulent attack on India and Indians, by a person who had been pointed out to me earlier in the evening as one who had recently retired from magisterial duties in India. He asserted vehemently that England's only interest in India was the commercial interest, and that so long as it remained a profitable concern nothing would ever make Englishmen move out of the country. It was just a question of force. Indians required to be kept under, and would be kept under. Britain would see to that because it had the upper hand. And Indians, besides, had not shown the least enterprise. Why, they could not even make an ordinary bicycle! And so on, and so forth.... It was a venomous speech, and it completely ruined the harmony of that meeting. What made it all the worse was that the speaker affected to speak with authority, with an intimate knowledge of Indian conditions and the Indian mind. It made every one of us angry; but perhaps the angriest of us all was Mr. Curtis. He rose to speak immediately afterwards. "I am constrained to speak," he said, "as I willingly would not speak; but things have been said in my hearing this evening, which I may not allow to pass unchallenged. I have travelled nearly all over the world, and can boast of some experience of men and countries. I have heard England vilified in South Africa; I have heard her vilified in Australia and in Germany, in Russia, in Canada, in China and in India; but never before have I heard my country so vilified, so misrepresented, so shamelessly dragged in the dust as here today amongst you, and that by a countryman of mine! I am sorry to have to say it, but it is the truth; and after having listened to the speaker who has just sat down, I do not wonder any longer that Indians who are brought up against this kind of thing, and led to believe in this kind of thing, become the most violent extremists. If I were an Indian, and believed what Mr. B. has just told us, I should be justified, I think, in becoming an extremist myself." He made an extraordinarily impressive speech, which did not a little to counteract the unfortunate effect created by the previous speaker. He did not spare the ex-magistrate, who came in for a severe and as it seems to all of us, a richly merited castigation. The miserable man made one or two ineffectual attempts to interrupt, and then collecting his belongings crept silently out of the room. This, I think, was the last meeting of the Asiatic Society that I attended. For all I know the objectionable Mr. B—still makes his speeches there, and politicians and ambassadors still come down to throw more light on Asiatic problems, but for myself, I have not been there to see.

III

I might, in concluding these brief reminiscences of the Majlis and allied bodies, pass on to a more cheerful topic, and say a few words about the Indian Students' Conference which is now an annual feature that most Indian students look forward to with keen anticipation. The first Conference was held in 1918 during the Christmas holidays, at Ilkley in Yorkshire. The whole of the Highfield Hotel had been booked for the Conference, for a week. I recollect vividly the long cold journey northward, and the stiff climb from the station up to the Hotel which was at the summit of a hill, and beyond which the well-known moors stretched bleak and desolate in almost every direction. There were some fifty of us at the Conference, and a jolly party we made after the first few hours had broken down the initial barriers of restraint. I had been alloted a very cheerful room on the first floor, from one window of which I had a lonely view of the Cow and Calf rocks, and from another, a series of bare crags beyond which lay the lonely moors. How the wind whistled and roared round the building! But we were snug and happy inside, in spite of the intense cold, and what with reading of papers, and discussions and music, the week went rapidly by. In the afternoons we went for long walks, and one of these an excursion to Bolton Abbey (a good ten miles ramble all told) is still a pleasant memory.

So enamoured was I with this lonely but beautiful spot, that after the Conference ended and the members dispersed I persuaded a friend to stay on with me at the hotel to the end of the vacation, and as there were no other guests there at the time, we had the whole hotel to ourselves. And it was here that we got up one morning to see the whole world robed in white. Oh unbelievable beauty of tree and lawn and bush, of field and house and hill! It was as though a fairy's wand had, overnight, transformed the entire landscape, near and far, into a

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glittering scene of inescapable loveliness. What pen can adequately describe the rapture of that first sight of snow?

The day after I returned to New College, I happened to meet the Warden (Dr. Spooner) who asked me where I had spent the holidays. "At Ilkley," I said. Dr. Spooner seems greatly surprised. "Ilkley!" he cried, "Why that's where I come from. But whatever took you all the way up there in the winter?" And then I told him about the Conference, and how a friend and I had stayed on there, having nowhere else to go.

The next meeting of the Conference was at Keswick in the Lake District, and as this was during the summer (1919) there was a larger gathering, and an even more enjoyable week was spent in the lovely surroundings which the poetry of Wordsworth has made so famous. Who that has known the glories of Derwentwater and Borrowdale, of Bassenthwaite and Ullswater, or toiled up Skiddaw and Helvellyn, or stood beside the grave of Wordsworth in the lonely little churchyard at Grasmere, can ever forget these scenes?

But I digress. The Indian Students' Conference is still held annually, and the recollection of these happy gatherings is not the least pleasant of the memories of the Indian student who has had the opportunity of spending a few years at a British University.*

* From the writer's forthcoming book, *The Last Enchantment*, to be published by The Basel Mission Bookshop, Mangalore.

A PLANET AND A STAR

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

As we sat down he shook off his languid listlessness and looked at each one of us with lively curiosity. His eyes rested longer on Maruchi and Orlon than the rest of us, and he instinctively turned to Maruchi as our leader. He spoke in a clear, rich, sonorous voice, 'You are the flying men who created such a commotion in the city?'

Maruchi smilingly replied, 'If we fly we do so without wings as you may see for yourselves.'

'True, it is your steed that flies with you on its back.'

'It is our chariot and our home while we are in the air.'

The big man glanced round the room and all eyes turned towards him. The pride in his eye and his voice was unmistakable. 'As you all know I, Amelach, am the lineal descendant of Fara, the last and the greatest of the kings. There is a tradition in our family that an ancient king had a flying chariot but the secret of its construction was lost. Such a chariot has now come into our city. You who ride in it are doubtless of royal descent?'

'Alas', said Maruchi with a proper inflection of sadness in his voice, 'there are no kings now and no families of kings. I suppose we are plain commoners.'

'Not so,' said Amelach with a gracious smile, 'some of the kings contracted morganatic marriages and their offspring could not be traced in every instance.'

This was a doubtful compliment but Maruchi let it pass. 'Our flying machine,' he observed, 'is an invention of scientists and others like it are likely to be constructed.

'You may be right,' said Amelach, 'but such machines must have been in existence in the time of my great ancestor.'

Maruchi was not inclined to enter into an argument and so he did not dispute this statement. Presently another of the men present joined the conversation. 'We are fallen upon evil times,' he remarked, 'when people have turned against the kings to whom they owe everything, but who are now deprived of their kingdoms and reduced to poverty.'

'It is open rebellion', chimed in another, 'and the people are guilty of rank ingratitude.'

An old man sitting in a corner wagged his head wisely. 'The people will suffer, they will be punished. No country can prosper without a king.'

Another man appealed to Maruchi with a passionate gesture. 'Will you believe that they have sent us adrift without even a pension? They have deprived us of all our possessions, they have stripped us bare and they have left us to shift for ourselves as we can. There is no king, there are no royal functions, none of the pomp and pageantry which delighted the people and the countries are going to the dogs. Who is responsible for this state of things? Why, Sir, the agitators and the malcontents who goaded the people to rebellion were the enemies of their own people. How can any country get on without a king? Did you ever hear of a time when there were no kings?

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The people over whom our ancestors ruled would welcome us with open arms but the men who have usurped our authority are traitors and they have bewitched the people !'

Pavro sighed heavily. 'Ah, the good old days ! What a glorious time our forefathers had !'

So far we had made no attempt to take any part in the conversation. Maruchi now quietly said, 'It is not quite clear to me why the people tired of the kings and put them aside. Did your forefathers give up their kingdoms without an effort to retain them ?'

Amelach spread out his arms in a gesture of despair. 'What could they have done ? The minds of the people had been poisoned against them by years of insidious incitement. If the kings had offered resistance they would have been probably killed with their families. The old traditions had been undermined by the conspirators who had vowed to overthrow the monarchic system. The sacredness of royalty was forgotten. Many of the kings were descended from heavenly beings. Our genealogical tables are still preserved and these will show you that we do not spring from a race of common mortals. But the people are ignorant and they are credulous. They listened to evil advice and they were easily led away. What could the kings have done when they were deserted by their adherents, the army and the people ? They had to submit to their enemies and were banished to this place. Do you not find us here surrounded by all the insignia of royalty ?' And Amelach laughed bitterly.

Orlon asked, 'But have you ever tried to regain your lost kingdoms ?'

This was a new note to sound in that atmosphere of querulousness and lamentation for the past. These men degenerated from royalty were startled and they gazed at Orlon almost fearfully. Amelach alone replied proudly, 'I would do so at once if I had the assurance of any support. I cannot win back my lost kingdom single-handed. Do you think I can get any help from this crowd of bleating sheep ?' He looked contemptuously around him and the men present hung down their heads and could not meet his flashing eyes.

After a little while we left, Amelach promising to meet us again. As we were walking back to Pavro's house Maruchi asked him whether Amelach was making any serious effort to win back his kingdom. Pavro laughed weakly. 'They all talk and Amelach talks the loudest. But neither he nor any one else ever dreams of doing anything.'

At the house Pavro's wife was waiting for him. She waved a hand to us to pass into the house but she faced Pavro squarely. 'Where were you all this time and how about dinner ?' She asked in a voice as sweet as vinegar.

Pavro replied humbly, 'I was with our guests and I don't want any dinner for I had it with our friends.'

'Of course you had and you must have enough for four and you must have drunk all the wine you could get.'

'Our guests do not drink and I drank very little.'

She turned to us in surprise, 'Is that true' she asked. 'You no not drink wine ?'

'No, madam,' replied Maruchi with a pleasant smile. 'We do not, though the wine here does not seem to be very strong. We are much obliged to our friend Pavro for spending a pleasant evening, and I assure you he is a very temperate man.'

'That must have been on your account' retorted the old woman and she went into the house.

We understood Pavro's reluctance to return to the house earlier in the evening. He was happy as long as he was out of it.

XXIV

We were up betimes the next morning and Maruchi asked us to accompany him on a stroll though the city. Pavro was waiting for us and appeared to be very happy in our company. The city was stirring to life as we went out but it was life of a stagnant kind. There were no conveyance of any kind, no trade or business to speak of, none of the usual activities to be met with in cities. The old people were loitering near the doors of their houses and stared at us as we passed. The younger men were idly sauntering about with nothing to do. There were some shops which displayed cheap and flimsy stuffs. There were no signs of affluence or even moderate comfort anywhere. Wherever we passed and in whatever direction we looked we saw nothing but indigence and no attempt to cultivate the amenities of life. Poverty itself is not a crime and involves no humiliation but squalor is not necessarily a part of poverty. Cleanliness is compatible with the greatest poverty. What we saw all around us was not merely poverty, but deliberate and hopeless idleness, persistent disinclination for work of any kind. And every man, woman and child that we saw had a king for an ancestor ! We passed a number of wells on the streets and found young women carrying water from the wells. They had earthen and old metal vessels, but the maidens themselves had none of that sprightliness and vivacity which should be their natural gift. Some of them wore strikingly beautiful and walked with regal grace, but all of them were lacking in animation and the vim and verve of youth. Some of them greeted Pavro with a smile and looked at us with a languid curiosity. Pavro told them who we were and he would have tarried for a chat but his loquacity was cut short by Maruchi who would not encourage any gossip by the wayside.

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After we had traversed several streets Pavro halted in front of a house which was somewhat larger and more pretentious than the other houses in the vicinity. 'This is Amelach's house', Pavro remarked.

'We should like to see him,' Maruchi replied.

Pavro went inside the house and presently came back accompanied by Amelach, who greeted us with considerable warmth.

Addressing Amelach, Maruchi said, 'If you will come with us we shall show you our flying machine and take you out for a short cruise'.

'May I take my wife with me ?'

'Certainly. We shall be pleased and honoured by her company.'

Amelach re-entered his house and returned after some minutes followed by a remarkably beautiful woman. She was more carefully dressed than the women we had seen so far and was completely self-possessed. I judged her to be about thirty years of age, in full maturity of beauty. She was tall and of a fairly full figure with fine features and beautiful. clear eyes that looked one straight in the eyes. Amelach introduced her, 'This is my wife Vanita and she is descended from one of the greatest kings of old.'

Vanita bowed graciously. 'Welcome, O strangers from a far land, to this city of the fallen and forgotten.' She spoke in a rich, slow musical voice that thrilled us, while her words struck a note very different from the peevish language we had heard from the men.

We retraced our steps and came out of the city. Amelach kept up an animated conversation with Maruchi while Vanita walked by my side rarely opening her lips except for an occasinal question about our country and the places we had visited. Unlike ordinary women she was strangely silent, but was keenly observant and listened carefully to the other speakers.

Arrived at the place where the Mundanus was standing Amelach and Pavro examined the machine with much interest after which Maruchi invited our visitors to board the airship. After we were seated Nabor played a fine selection of music to which Vanita listened with evident pleasure, and immediately afterwards we were floating in the air.

We flew slowly over the land surrounding the country. It was a rich virgin soil covered with thick verdure. Maruchi pointed it out to Amelach. 'To whom does this land belong ?' asked Maruchi.

'To no one,' answer Amelach.

'Would any one object if you were to occupy it ?'

'There is no one to object.'

'It is an excellent site for a new kingdom. All this land can be cultivated and will yield a rich return. The poverty in your city will disappear. The idle young men of the city can be trained and disciplined and you will have the beginning of an army. You will encroach on nobody's land and no one will interfere with you. If old kingdoms are lost new ones can be founded. I am telling you this because I think you have both energy and courage and you will be able to influence the young men of the city. It is a greater thing to found a kingdom instead of merely inheriting one.'

Amelach looked excited and flushed, but the effect of these words on Vanita was electric. A rich colour mounted to her face, her lips parted, showing her beautiful, white teeth, her eyes flashed and her breast heaved. She looked steadily at her husband and waited impatiently for his reply.

Amelach said, 'Your idea is a great one. It has never occurred to me that a new kingdom can spring up in this place. We always think only of the kingdoms of our ancestors and there seems to be no way of recovering them. As regards the men here did I not tell you last night that they are a flock of sheep ? I despair of ever getting any help from them.'

Amelach sighed and hung down his head. Vanita turned her shining eyes to Maruchi, 'You and your friends,' she said, 'are kings of the air since you have conquered it and move in it with as much ease as if it were solid land. I am sure you can found a new kingdom if you will. But in the City of Kings the men have fallen never to rise again.'

We listened to these spirited words in wonder. Amelach appeared to be ill at case and felt rebuked. He spoke with some hesitation, 'Vanita, you are quite right. Our visitors are great men and I am convinced they have royal blood in their veins. I am quite willing to assert my right and to claim the kingdom of my forefathers though I did not think of a new kingdom. But what can I do alone and where am I to look for men to help me ?'

'Where did the kings in the old days find their helpers and followers ?' asked Vanita.

Maruchi said, 'To the man who dares all things come. He who plays for a great stake must venture greatly. When there is a leader capable of inspiring others with his example followers flock round him in ever-increasing numbers. The weak become strong, the vacillating become firm of purpose. The will of one resolute man dominates the will of many weaker men. When a man has got the power of initiative. when he is determined to carry a thing through no obstacles can deter him from his purpose, no opponent can withstand him. Have faith in yourself and others will have faith in you. If you are despondent, if you look to others for help to begin with you are lost. Others must look to you for help. You must begin with a supreme confidence in yourself. Look to yourself alone for the carving out and fulfilment of your destiny. In a game like this when you want to be a king you

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want to win the highest prize and your stake must be the highest. You may give minor prizes to your helpers. You harp constantly on the past greatness and glory of your ancestors. What satisfaction do you find in dwelling on the past ? Every man is judged by his own achievement. It avails him nothing to hug the memory of the past. Stir yourself, man, if you have got the making of a king in you, and carve out a new kingdom for yourself.'

Vanita half rose in her seat and with a heightened colour and shining eyes declared, 'Spoken like a man and a king !'

Amelach felt both excited and rebuked. He spoke to Maruchi in a tone of humility, 'I fully recognize the wisdom of your words. Will you, who are so wise and so great, help me to make a beginning and win through ?'

Maruchi looked at him and at us with an amused smile. 'Don't you see we are merely birds of passage and even now are on the wing ? We are travellers who cannot tarry very long in any particular place. Besides, we are not at all interested in kings and kingdoms. We come from a land that has got on very well without kings for a long time. There is nothing about the kingly office that attracts us. We may leave your city in a week. What help can we give you ?'

Suddenly Vanita burst out in a passionate appeal. 'You have spoken noble and inspiring words which we have heard for the first time. You may despise a kingdom and a king may be nothing to you. But even in a few days you can help us. You can stir this city out of its hateful sloth. We may not become kings and queens, but we may learn to become men and women. Drive us out of the slush and mire of inaction in which we are floundering and set us on the path of work and achievement. Blow on the spark you have kindled and feed it into a flame.'

She was transfigured. There was a wonderful glow in her face and her beautiful eyes were lit up with enthusiasm. She was so queenly at that moment that it would have been obvious to any one that she was descended from a long line of queens. Looking at her I was reminded of another woman we had seen on the first morning of our arrival on this planet. Narga was of course incomparable and she stood on a higher level than any queen, but it was remarkable that the two most distinguished personages we had so far seen in our wanderings in Heperon were both women.

Maruchi was evidently impressed by the words and manner of Vanita. He said, 'We are men of small consequence in our own country and you greatly overrate our powers. Moreover, as I have told you our stay here must be very short as we have to return as early as possible. But so long as we are here you may command us. What do you wish us to do ?'

Vanita looked at her husband. She was calmer now and she felt it was not her place to give us any directions. Amelach spoke in an apologetic tone, 'We have no claim on you and we do not wish to detain you here on our account. But if it please you to help us, do what you consider best. I have no suggestions to make, but I shall endeavour to the best of my ability to follow your directions.'

Maruchi turned towards us and spoke in our own language which Amelach, Vanita and Pavro could not understand. 'I am afraid I have been foolish and have got mixed up with things with which we have no concern. I have committed myself and must try to do something for these people but there is no obligation on any of you to share my responsibility.'

'Not so, Maruchi,' I said, 'we are your men in all things and you have only to command for us to obey.'

Ganimet was disgruntled. 'Have we to play at being kings ?' he asked.

Orlon asked, 'How long shall we have to stay here ?'

'Not a day more than a fortnight at the longest,' replied Maruchi.

'What have we got to do ?'

'That is what we have to think and talk over.'

Pavro was a picture of mute astonishment. He was struck dumb by Vanita's passionate appeal and he stared at us while we were speaking among ourselves. Then he timidly asked, 'Are we going to have a king ?'

Maruchi smiled inscrutably as he said, 'Perhaps, who knows ?' Pavro was perplexed. 'Where are the subjects ? In the City of the Kings all are descended from kings.'

Maruchi laughed good humouredly while Amelach and Vanita exchanged amused glances.

'There can be only one king even in the City of the Kings,' said Maruchi and he signalled to Nabor to return to land.

XXV.

In the quiet seclusion of our own rooms Maruchi gave vent to his reflections. 'You must be thinking this is the dullest and most uninteresting place that we have so far seen in our wanderings on this planet. The White City is a queer place but this City of the Kings beats it. But I have found much to interest me here. The idea of peopling a city with the descendants of royalty in a novel one. We have also done away with kings but it did not occur to anyone to segregate deposed kings and their families. They have been absorbed by the general population. Here in this city there is no man, woman or child who is not of royal blood. I heard from Pavro that in every house there is a genealogical table. You see on every hand the depth into which decadent royalty has fallen. You saw the mugwumps at the Royal Arms, the slatternly women in the city, the young men

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laying about at the street corners, the children with the solemn faces of old people. I admit all this is tragic but I cannot overlook the grim humour of it. The original idea of this settlement of fallen royalty must have been to make the descendants of kings powerless for mischief, to eliminate intrigues for the restoration of deposed dynasties, to frustrate the conspiracies of monarchist parties. All royal families were deported wholesale without violence and they were left here to shift for themselves. It must have been a feeling of kindness that spared their lives, but as I look around me at these people I cannot help feeling that it was a cruel kindness.

'Originally the first man of the community was the king—first, not by virtue of birth because there was no royal family, but by the indisputable right of supreme ability, the habit of tireless vigilance, the power of inspiring confidence, the impartial settlement of disputes between contending parties. There was no regular election but none the less the king was the chosen head of the people. The king held his office by right divine in the same way as the poet and the prophet. In other words, the king was a man of genius and he ruled because of his personal fitness. There is no heredity in genius and the son of a great poet or a great philosopher is not necessarily great. But a king besides his capacity for ruling over a people has material possessions which he can bequeath to his heirs. Thus the office of the king become a hereditary one. The king had his dependants and supporters, men upon whom he had conferred office and wealth, troops who had shared his bounty and the spoils of war. He had raised his followers and partisans to positions of trust and power and all these men found it to their interest to support the succession of the king's son to the throne. Dynasties came to be founded and the office of the king descended from father to son. The original standard of the individual and personal fitness of the king was forgotten. The king's office was surrounded by the paraphernalia of immense wealth and the pomp and glitter of royalty. The stern realities of the kingly office were forgotten in the unreal glamour of it. The heir to a kingship had the resources of unlimited wealth at his command and he was frequently a weak-witted, pleasure-loving creature who turned away from the cares of state and was merely a puppet in the hands of designing and ambitious men around him. The lap of luxury is not the school for the upbringing of a king and the result was that royal degenerates become feebler and more useless than common wastrels. The strength of character, the power of quick decision, the devotion to the interest of the people, the qualities that distinguished a king disappeared, the authority of the king was abused by his favourites and sycophants and misrule became the order of the day. When the people decided to abolish kings many were killed by a frenzied and ruthless population. Later on, such wanton crime was not permitted and kings and their families became indistinguishable from other people. Here they have been isolated and you see how complete is their decadence.

'To look at these people can you imagine for a moment that they came not from one but many races of kings, that their ancestors lived in magnificent palaces and held sway over millions of people? What is the explanation of the wretched condition of these royal paupers? Physically and mentally they are feeble from birth while they cling to the memory of the departed glory of their forefathers. No people can live in the past and prosper. The past may be a stimulant to endeavour but you cannot hug the past as a reality. For these people the present has no message, the future no hope. If they are filthy they will make no effort to be clean; if they are poor they will make no endeavour to improve their position. Their present surroundings mean nothing to them. Their sense of self-respect is dead; they have no energy for any sort of ambition. They fill their memories with the past as the drug-addict smokes hashish and revels in the pleasurable fancies produced by the drug. They are like an extinct volcano: the tremendous eruptive power, the titanic force that brought about the upheaval of molten lava and masses of stone and earth, the subterranean thunder and the rumble of the bowels of the earth have all disappeared leaving only ashes and dust behind.'

'Then what do you propose doing with these people?' asked Orlon. 'Are not these decadents and degenarates beyond the hope of redemption?'

'May be. But they are still men and women of flesh and blood, and they can be made to work as drudges and common labourers. Do you not feel titillated by the prospect of driving the descendants of kings like dumb cattle?'

'Cattle, yes, but will they be dumb?'

Ganimet rubbed his huge hands. 'I should like to man-handle them,' he said with an ugly chuckle.

Maruchi looked at him with mock severity. 'Now, none of your gorilla tricks with royalty. There must be no *lese majeste* though we may try a little gentle suasion with them,' he added with a sly twinkle of his eyes.

'I can employ some of the women in washing and cleaning my machine,' observed Nabor.

'But you must not make love to any of them,' I chimed in sententiously.

We were all bubbling over with animal spirits and hilarity Then Maruchi became grave and said, 'This is a serious matter and we must put our heads together.'

'Well, to be serious,' I remarked, 'you may be a great philanthropist, Maruchi, and we

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know you do not covet the office of Prime Minister to King Amelach, but how do you intend to play the role of King maker? How will you overcome the inertia and the long inherited slothfulness of these people?'

Orlon had so far repressed his impatience but he now spoke out. 'Your notion, Maruchi, is not only quixotic but it is foolish. We are but passing travellers and unconcerned with the affairs of any country or any people here. Are you sure you are not exceeding the object of your mission in offering to intervene in the affairs of these despicable people? You might as well have undertaken to civilize the Pompos. There is more sense in running a tilt against a windmill than in setting up a king among these royal vagrants. But there is another serious consideration. You have rightly told us that you will be no party to anything that will tend to create bitterness between ourselves and the people of any city or country here. We have no kings on our planet and they have no kings here. They have mercifully banished all the descendants of thin-blooded royalty to this place and have left them to stew in their own juice. What call have you to set up a king here, even if he is only a popinjay, and to create unrest where there is only sluggishness and a confirmed insouciance? Supposing the improbable were to happen and your efforts are rewarded by the awakening of these moribund people and they were to launch on a career of conquest and aggression what will the people of other lands think when they hear that we helped to rout these royal ragamuffins out of their helplessness and to revive the predatory instincts that lead to pillage and empire? Will they have any reason to thank us for sowing the wind and leave them to reap the whirlwind?

Maruchi became thoughtful and spoke slowly. 'You think, Orlon, I have been foolish. That is what I told you myself. Yet I think you are exaggerating the probable consequences of my interference in the hopeless affairs of these people. Perhaps I yielded to the appeal of Amelach and Vanita in a moment of weakness, but seriously I do not think we shall succeed in doing much. You can strike fire from a flint but not from a lump of clay. Where is the man among them that will transform this flock of bleating sheep into a herd of roaring lions?'

Orlon stroked his golden hair while he replied, 'I believe you are right about the man or rather the non-existence of one with sufficient driving power and force to beat clay into the consistency and hardness of iron. But what about the woman, the eternal and the inevitable. Amelach's zeal may cool, his ambition may be only a flash in the pan, but Vanita's spirit burns with a steadier flame and the dauntless courage of the ancient kings still survives in her. And there may be other women like her that we have not yet met. Amelach's may be the hand to strike but the heart behind it may be Vanita's. Even Pavro's wife, for all that she seems to be only a vixen, may prove invincible when she drives a lot of men before her to some desperate enterprise. For aught we know we may unconsciously lay the train for a civil war.'

'Come, come, Orlon, you seem to be possessed of far too lurid an imagination. There is not much inflammable material to be found in the City of the Kings. The people here are wet as water and water does not ignite if you set a lighted match to it. My only object is to get some useful work out of these sluggards and to compel them to live a cleaner and more industrious life.'

'Why should they recognize our authority? They will mutiny and compel us to seek safety in flight even if they do not attempt to murder us.'

'I have thought of that and I do not think there will be any difficulty in dealing with them if they prove recalcitrant. The first thing is to get the men together and to speak to them.'

There was no further discussion and we all agreed to follow Maruchi's instructions.

Meanwhile, Amelach had not been idle. He had found some supporters who had been attracted by the prospect of some excitement. Pavro was directed to invite Amelach and his friends to a consultation. When they arrived Maruchi explained to them that it would be necessary to address the city people publicly to give them an idea of what was proposed to be done and set them to work and drill and discipline them.

Amelach looked doubtful. 'But they hate the very idea of work,' he objected. Maruchi smiled grimly. 'We know and we expect to overcome their reluctance. You arrange for the meeting and leave the rest to us.'

The place chosen was an open space close to where the air-ship lay. Amelach's agent went about the city proclaiming the time and place and announcing that the famous strangers who had arrived wished to speak to the inhabitants in public. The curiosity of the indolent population was aroused and they came to the place of meeting in large numbers.

To be continued.

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THE EARLY HISTORY OF IRRIGATION

By SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS, M.A., Ph.D.

THE history of the science of irrigation dates from prehistoric times. In fact this science is as old as civilization itself. The use of irrigation for the production of crops probably antedates Noah's deluge by several thousand years. In Europe the earliest writer of agricultural lyrics was Hesiod, a Greek epic author who lived a thousand years before the Christian era. Hesiod often refers to irrigation as practised for ages prior to his time by the Chinese people, of whom he seems to have had considerable personal knowledge.* Plato in his Timæus gives an account of the sunken island of Atlantis. This account Plato obtained from his ancestor Solon, the law-giver, who lived about 2500 years ago and had visited Egypt and obtained the information in the city of Sais from an Egyptian priest. According to this story there existed, about 10,000 years before his time, a large island in the Atlantic ocean opposite the Pillars of Hercules. In the description of the island among other things is also described a very extensive and elaborate system of irrigating canals, constructed in such a manner as to utilize every natural stream and completely surround the island.

Some 6,000 years ago the Egyptians introduced their system of basin irrigation into the Nile Valley by digging canals which are in use even in our days. These led the turbid waters of the Nile into embanked basins which are working today. "The turbid waters of the Nile floods entered these basins and covered the land with their rich deposit. As the Nile ebbed, the husbandmen followed the retreating water and scattered their grain over the slime and ooze."†

More than 4,000 years ago, the Babylonian kings began a system of perennial irrigation in the joint delta of the Euphrates and Tigris rivers. The Nahrawn canal, taken from the Tigris river, was over 400 miles long, and varied in width from 250 to 400 feet, and from numerous branches on both sides it irrigated a very extensive area of the country, while at the same time it was available for navigation.

China is equally celebrated with Egypt for the great antiquity of its numerous canals. The Great or Imperial Canal is one of the most stupendous works of ancient and modern times. It is 650 miles long, and connects the Hoang-Ho and Yang-tse-kiang rivers. It is available both for navigation and irrigation, and together with its numerous branches irrigates an immense area of the country even today.*

Immense tanks, reservoirs and irrigating canals appear to have been constructed in India many centuries anterior to the advent of Christ, and some of them are as ancient as the Egyptian canals. The science and method of cultivation and irrigation began at the time of the Vedas in India and steadily developed and attained a high stage of perfection by the 4th century B. C. In the Vedic age, agriculture was the general occupation; each family possessed a number of cornfields in well-marked holdings measured off according to the standard of measurement prevailing in those days. The occupation was then considered noble and each respectable householder was eager to possess a number of cattle and fertile cornfields.† There are many ancient writers who speak of manure and irrigation. The *Brihat Samhita* of Varahamihira, the *Agnipurana* and the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya

* *Irrigation Farming* by Lucius M. Wilcox, Chapter I, pp. 1-2.

† *The Overflow Irrigation of Bengal* by Sir William Wilcocks, page 3.

* *Irrigation Farming*, page 4.

† *Cultivation in Ancient India* by R. Ganguly, M.A., *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VII. No. 1, March 1931.

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all describe drainage and provision for water in connection with cultivation. Parasara in his *Krisi-samgraha* says, "So that the paddy may not get diseased, the water in the field is to be drained off in the month of Bhadra, leaving just enough for only the roots to be under water. The fool who does not make arrangements in Asvina and Kartika (September and October) to preserve water should not expect a harvest."*

Sir William Wilcocks interprets the Bhagiratha anecdote in the Ramayana as a successful attempt to divert a portion of the perennial water of the Ganges by Bhagiratha with his ingenuity. The Mahabharata also tells us that as Bhagiratha followed by the Ganges descended the Ganges valley, near the head of the Delta, Bhagiratha rested to take his meal; and Ganga hearing the sound of Padmavati's shell, thought it was Bhagirtha's and followed her in her eastern course down the Padma. It was then that Bhagiratha sounded his shell and Ganga recognized her mistake. She retraced her steps and went southwards. Sir William Wilcocks says that under the garb of spiritual language the ancient writers were here describing physical facts and were mentioning irrigated canals.

The Assyrians were also equally renowned from the most remote periods of history for their skill and ingenuity in the construction of hydraulic works. Through the foresight, enterprise, and energy of their rulers they converted the sterile country in the valleys of Euphrates and Tigris into fertility, which was the theme of wonder and admiration of ancient historians. The country below Hit on the Euphrates, and Samarra on the Tigris, was at one time intersected with numerous canals, one of the most ancient and important of which, called the Nahr Malikah, connecting the Euphrates with the Tigris, is attributed by tradition to Nimrod, King of Babel, 2204 B. C., while other historians assert that Nebuchadnezzar constructed it.†

The Jews were also alive to the great importance of an ample and constant supply of water by irrigation. There is mention of the hidden springs and sealed fountains of Solomon, from which the waters were piped to the plains below. The remains of reservoirs in the neighbourhood of Hebron which the Jews are supposed to have constructed in the days of Solomon for the supply of Jerusalem show that their designers were sufficiently skilful in the science of irrigation.

The Phœnicians, in the zenith of their power, were celebrated for their canals, both for the supply of Carthage with drinking water and for the purpose of irrigation. They were a very diligent people, and so imbued were they in the cause of irrigation that they made aqueducts through mountains of solid granite, hewing the way with hard chisels.*

The Greeks also appear to have paid from a very remote period the greatest attention to this science of irrigation. Herodotus describes an ancient conduit for supplying Samos, which had a channel three feet wide and which pierced a hill with a tunnel nearly a mile long. The Grecians were an inventive people and to them are ascribed great improvements in the way of mechanical contrivances for raising water.

The Romans were equally famous for construction of conduits and aqueducts. Most of the Roman works were constructed for supplying cities with drinking water. Julius Caesar, in his efforts to conquer the world, carried the idea of irrigation into Great Britain.

The Spaniards are regarded as the best irrigators of the world. For over 3,000 years they have been familiar with the construction, use and application of irrigated canals and some of the best-constructed works of irrigation were made prior to the Moorish occupancy.

Coming to more modern times we find that in Europe and in America irrigation has sprung into new life and has come in the nick of time to redeem the arid wastes and make desert blossom as a rose.

The Bengalis were also alive to the use and utility of irrigation when they were at the zenith of their power. When they began

* *Krisi-samgraha* by Parasara, verses 180 to 183, page 151.

† *Irrigation Farming*, page 7.

* *Irrigation Farming*, page 8.

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the physical conquest of the delta, the valley occupied by Murshidabad, Nadia and northern Faridpur had been filled up, and the Ganges could be led southwards if skilfully handled. They led the parennial waters of the Ganges to the main stream of the old Damodar, by the Bhagirathi and the Jalangi. To allow the perennial supply from the Ganges to be maintained in the Hooghly, the main stream of the Damodar was closed at the right angular bend, and the whole supply of the river turned down south past Jamalpur, with heavy embankment on its left bank to protect the rich lands of Burdwan, Hooghly and Howrah. To irrigate these rich lands, seven canals were constructed by the Chola Kings of Bengal who were great irrigators like the Pharaohs of Egypt.

Irrigation is the oldest applied science in the world ; and the most ancient centres of irrigation were the seats of the oldest civilization. Virgil, the great Roman poet, thus refers to irrigation in his First Georgic :

"And when the burnt-out field with drying growths
Is hot, behold, he brings the saving wave headlong
Down through its slanting path ; its falling calls
From sounding rocks a murmur hoarse, and cools,
With scattering rills the parched and thirsty fields.

THE SLAVE

By SITA DEVI

SARAMA was the daughter of a very poor man. She had blossomed out into young maidenhood long ago, but her official age was fourteen. It was God's law that as long as a person lived, his age increased. But it was the law of orthodox Hindu society that as long as a girl remained unmarried, her age should never be more than fourteen years. So, though friends and relatives knew well enough that Sarama was nearly twenty, they remained content with making stinging remarks whenever they met Sarama's parents. As they lived in Calcutta, any kind of social persecution was impossible.

They were really very poor. They could not even give enough food to the children, so how could they educate them ? In her childhood, Sarama had only two frocks of cotton print made by her mother. These she wore day and night, and not until these fell off her body in tatters did she get anything else to wear. She did not go out much but up to the age of eight or nine she played about in the lane, and made small purchases for her mother from the shop at the street corner. If ever they got any invitation to a wedding or to any other festival, Sarama wrapped herself up in a huge silk *saree* that had served her mother for a wedding dress. That was all the finery she ever used.

But Sarama got a very good private tutor unexpectedly. Shashadhar lived in the same lane and was a playmate of Sarama's brother. They had a students' club in their school where hot debates were usually held and many good resolutions were passed. But these were seldom put into action. At one sitting it was resolved that every member should teach one illiterate person to read and write. This might do away with the appalling ignorance prevailing in the country.

This time at least one member set to with a will to give effect to the resolution. Early in the morning, after a hasty breakfast, Shashadhar appeared in the kitchen where Sarama was busy preparing vegetables and her mother was cooking. Shashadhar stood at the door and said, "Aunt, I shall begin teaching Sarama to read and write from this evening."

Sarama's mother went on with her work and said, "That is very kind of you, my dear boy. She is a big girl, yet she does not know her alphabet. Lord knows how she will

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manage. She would not be able to write even a letter."

Shashadhar went off having secured a good pupil.

He began in right earnest from the same evening. The street lamp supplied them with light gratis, and Shashadhar procured some old books and writing materials. With these they managed splendidly. Sarama was an intelligent girl, besides she was grown up, so she learnt rapidly. Shashadhar began to feel very proud of his pupil.

Sarama had long ago become quite proficient in letter writing, but her teacher had not given up his self-imposed task for that. He was teaching her English now. He brought her many books to read and even subscribed to magazines for her. Sarama's parents did not much like so much intimacy between pupil and tutor, but they did not know how to put an end to it. Shashadhar helped them in many ways. He was a student of Calcutta Medical College, so he served them as medical adviser and even gave them the medicine he prescribed, free. Whenever they wanted a loan he was ready to oblige them to the best of his power. So how could they offend such a good friend ?

Sarama's mother spoke to her husband frequently on this subject. "The boy is one of the best and he likes Sarama too. He is training her up according to his own liking. Do you think it is possible—"

Her husband would laugh away these romantic day-dreams. "Are you mad ?" he would say. "It is not fiction, but fact. This world is a hard place. We are penniless beggars and won't be able to give any dowry to our daughter. Do you think such a young man would marry her gratis ?"

"But if he really likes her," the wife would put in again.

"What's the value of his likes or dislikes ?" Sarama's father would say. "When the time comes for his marriage, it is not his likes or dislikes that would be taken into consideration. He will do just as his parents tell him to do. Old Natabar is a shrewd one, though you would not think so from his appearance. He is already calculating how dear he can sell his son. The other day he said, he was going to send Shashadhar to England to finish his education so that he might fetch a good price."

Still his wife would not give up hope. "Shall I try to sound Shashadhar ?" she would ask. "Sarama is past twenty and I feel ashamed to look at her. At her age, I was already the mother of four children."

"Do whatever you like," said her husband with a smile of scorn. "I am sure it won't do any good. If his father comes to know about it, he would be furious. I am trying my best to arrange a match for Sarama, but whenever they hear that I am unable to pay anything they hang back. The girl may be all that is good and fair, but there must be money also. Besides, she is not so very fair either."

"She would have been pretty enough if we could have given her proper food and clothing," said his wife. "A Bengali girl cannot be as fair as an Armenian or an English woman."

Shashadhar's father was really arranging to send him to England. It needed quite a lot of money. The old gentleman wanted him to marry a rich man's daughter and thus solve the problem. But Shashadhar refused to do it. He was absolutely against marriage before finishing his studies and becoming self-supporting. He was even ready to give up the idea of going abroad. His father was furious, but he could not force his son to his own will. These modern boys were terrible. They were not ashamed to discuss their own marriages even.

He had already chosen a rich man's daughter. There had been secret conferences between the two fathers. The girl's father was ready to give his daughter in marriage immediately and he was ready to bear all the expenses of the projected foreign education. But Shashadhar must marry the girl first, else he did not see his way to helping him. He had no faith in betrothals. Sashadhar was young, and he might lose his head over there as many young men have done and marry a foreign woman. What would happen to his money then ?

Shashadhar's father could only request him to wait for a few years. He had set his heart on the match and no other girl would satisfy him. Fortunately the bride's father

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agreed. His daughter was young and he could afford to wait a few years more. He was a rich man and could defy social censure.

So it was decided that Shashadhar was to go. His father mortgaged his small house and his mother sold the few ornaments she had and thus procured the necessary money. Shashadhar looked at his mother's sad face and said, "Don't you mind, dear mother. If I return alive within two years, I shall give you twice as many ornaments and build a house twice as big for you."

The mother smiled with an effort, "I know that, my darling boy," she said.

Sarama's mother saw that unless she spoke now it would soon be too late. If she could make Shashadhar give his word of honour, that would be something. Sarama was already too old according to the orthodox standard; it would matter very little, if she grew a few years older. It would be too bad if they lost such a bridegroom through hurry and folly.

So she invited Shashadhar to dinner. She borrowed some money and made requisite purchases for a good meal. She and Sarama cooked everything and got things ready before evening. They wanted to be free to talk to Shashadhar, when he arrived. She also advised Sarama to bathe and to dress her hair well. She did not possess a bit of finery to dress the girl up, and this made her feel heavy in the heart. What an unlucky girl Sarama was! Every girl wants to dress up a bit at her age, but poor Sarama was destined to remain in rags all her life.

Shashadhar came punctually in the evening. Sarama was sitting in their room, her mother was in the kitchen. "Why are you sitting alone in the dark?" the young man asked as he entered.

"Please sit down," said Sarama getting up, "I shall go and bring the lamp from the other room," her voice sounded full of tears.

"You need not be in such a hurry," said Shashadhar. "Open the window, and we shall get enough light from the street lamp."

Sarama opened the window wide. Sashadhar drew up the broken armless chair and sat down. "I am going away for a few years," he said, "but you must not neglect your studies. I shall write to you by every mail. It would have been much better, if I could have taken you along too. But I am powerless now. I shall try next time. You can take any books you like from the library. I shall leave instructions with the librarian."

Sarama sat silent without answering. Shashadhar bent down close to her face and exclaimed, "What is that Sarama? Are you crying?"

Sarama turned away her face and wept openly. Shashadhar did not know how to comfort her. They knew each other's heart, but their hands were tied.

"Don't upset me like this on the eve of my departure," said Shashadhar at last, stroking her hair. "You know I am not free now, else I would have arranged matters otherwise. Won't you be patient for a couple of years?"

Sarama nodded in assent. Her mother was calling her from the kitchen and she had to go away.

Shashadhar had his dinner. Sarama's mother pointed out every dish cooked by Sarama. Then she signed to Sarama to go away. She went obediently.

Then her mother came to real business, "My dear boy," she said, "You have trained up the girl according to your own inclination. Would you now desert her?"

Shashadhar was not prepared for such plain speaking. He remained silent for a while. Sarama's mother spoke again, "We hardly dare to say it, but all along we had been placing all our hopes on you."

"I am not free now to do as I like," said Shashadhar at last. "I am going with the help of borrowed money. Let me come back, then I shall try my best to do my duty to everyone."

Sarama's mother had to remain content with this. Shashadhar sailed away the next week.

Time flowed on. Sarama drudged the whole day, but the evenings she wanted for herself. She sat by the open window and studied by the help of the street lamp. When her teacher was there, she had never shown so much diligence. Her mother would frequently remark, "You have finished cart-loads of books. Had you been a boy instead

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of a girl, this might have stood you in good stead. Still, an educated girl receives certain recognition nowadays. Let's see."

Shashadhar wrote frequently, but Sarama was not permitted to reply to them. She was unmarried and she was poor. This might be enough to give her a bad name. So Sarama's mother wrote to Shashadhar instead. Only the address was in Sarama's handwriting.

One evening, Sarama's father returned from office much before his time. He gave a couple of rupees to his wife and said, "Make some refreshments ready and tell Sarama to dress up. Some people are coming to see her."

Sarama's mother was taken aback. "What's the use of that?" she asked. "Did not Shashadhar say that he would do his duty by our girl? What would he think if he heard about these things?"

Sarama's father flew into a rage. "What's the value of his words?" he shouted. "Do you know that his father has settled his marriage with Keshab Mallik's daughter?"

Sarama's mother was thunderstruck. She had never expected this. "What a sly man!" she murmured at last. "He did take me in completely." She then went in search of Sarama.

But Sarama proved refractory. "Why do you torture me like this?" she said. "I cannot go and stand before strangers and let them stare at me."

Her mother began to abuse her. She told her daughter with a wealth of detail that Shashadhar was a great liar and fraud. She pulled out Sarama forcibly and began to do her hair, pouring out vituperations all the time. But even she failed to dress up Sarama in borrowed plumes. She received her mother's blows and abuses in silence, but remained adamant.

Late in the evening, two old gentlemen appeared and Sarama was taken before them. They asked a few questions which were answered by Sarama's father on her behalf. Sarama remained mute.

"She looks a bit older than sixteen," said one of the gentlemen. "Didn't you say, her age was sixteen?"

"It does not matter," said the other gentleman. They had some refreshments and then departed. Next day the news came that they were prepared to accept Sarama as a bride.

Sarama's father, too, paid an official visit to the bridegroom's home. His wife was on tenterhooks, but he had become strangely reticent. He would not say anything definite. She had rushed to him as soon as he had returned. "Is the bridegroom very old?" she asked.

"Not at all," he replied. "He is about thirty, I think."

"Then is he a widower?" asked his wife anxiously. "You say they are rich people, yet they are taking our daughter without any dowry. It is very suspicious. There must be something wrong."

"That goes without saying," said her husband. "If everything had been all right they would not have come for your daughter. We are not paying them any dowry and we are not giving the girl any jewellery. She is not a great catch by any means."

"But why don't you be frank with me? She is my daughter too. My heart is sinking with terror."

Her husband went out without replying. After a while he came back and said, "Why do you allow Sarama to go to old Natabar's house so often? You must be careful, else the match might fall through. There are enough people ready to spread a false scandal."

"Shashadhar's mother sends for her again and again," said his wife, "so Sarama has to go. The woman has taken to her bed ever since her son sailed for England. She is receiving no medical treatment. They borrowed quite a lot of money for the boy, now they are in great distress."

Her husband again went out without deigning to reply.

The day fixed for Sarama's marriage approached. There was no pomp and splendour since the bride's father was a poor man, but guests there were many. All the neighbours gathered there, invited or not. Sarama sat still like a figure carved out of stone. She neither wept nor spoke in spite of repeated sallies from her friends. Then the women began to deck out the

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bride for the wedding. The bridegroom arrived. The women ceremonially welcomed him. Sarama's mother cast frequent anxious glances at his face, but she saw nothing unusual. He looked like an ordinary man, though a bit grave. He was not old or deformed. The girls began to crack jokes at his expense. "It's a very good match," they said. "Both the bride and the groom look like statues of silence. Is this the latest fashion ?"

The marriage was duly performed. The bride and groom entered the bridal chamber. All the young women present went with them.

"Look how splendid our Sarama looks now," one girl said. "Verily, fine feathers make fine birds."

"Really, my dear," another whispered. "She is indeed a lucky girl. Her parents have not spent a pice on her, yet look at the jewellery she is wearing. Everything has been given from the bridegroom's side."

"Such a thing is very rare nowadays," the first girl said.

Many of the girls tried to jest with the bridegroom, but he never spoke a word. "Is your husband deaf, Sarama ?" asked one young lady, "or is he fresh from England ? Does not he know Bengali language ?"

The bridegroom smiled suddenly and said, "Italy."

The woman stared at him in surprise. What did the man mean ? Has he come from Italy ? Everyone laughed and cracked jokes, but the bridegroom had retired within his shell again. A few of the women went away. Some began to doze here and there.

It was past the hour of midnight. The house was silent, everyone had fallen asleep. Suddenly a terrible scream rent the silence. Everyone woke up in consternation. The women rushed out of the bridal chamber with shrieks of fright. Sarama's parents ran up to the room in dismay. The lights were turned up.

The bridegroom was standing erect in the middle of the room with his right hand stretched forward. Peal after peal of demoniac laughter issued from his lips. "I am Mussolini, I am Mussolini !" he was shouting. "I am out for conquest. Salute me everybody !"

Two servants from the bridegroom's house had been sleeping in the outer room. The furious din woke them up and they ran in at once. The caught hold of the mad man and tried to pacify him, but without any avail. He marched forward with long steps, his servants following him. They tried their best to comfort the frightened women. "Don't be alarmed," they said, "such fits come upon him from time to time. We two are here and shall keep him from harming anyone."

Sarama's mother struck her forehead on the ground and shrieked aloud, "I have flung my daughter into water," she wept. "Was this the fate you provided for her, Oh Lord !"

Her father crept back to his room in silence.

Everybody had been too busy hitherto and too dumbfounded to look at Sarama. Now that the mad man was removed, all eyes turned towards the unfortunate girl. She had untied the auspicious knot that tied the bridegroom's scarf with the end of her *saree* and was standing still by the window.

One young woman rushed up to her, "What is this ?" she asked. "Why have you untied the knot ? Don't you know that it is a bad omen ?"

"To be tied to such a person is no good omen," said Sarama.

"What can you do, my dear ?" said the young woman rather sadly. "Once the marriage is solemnized, you can never dissolve it. Really you are very unfortunate."

The two servants of the bridegroom had succeeded in pacifying him after a time with showers of cold water and with medicine. He flung himself on the ground and began to snore. The women sat up the rest of the night. They were too eager to go home and relate these strange happenings to others to sleep.

Sarama's mother approached her and began to stroke her body with a view to comforting her. The girl shook her off and moved away.

Next day, when the time came for the departure of the bridal pair, a hot alterca-

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tion ensued. Sarama's father began to shout, "I won't let them take away my daughter. They have cheated us by passing off a mad man as sane. I shall bring a suit against them. Let them take away their mad man."

The bridegroom's party also began to retort. "Why are you pretending to be so innocent now ?" asked one of them. "Were not you told that the man became ill sometimes ?"

"Do you call this being ill ?" cried Sarama's father. "He is a lunatic, you should put him in an asylum. I thought that perhaps he suffered from some form of chronic disease like asthma. If I had known this, I would never have consented to the marriage."

All this while Sarama was dressing up for accompanying the bridegroom. Her face was expressionless like that of a statue. She came out suddenly and said, "Father, why are you quarrelling ? Since you have sold me for money, I must go with them." She was the first to get into the carriage. The mad bridegroom was brought out and put by her side. The carriage started. Sarama's parents looked on stupidly.

Seven days passed off. Sarama's mother wept incessantly. They did not receive any news of the girl. Sarama's father had gone twice to see her, but had to return unsuccessful.

On the eighth day the bridal pair returned according to custom. This time the bridegroom was not left here, but went away with his attendants after half an hour. He had remained absolutely silent all the time.

Sarama's mother drew her daughter into her arms and began to caress her. The girl remained stiff and silent. She was gorgeously dressed, and loaded with gold and jewels.

"I hope he did not ill-treat you ?" asked the mother.

"A mad man cannot distinguish between good and bad treatment," answered her daughter.

"Why did you insist on going ?" asked her mother. "We did not want to send you."

"Since you have accepted blood money from them, I had to go," said Sarama, and getting up left the room. All the women of the neighbourhood crowded to their house as soon as the news of Sarama's arrival reached them. The jewels came in for all the attention since there was nothing else to talk about. Sarama sat silent listening to them.

In the evening, after the visitors had left she went to her mother and said, "Mother, I am going over to see aunt (Shashadhar's mother), I hear that she is very ill."

"Don't stay there long," said her mother from the kitchen.

But Sarama returned very late. It was past ten, and her mother had retired to bed. But she was awake. "What made you so late ?" she asked. "I was very anxious. You have so many ornaments on you."

"I went to a few other houses," replied her daughter. "They all made me take sweetmeats. I won't eat anything more tonight." saying this, she wrapped a bed-sheet round herself and flung herself on her bed.

Next morning, the house was in consternation. All Sarama's jewels had disappeared. She had only her shell bangles on.

Sarama remained mute. Abuse and even blows could not make her confess where all her ornaments had gone.

Her mother began to weep. "If you don't say anything, how can we trace them ?" she asked. "They will murder you. The jewellery cost them eight thousand rupees. It is no joke."

"That's my business," said Sarama. "They had bought a slave for their mad son, with eight thousand. They won't kill a person who has cost them so much. But the money was my own. I did what I liked with it."

Here the curtain was rung down on Sarama's tale.

* * * *

Shashadhar received a letter from his mother. She was too ill for a long time to write to him.

"The Lord has turned his merciful gaze on us, my dear boy," she wrote. "We were almost beggars and were about to be turned out on the streets. Nobody knows what made the money-lender change his mind. He has given up the house we mortgaged to him. He has even returned the note of hand for the rest of the money. He has got his money, he says. But he won't reveal the name of

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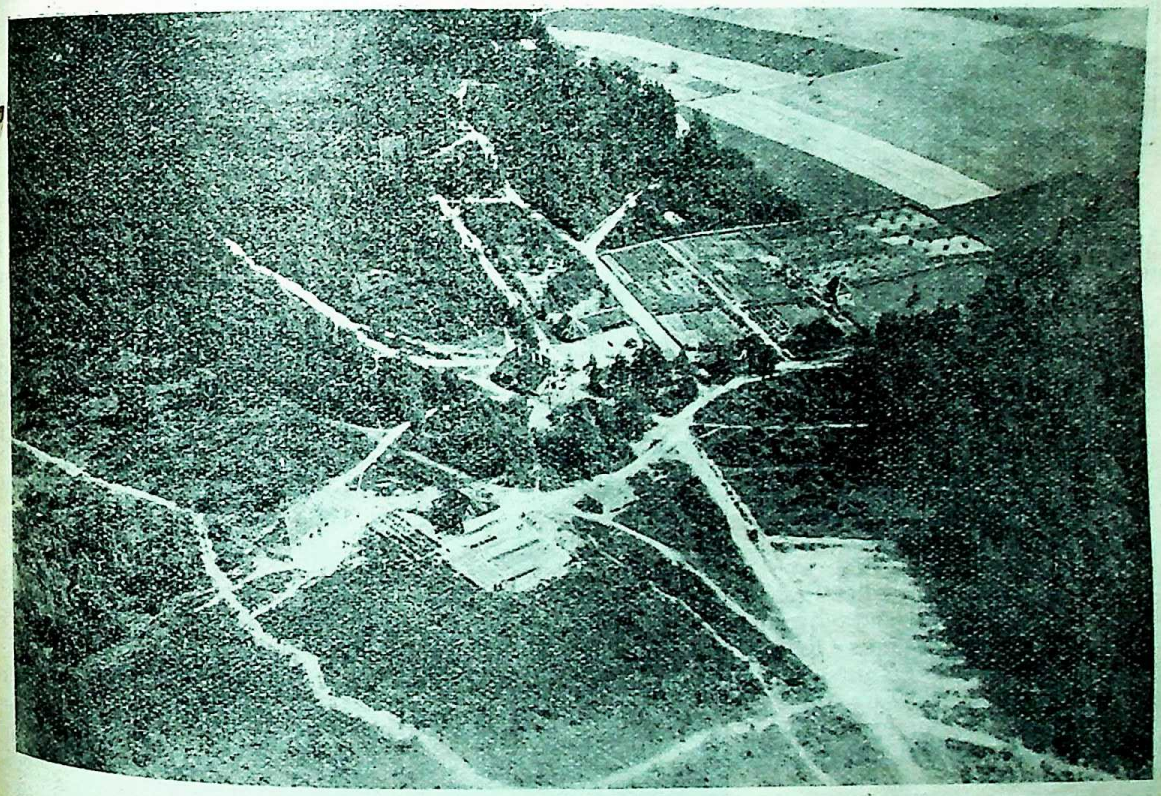
the person, who paid him the money. He has given his word not to. It might sound like a fairy tale to you, my darling, but it is quite true. Poor Sarama came to see me a few days ago. Her father has ruined the poor girl. He has given her away in marriage to a mad man, because they paid him some money."

THE LOHELAND SCHOOL—AN IMPRESSION

By Dr. J. C. GUPTA

In Europe amidst her gigantic advances in intellectualism and material sciences, when one sees or hears of something, which is quite different from the trends of modern civilization, one is naturally curious to learn more about it, and one pauses to think whether such a thing has really a meaning or is it simply an act of sheer madness and phantasy. Such an object seemed to me the Loheland School in Germany which during the last summer I had the pleasant occasion to visit and study closely. This school, about which I had so often heard, seemed to me a direct revolt against the modern systems of education. It is undoubtedly an experiment which, one must honestly admit, is bold in its assumptions and daring in its adventure. But the splendid success which in spite of many odds and oppositions it has been making are reasons enough to lead one to think over it seriously.



Bird's-eye View of Loheland School

The Loheland School is a residential institution for women only. The avowed object of this institution is to build up young women teachers and governesses who will be able later on to

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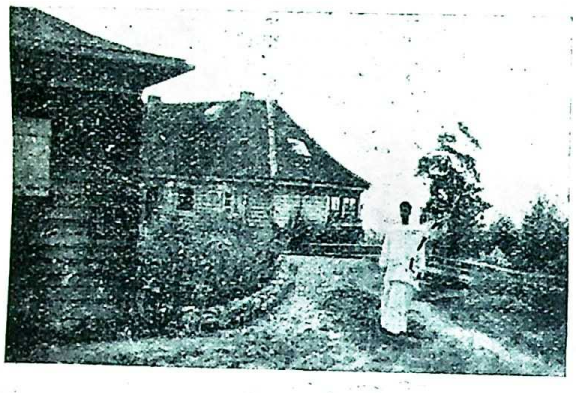
educate the younger generation to live like men, free from bondages of intellectualism on the one extreme and the dreams of sentimentalism on the other,—the two great evils of the modern days which are crushing manhood in their jaws inch by inch and driving mankind fast towards destruction. This school has been in existence since 1912. The founders of the institution are two women, Louise Langgaard and Hedwig von Rohden. These two and a few of their first pupils are the real builders of the organization from its infancy up. It was extremely interesting as they narrated to me, how the two initial founders, Fräulein Langgaard and Frau von Rohden, living in different parts of Germany, accidentally met each other, how they took fancy to each other, how the idea originated in their crazy



The "Landhaus"—Loheland

brains, and both simultaneously and impulsively felt they must be doing something. Little did they know what they were going to do. Without resources, without any support from any quarter whatsoever, they started to work. They worked ceaselessly day and night. Before their indomitable zeal and strong will-power, all oppositions gave away ; odds of times turned favourable to them, and the school was born. Step by step it advanced through the vissicitudes of economic and other difficulties, and today stands the School of Loheland, a monument of honest effort, attracting the attention of hundreds of men not only in Germany, but of different parts of the world.

Loheland is a small tract of land in the Rhon range, which even up to the year 1919 remained almost uninhabited and without a name. This beautiful name was given to the place by the founders of the school, who bought this piece of land (about 200 morgens) for the purpose of building a school. Situated in the middle of Germany among hilly tracts at a height of about 1,500 ft. above sea-level, the institution commands the solitude and freshness of nature, and so it seemed to me, it served a fitting place for an educational institution like Loheland School. The calmness of hill tracts all round, with forests and pastures and an isolated village here and there, reminded me of the forest schools of Brahmacharya of old India (the fundamental principles of which peculiarly enough as we shall see later on resemble each other to some extent), and the present Santiniketan School of Rabindranath Tagore. Yes, it is also a residential institution. The pupils and teachers all live in the same place or in the villages in the neighbourhood as simply as can be concieved of, devoting themselves heart and soul for the purpose of learning and teaching, far away from the noises and temptations of modern civilization.

As you come to Loheland, peeping out from amongst gardens and forests, the first building that attracts one's attention is the principal building, known as the "Holz-Haus." An imposing building, principally made of wood (hence probably the name), it served in the beginning as the main business centre. But now it is utilized for the central kitchen for the whole organization. Besides, there are about a dozen more buildings, all built in a peculiar style with Loheland sandstone, the most striking feature of them being their utmost simplicity. A few of them require special mention. The Franciscus-Bau is the principal building

Two Workshops—Loheland

where lessons are given. Built with big blocks of red stone, its design and structure is highly

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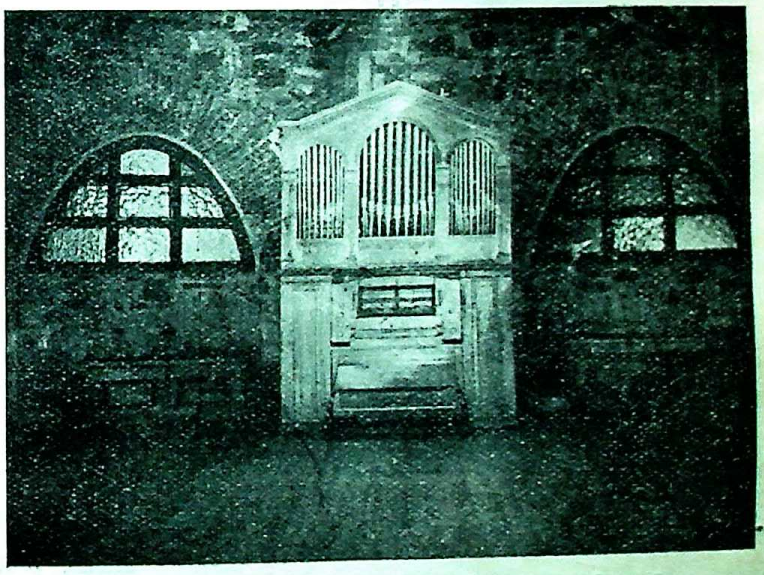
praiseworthy, giving an impression of their ideas about architectural technique. The building which is incomplete, has two stories. In the upper one is a big room, with an organ on one side. Lessons in music and gymnastics are given here. It is peculiar to note here that every Monday, before starting the week's work, all the members of the school assemble there. Music is played, music which is not phantastic, but which appeals to the inner spirit and inspires men. With the inspiration thus gained the week's work is commenced. The Rund-Bau, so called because of its rounded form, attracts the attention of the visitor next. It was primarily intended to serve as a room for gymnastics, but now it serves as the central dining-hall, accommodating about hundred persons. The pupils and staff all dine here together. It may be mentioned in passing, that cooking, serving, etc., are conducted by pupils themselves under the guidance of the teachers. They take the most simple forms of vegetable diet hygienically prepared, fresh, healthy and palatable. But what impresses the visitor is the thanksgiving at the end of the dinner, in which all stand up and join their hands in unison. Then comes the boarding house, known as the "Eva-Haus"; it was built by Eva Maria Deinhardt for the teachers, hence the name. It is a three-storied small building, high and narrow, commanding a beautiful view of the landscape in front of it. The last, but not the least worthy of mention, is the so called "Landhaus" (garden house), a small building in the open, surrounded by a garden and agricultural titbits. This garden is tended by students under the guidance of the teacher, Dorle Zimmermann.

Hedwig von Rohden with a Great Dane

The pupils live mostly in neighbouring villages, where rooms are hired by the organization in farmers' houses and furnished. The simplicity of the furniture is the outstanding feature of the place; a bedstead, a bookshelf and a small table are all one can find here. These are quite sufficient for the pupils to live in. Such simplicity of living one is absolutely unaccustomed to see in Europe.

The working of the Loheland organization is marvellous. Not only that it is a self-standing organization, conducted and managed wholly by women, but it has other remarkable features too, which draw the attention of a visitor. The leaders of the organization are themselves living examples of an extreme degree of self-sacrifice. They recieve no money as remuneration for their services. Of course, they get their meals and the bare necessities but nobody has possessions of their own. There are about a dozen more teachers and helpers besides, all working voluntarily, enjoying



Interior of the Franciscus Bau—The Organ

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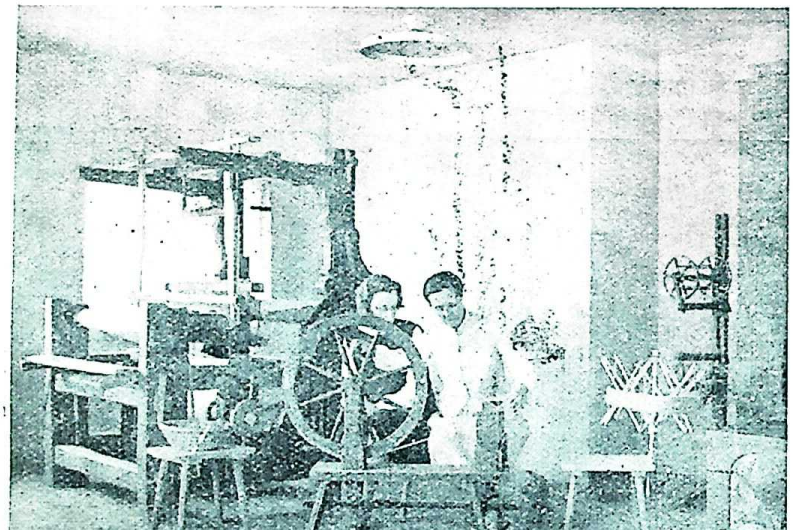
themselves heart and soul for the furtherance of their cause, which necessarily, owing to their sincerity, have success for their reward.

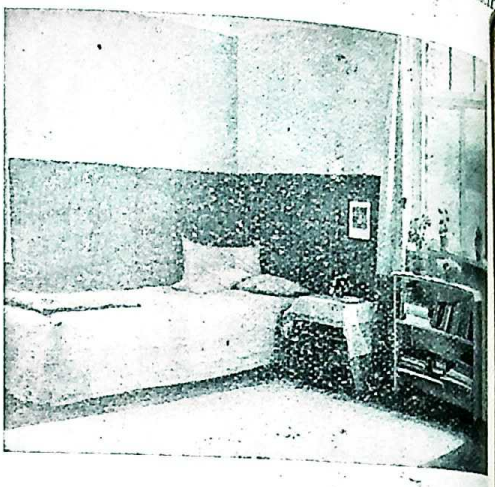
Broadly speaking, the Loheland organization has two spheres of activity: a training department which they call the "Seminar," and a department for vocational training on the lines of home and cottage industries, the uplift of which, secondary though, forms an equally important part of their programme. This latter is one of the most unique features of the institution, most particularly in Europe where such industries are supposed to be long dead owing to the huge and tremendous development of machines and factories. Pupils who so desire, can get vocational training as well. The whole institution is so organized that apart from providing ample facilities for the pupil to learn vocations, it is absolutely self-supporting and maintains partly the expenditure of the seminar.

Cottage industries are really conducted in cottages. Small buildings, about a dozen altogether, have been built in a peculiar style the simplicity of which at once suggests the depth of their utility. How tiny and small they look! Still as one enters them and observes the workers at their work, one cannot but admire. The spinning wheel (*Charka*) has found a place in the cottage for weaving, and the most simple weaving machine close to it affords an exquisitely imposing sight. How they observe neatness and order, as if it were a holy temple. Nobody enters the cottage with her shoes on. Everybody has a pair of woollen shoes which she carries along with her and has to exchange as she enters the cottage.



The Cottage for Weaving—A Teacher and a Pupil

Here they produce a lot of first class material silk and woollen stuffs. The design, the combination of colours are their specialty speaking of their wonderful taste. It may be remarked in passing that these stuffs, owing to their fineness and genuineness, owing to the fact that they are hand made are often highly valued and bought at comparatively high prices by the general public in preference to machine-made and cheaper articles.



A Cubicle in Loheland School
All the furniture has been made in the School itself

The next thing that calls for one's closer attention is the small carpenter's shop. It is a tiny little house, equipped with the most ordinary implements of everyday use. The amount of work and the nature of the material produced are all far ahead of the smallness of the building. One feels at once that the guiding principle of the institution, namely, "the will" is working here, in body as well as in spirit. Calmly and serenely the members work and the fineness of their finish speaks of the working of their creative genius, concentration and seriousness. Among other things they produce wooden bowls, candle-sticks, plates, etc. They also work in ivory. Their productions are luxuries no doubt, but nevertheless articles of common everyday use.

They have a pottery, in the most primitive and simple style, not of china clay or porcelain but of earthenware. They make plates, mugs, jars, etc., of various clay combinations, all very useful handiworks. The workshop reminds one of the potteries in lower Bengal, so simple they are.

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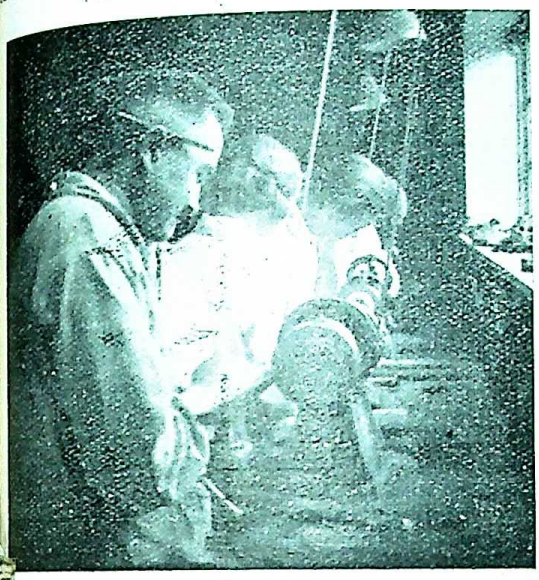
Besides these they have departments for tailoring, leatherwork, photography, gardening, agriculture and poultry. They are also breeding dogs. This last mentioned one is again of extreme interest. The great Danes of Loheland have become world famous. Magnificent to look at, tall, majestic and lovely, and perfect in their behaviour they present to ordinary



The Turner's Shop

people a great help and to the rich a luxury worth possessing. The very fact that their breeding has produced world famous dogs alone points to the fact of their capacity, but what interests one more is the association of the pupils with household animals. They learn from these dumb mute animals that sentiment for love for the lower and the lowest is a quality worth possessing.

The Seminar is the central and the most important part of the whole organization. It is the temple of practical demonstration of the methods and principles which characterize Loheland School. Its objects, as we have already emphasized, are mainly pedagogical. From this point of view they have before them a clear-cut conception of the burning needs of the time. The modern age all over the world requires "men" in the true sense of that word, not men with the form of man only, but men having a wider development of the fundamental qualities of manhood. The teachers who are to be built up from this institution must be conscious of this from head to foot, they must be actually living up to it every moment of their lives. The teachers in other words must possess a high degree of personality. They must have a broad outlook on the world, which alone will give them superior perceptive faculty of the highest order, a strong sense of responsibility, a precision and orderliness in life in its entirety, which will spontaneously prompt them to an attitude of helping and to a spirit of service born of love. Such teachers indeed are capable of exercising a profound influence on the development of qualities of manhood in their pupils.

The authorities have clear-cut ideas about what is required of a pedagogue in this respect. They realized at the very outset that pedagogy which attempts to force anything on the pupil, whether by dint of superiority, due to age or knowledge, without taking into consideration the recipient, cannot have much success in the uplift of humanity. The far more important element according to them is the pupil. It is realized that man who is to be looked upon as a single unit consisting of body, mind and soul, has immense capacity inherent in him. This power, which we may call the creative genius, is lying dormant in him. This has to be awakened, unfolded and developed. Such an awakening and development is only possible through self-striving, when there is the awakening of self-consciousness. This awakening of self-consciousness and development of creative genius is the sole object of education to which a pedagogue is expected to contribute his share. It comes to this, then, that a

A Lesson in the open Air

pedagogue has a much more responsible function to perform,—namely, to induce in the pupil a disciplinized sense for self-striving. The pupil will develop himself according to his own laws of growth. The teacher will keep a watch on him in his striving in an attitude of love and extreme sympathy whenever they are needed. He will present to him his own

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outlook on things expecting him not to imitate or take it as granted, but to furnish him with material to think and ponder over and form his own ideas from them. The teacher will, with an open mind, always encourage his pupil to persue the right path. Such encouragements necessarily will have, as result, the strengthening of the functional capacities of the pupil, *i.e.*, a definite advance.

It is peculiar that in their methods of training, gymnastics and a study of movements play the central rôle. Why gymnastics? It seems odd at first sight, but a moment's thought

A Loheland Girl at Play

will clear away all doubts. Let us analyse: What is after all the prime object of our education, but the development of manhood into a full-blossomed flower, free from bondages of every kind, calm and blissful, so that with a developed will-power, a disciplined capacity for thinking and feeling, he can work his way not to a salvation in a future heaven but in everyday existence? It is this disciplinization which gymnastic in its simplest form teaches us—not the body with its muscular system but the man with his far more important faculties—namely the free development of the three fundamental qualities. In gymnastic one learns what space is, learns to observe what form means, realizes how form changes from one to another, and how in doing so, the principle which guides and governs is the will-power of the individual, and lastly one gets an insight into the conception of time, which is experienced at the moment, when one form changes into another,—all these things when once achieved—there can be little doubt—serves as a great asset in the life of man. This experience opens the creative genius in him, and he wins thereby a self-confidence, that by his will he is capable of adjusting himself actively to circumstances and the world around him.

In order to attain these experiences, the course adopted in Loheland is an entirely method, devised by its founders and popu known as the gymnastic-methods of Rud Langgaard. These methods are peculiar differ from the ordinary methods of gymnastics in that here a greater stress is laid on the with his manhood than to the body with muscular systems. Pure gymnastics are sup mented by such other exercises that may con to the finer development of the mental facu in its power of observation, concentration dexterity, namely, music and sketching painting, etc.

The art of teaching is even more interesting There is practically no routine. Each pupil separate and a special problem to her teach Problems, especially devised and ordained meet the requirements, are set before the pu who are to solve them out according to their capacity for thinking and imagination. In respect they are guided by the teachers so a progressive development of physical, mo and mental functions may proceed step by Lessons are given in gymnastics, from wh the pupil in the beginning learns to maintain healthy formation of the body, gets a concepti of direction, and learns the art and technique impulsive movements. In order that the pu may gain a thorough insight into the fund mentals of these problems, they are given lessons in the study of the structure and formation of the human body, specially its skeleton and muscular systems,—not in a dry form as is taught in medical anatomy but in a lively more interesting manner, in relation to the principles of life that pervades them. They are taught the principles of orthopaedic gymnastics which conduce to the correction and preventio of various bodily deformations, such as flat foot and hunch-back, etc.

Besides these, they are given practical training in various fine arts. They learn music sketching and painting, exercises which contribute to the development of the fine mental elements, attentiveness, concentration, capacity for reproducing, and imaginative faculties. They learn geometry in a special way to give them a conception of measure and an idea of proportionality and order, which naturally must follow according to definite laws. They are given special lessons in the study of the cultural aspect of humanity, social problems and problems of philosophy and history, all of which directly contribute to build up a personality in an individual, and are therefore invaluable possessions for a pedagogue.

One thing remains yet to be mentioned, namely, the amusements of Loheland. Loheland authorities perceived the usefulness of innocent amusements which not only help to awaken the imaginative faculty but also serve in an effective manner to make life light and easy, teaches man how to laugh—

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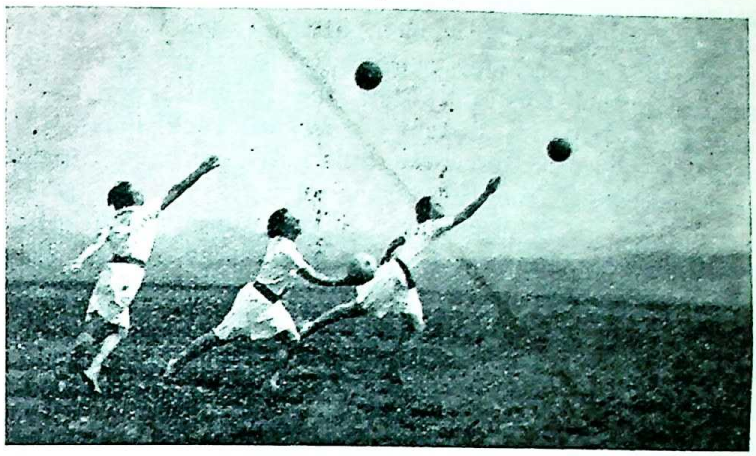
expression of the inner feeling of joy. The method they adopt is simple, praiseworthy and instructive. Fairy tales are played on the stage, phantastic masks are prepared and various different human temperaments are enacted in their pure form.

Loheland School is an experiment. They recognize that no method can be absolute and perfect, holding for all time. It must be changed and modified to meet the special needs of the times. Their method indicates, in other words, a line of working for the advancement of humanity. So in their programme it is expected that those who have obtained a Loheland Diploma must come back at least once in three years to replenish their knowledge and renew their experiences.



Sports at Loheland

Loheland School is in its infancy. Splendid is its success; I met foreigners from distant lands: America, Switzerland, Rumania, and from different parts of Germany. How they effect a thorough change in the whole atmosphere! The most naughty and intractable girls, under their training have been seen to be completely changed in a short time. They have lost their vice, are not so emotional and wildly lively, but have become calm, graceful, but lively nevertheless in their behaviour. Health and joy that come from an inner satisfaction are to be seen on many faces. One must admit that schools are really a want of the times.

I wondered at one thing, why such institutions could not be for men; perhaps there are reasons. Each sex must grow according to its own laws of growth in its own way. Anyway I must admit, my short stay in Loheland has been a fruitful one and I have learnt a good deal.

GWALIOR

By H. L. C.

LIFE at Gwalior has recently been running high. First, Colonel Sir Kailas Narain Haksar has played a very prominent part in shaping the policy of the princes, and it is a matter of common knowledge that but for his vision and grasp of details Federation would have remained a far-off adorable dream.

Secondly, Rani Rajwade, the talented spouse of General Rajwade, has taken a keen interest in various movements in connection with the progress of women, and, as secretary of the All-India Ladies' Conference, has pushed to the forefront the major questions affecting the destinies of the members of her sex in all the higher spheres of life. Indeed, in her excellent annual report which she read at Lucknow on the 28th December last she gave a stirring account of the milestones already left behind, and of the forward march contemplated to challenge the supremacy of the "mere" man practically in every zone of activity. Her voice rang out clear like a bell and the audience which included prominent public leaders listened with rapt attention as without the least vestige of nervousness and the faintest trace of hesitancy she told the story of achievements in the social and political domains.

Enunciation, accentuation, modulation were simply perfect and she cast a spell on every one as, in the gathering twilight, with

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statuesque grace, she voiced the sentiments shared by all educated women; and, to one among the hearers, she seemed to set the trumpet to her lips and blow the radiant message of hope to distant places out over the fields and away across the hills. Woman is rousing herself from the torpor of ages—it would be a thousand awakenings from a thousand sleeps, and it is a matter of supreme good fortune that in H. H. the Maharaja Scindia's dominions Rani Rajwade stands at the helm to steer the vessel with steady hands and a clear gaze upon the uncharted path.

But the most important event is a wholesome breach made in the time-honoured traditions, as His Highness has, like an ordinary candidate, just sat for the High School Examination conducted by the Ajmer Board. He came to the Victoria College without any pomp of circumstance, without any glittering panoply, without trailing any clouds of glory, and cheerfully submitted to the rigorous discipline of the examination hall. He cast aside the purple robes and entered the room in plain apparel as an ordinary votary of knowledge. He stood with his future subjects on a footing of absolute equality and there was no hedge isolating him from the future citizens of Gwalior. The experience thus acquired at a most plastic period, before views and opinions have hardened into granite,—His Highness is going in his 17th year,—will be of incalculable value at a later age. Perhaps Hamlet must have freely mingled with the sons of common people and shared their hopes and fears at Wittenberg, else how could he have identified himself with humanity and referred in immortal words to those evils which cannot strike ordinarily *a prince*—

> For who would bear the whips and scorns of time,
> The oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely,
> The pangs of despised love, the law's delay,
> The insolence of office and the spurns
> That patient merit of the unworthy takes
> When he himself might his quietus make
> With a bare bodkin ?

His Highness will shortly exercise his beneficent sway also over the dominions which were once ruled by Vikramaditya. The archaeologist must strenuously unearth the great throne from the chaos of ruins—for the initiator of a new era could not have been a mere fantastic figment of the myth-maker's brain.

Just at the time of Augustus when Rome was at the height of her power and Virgil was celebrating the splendour of imperial glory there dwelt rivals to them at Malwa. In the court of Ujjaini there shone the nine gems who added their lustre to the reign of Vikramaditya whom the popular imagination delighted to represent as the perfect embodiment of courage, generosity and self-sacrifice. Not this alone—Gwalior contains the hallowed spot where fell the dauntless Rani of Jhansi, perhaps the most heroic spirit since the days of Joan of Arc. She hewed her way with a new Excalibur wrought in the forge of liberty and jewelled with agonies and adorations. She lit up the page of history and her soul as it escaped from its clay tenement must have ascended to Heaven in a car with flaming steeds and attended by a flight of angels. How it thrills the imagination, how it stirs the heart—how it warms the blood and sets aglow the ideals of freedom! Then there is the grave of Tan Sen, the immortal singer. Every year there throng enthusiastic pilgrims to render their tribute at the foot of the plain unadorned heap of stones guarding the ashes of one of the mightiest inventors of melodies. Verily the whole universe is the tomb of great men. Their glory never dies—their ashes rest where pious hands have buried them, but the whole earth cherishes their memory in loving remembrance.

Which Indian State can boast of such blazened names, which will resound through the corridors of time. Kalidas, Tan Sen and Lakshmibai will form a new zodiac which replacing old outworn astrologies, will encircle the life of the young Maharaja and help him to promote the happiness and well-being of over three million souls. What an inspiration to the future ruler of Gwalior and Ujjain to add a new chapter to the annals of mankind !

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JOHANNES BRAHMS: LAST OF THE MUSICAL ROMANTISTS

May 7, 1833—April 3, 1897

By D. NADKARNI

A century has elapsed since the birth of Johannes Brahms, the last of the music masters, whom we designate as the Romantists. The time that fashioned him and sent him forth, is of so supreme an importance as to have become a matter of historical interest to us; the time that looked up to him as a beacon-star in the firmament of music—that owed so much to the rich legacy of his genius—is already made distant by cataclismic changes that have occurred in every sphere of art and life,—changes that he could not even have dreamt. It is yet possible, by a merciful providence, to regard him from the standpoint of posterity, as a great tone-poet, whose works the world today, despite its notions of democratic values, will not willingly let die; and whose name still spells a thrill to the heart of every lover of music.

We have said that Brahms was the last of the musical Romantists. What, first then, is the meaning of Romanticism, as the instance of Brahms defines it? For this, we must give a short survey of the Romantist period. Romanticism appears at the end of the 18th century. About this time, a great wave of intellectual renaissance submerged over Europe, especially among the German-speaking peoples. This resulted in a revival of the ancient poetic tales of the middle ages, which were written in Romance dialect (the expression "In Romance we read," came in time to refer to the tale, and not to the language in which it was told). Under this intellectual evolution, there grew up a galaxy of great poets, of whom the representative names are the two Schlegels, Tiecks, Novalis and the Frenchman Alfred de Musset. These were the poets who infused vitalizing intensities to the literature of the 19th century. As the nature of their works was based on a different footing to that of the Classic schools of the 18th century, they came to be known as the Romantists.

It is significant of the human thought that it should have turned back to that time of history with which the first idea of Romance is usually associated—the time of troubadours, the crusades, the chivalry, and the miracles—which disclosed a submerged world of artistic thought to the Western countries of the Orient. This nether world offered an unlimited scope to the range of imagination. The abstract, the nebulous, the immaterial, were fashioned into representative arts and poetry by the Romantists. To music, a wide range of new expression was thus offered. New ideas in colour and dynamics were evolved by the composers of this period. The pertinent difference between Classicism and the Romanticism in music lies in this: Classicism follows the dictates of regularity, aesthetic beauty of line, symmetrical precision, and above all tradition along formal outlines; Romanticism embraces the bizarre, the novel, the imaginary, the legendary, and in its composition, striks a note of novelty and revolt. This, in brief, is a resumé of the Romance period in music.

II

The German Empire of the era in which Brahms was born marks an important chapter in the history of that nation. Conquest-mad Napoleon Bonaparte, drunk with the blood of his many victories, held Germany under his iron heels, until that nation arose to resist the oppressor whose very name meant desolation. At that time, Germany was a chaotic confederation of small states,

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of which Austria was an important unit. Metternich, that reactionary Austrian minister, sought to subject other German States to his dominion. With the advent of Bismarck, however, who had to weather many a political storm, Prussia became the ruling state in 1871. When Brahms was born, the great chancellor was at the threshold of his meteoric career.

Amidst this life of the young century,—cruel, bitter, unlovely, abounding withal in vital force—there arose two great masters in the art of music: Brahms and Wagner. The one stood for the symphony and the song; the other for the opera and the overture. Much of the dynamic power which characterizes their works is due, in a large measure, to the political fervour of their time.

Brahms's family name, according to some biographers, appears as Bramst. One evidence of this may be found in the programme of a concert given in 1849. The laws of heredity seem to have been clearly defined, as the example of Brahms proves it; for his father Johann Brahms was an able musician who could play the violin, cello, flute, horn, and contra-bass. In spite of this versatility he lived such a shiftless existence, that he was not above "passing the hat" when he played in the Summer Gardens. The master's mother was a frail, fragile woman, hailing from the "pleb" class and used to walk with a pronounced limp. She was seventeen years older than her husband. History records no other details of her life, except that she was an ideal mother, blue-eyed, God-fearing, and eminently entitled to that greatest of German feminine virtues: "tuchtige hausfrau" (tidy housewife).

To such parents, incongruous only in the disparity of their respective ages, rich in love, though not in the wordly possessions, Brahms was born on May 7, 1833, in squalid poverty, amidst a wilderness of streets, and that class of population just raised above harsh necessity. The building which was his early home, like so many architectural apologies of the time, was a "Wohnung" or a tenement—something like the *chowls* that exist in our country. Here the Brahms occupied a couple of rooms; and abject poverty cried out aloud within the narrow confines of this "home," which was located in the limbo of a bleak-looking lane in Hamburg. At the time of his birth, his mother was 44 years old, and his father only 27.

Brahms's early life was uneventful. He was taught by a pianist named Cossel, who gave him his first lessons when he was seven years old. At ten, he made so much progress that he gave a study by Herz. During the same year, Cossel having recognized the abilities of the boy, took him to the city of Altona, where his own teacher Marxen resided. Brahms played for the aged maestro, and was assured that while he had great talents, he had better continue under Cossel for some time. Later, he took Brahms under his care, teaching him without any compensations.

Under Marxen, his general education too was taken care of. The world ought to feel profoundly indebted to Cossel, but for whose patience and self-sacrifice the boy would have been packed off as a prodigy, which would have proved fatal to his genius.

In 1853, he started on a tour with Edouard Remenyi, a Hungarian violinist. This was a salutary change from the terrible years of his early musical hardship. He toured extensively, in Zurich, Baden-Baden, Hamburg and other great cities. But wherever he appeared, he did not win the popular applause that a virtuoso expects from his audience. At Gottingen there occurred a famous contretemps, which had a most important, though an indirect influence on the whole after-life of the young composer. A piano, on which he was to play, happened to be a semitone below the required pitch; and Brahms played the piece, which was Kreutzer's Sonata, by heart, transposing it from A to B Flat (Beethoven similarly transposed his own concerto in C to C sharp at a rehearsal) in such a way that the great violinist, Joachim, introduced himself to Brahms, and laid the foundation of a lifelong friendship. Joachim introduced him to Liszt at Weimar, and Schumann at Düsseldorf.

By temperament, Brahms was retiring, and a natural distaste for notoriety made him shun society at every point. He ignored the

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Doctorate of Music offered by the Cambridge University in 1877 but accepted that of Ph. D. from Breslau four years later. In 1883, he was kinghted by Prussia (Order of Merit).

He was the polar antithesis of his contemporary, Richard Wagner. The difference between them was the difference between the peaceful placidity of the lake, and the glorious aquatic clamour of the ocean. Yet, Wagner brought his music in appropriate contact with the needs of his time; while Brahms, never compromising his conscience, worked in art principles that were far too difficult for the likes of his laity.

His personal appearance was impressive. An abnormally large head stood on his small and stocky frame. Ruddy of complexion, blue-eyed (a heritage from his blue-eyed mother) and a shock of wild unkempt hair streaked with silver in his advanced years, complete the portrait of the master. He was inordinately fond of outdoor life, and cross-country walks,—a predilection that he shared with Beethoven,—were a daily feature of his active life. Mountain climbing was another of his hobbies. As he put on weight he had to curtail this form of activity. He was so fond of open air, that he always made it a rule to dine in his garden whenever weather permitted.

He was very slip-shod in his dress, and refused all social functions that forced him to abandon his care-free attire. This gave momentum to a rumour that he avoided the trip to England to receive the Doctorate of Music, because he feared he would have to wear a dress-suit. The existing eccentricities of his dress were accentuated by a loud-coloured flannel-shirt, open at the throat—a forerunner of the present-day Sports' model and by a massive "Sombrero" which he sported on his hand, rather than on his head.

It has been the misfortune of the musical world in Germany, that every great musician is ranged by critics and amateurs in one of the two hostile camps; and it was due, in the main, to the misrepresentations of the Wagner camp, that the idea was so generally held that Brahms was a man of narrow sympathies and hard, not to say brutal in manners. The last impression was fostered, no doubt, by the master's detestation of the method by which the average lionizer gains his object. His admiration for Verdi and Wagner, is enough to show the absence of operatic works from his list of compositions. Brahms was a man of wide interests. He was keenly alive to the scientific progress of his time, the telephone, telegraph and phonograph. He was kind to his servants, and such a lover of children that he allowed them to impose on him. To see him on all fours in imitation of a horse with a child astride his back, was common sight. Yet he remained a celibate, and like Beethoven never married—nor had he any "affairs." He was a great admirer of Goethe and his favourite quotation "Blessed is he who, without hate, shuts himself from the world," was constantly on his lips.

III

A careful study of Brahms's piano compositions reveals the fact that he employed chords that were too unique from the regulation chord-masses of the average composer. To such a degree has this uniqueness been used that a student is up against a very complicated arrangement of the keys, which demand a significant extension of his technique. It was conceded that Brahms detested the traditional, and in his simplest of compositions, he sought a characteristically distinct atmosphere. He cannot be called a virtuoso in the sense that is applied to Liszt, Rubenstein, or Paderewski. Joachim, his lifelong friend, said of him : "His piano playing was so tender, so full of fancy, so fiery, that it held me enthralled."

In a much-discussed article, entitled "Neue Bahnen" (New Roads) Schumann who was nearer the tragic close of his great career at the time, hails Brahms as the true successor of Beethoven. The critical insight in this article is all the more surprising when it is remembered how small was the list of Brahms's works at that time. Schumann's inspired prophecy was more than fulfilled, for today Johannes Brahms stands in a symbolic significance for the ultra-classic, though his musical destiny marks him down as the Romantist, who has definitely widened the scope of symphonic form. His path in life was not illuminated by those brilliant flashes

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of contemporary fame as in the case of Wagner. Brahms made a plodding progress in life, for the Wagner furore was at hand and which completely eclipsed the modest composer of chamber music and symphonies.

It was von Bülow's audacious epigram, "the three B's—Bach, Beethoven and Brahms" that visited upon the head of the innocent composer, all the vitriolic phillipic of the Wagner camp. As a matter of historical fact, the whole controversy was waged on journalistic lines, without a tinge of personal animosity. Brahms himself never pretended to pose as a rival to the Bayreuth hero; indeed he was his admirer, and never missed a performance of his works whenever one was given in Vienna.

Brahms was a master of technique. He knew his scores as only he could know it—perfectly. The outline of his greater works must be grasped with some definiteness before the separate ideas can be properly understood in their true relations to each other; and while it is wonderful power of handling the recognized classical forms, so as to make them seem absolutely new, which stamps him as the greatest musician of his day, the want of originality has undoubtedly been a bar to the rapid acceptance of his works by untrained lovers of music. He treats of emotional conditions which are far removed from the usual stock of subjects taken by the average composer. To compare, for example, the ideas in his "German Requiem," with those of Nänie (Op. 89) or Schicksalslied (Op. 54) is to learn a lesson in artistic style, which can never be forgotten.

To the old symphonic forms, and the smaller forms, Brahms has instilled an enduring invention, a vitalizing execution, and a musical genius hardly to be conceived of any other artist except Beethoven. He has, further, considerably improved upon the symphonic structure of Beethoven, by the addition of a polyphony, which is exclusively Bachian in its superb sweep of expression, and the creation of an intricate contra-puntal web. He is in music the architect—the born-builder. The massiveness of his themes, the sweetness of his cantitena, the majesty of his musical structure has earned for him the envious distinction of the few—a master among masters, a colossus of his century.

We notice in his compositions, a wonderful fusion of a fecund fancy, and an elastic humour- and the result is a combination that is as rare as it is delightful. Note the "Academy Festival Ouvertures" (Op. 80) which prove Brahms as a master of musical humour in his treatment of student songs which serve as its theme; and the companion piece "Tragic Ouverture" (Op. 81) reaches the heights of sublimity which is in no way lessened because no particular tragedy has been associated in conjunction with the work.

His power over the orchestra is colossal in its expression—though he is no artist struggling for the right colour, nor yet a poet striving for the unique word. He has been charged by some critics for the monotony of his themes. It is true that the mere acoustic effect of a passage was of far less importance to him than its inherent beauty, poetic import or logical fitness, in a definite scheme of development; and that often, in his orchestral music one receives the impression of a complexity, rather than clarity, and one is apt to imagine that the thickness of instrumentation is due to clumsiness. Such instances as the first symphony, the close of the first movement of the second, the epilogue of the third, and the entire "variations on a theme by Haydn" (Op. 56) are not only marvels of delicate workmanship in structural form but are instinct with peculiar beauty and characteristic of each instrument.

Brahms was the Messiah of music, bringing with him new gospels of musical structure, which he preached in a manner befitting their weight and importance. He is a symphonist originally. Among the modern composers he easily holds the pride of place by virtue of the majesty and dignity of his form-contribution to this art. His symphonies, which seem as if chiselled from the granite, can be ranked with those of Beethoven. In fact, when his first symphony was produced even the sternest of critics welcomed it as the "Tenth Symphony," implying thereby, that it was a worthy successor to the immortal nine symphonies of Beethoven. As ascetic as Socrates, Brahms submits his themes to a severe self-criticism from all

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possible sides, and the resultant poem that is thus turned out, is a veritable tonepoem, Homeric in its idyllic beauty.

A typical characteristic of the Romance composers lies in their vocal, more than their instrumental recitals. True to this tradition, Brahms to the song is the sweet-voiced, tender lyrist, pathetic in feeling, capricious yet dignified, noble yet moving, and as great as Schumann or Schubert. The passions and fires of Italian songs, as well as their lighter sensuousness, were at once seized by him, and by subtle alchemy fashioned them into something deeper and more eloquent. The love-ditties that merrily sighed, or prattled, or languished, *alla mandolinata,* in more serious lands, blossomed under this genius as esoteries from the world's heart. A romantic ballad could reach the height of tragedy, when he gave it the German voice. He has bequeathed us such a rich legacy of songs, that his single name will suffice for the construction of a fine programme. His countless *Lieders* cannot be heard too often *Liederciclus* or *Liedericks,* are song cycles, in which a number of different songs, circle round one idea, and are embodied in a single work). Among his best-known Lieders are his Sapphic ode (Grade 4.)

His chamber music deserves a chapter in itself, since it seeks to revive the old classical form in a manner truly worthy of his great predecessors. His ideas were throughout clothed in a preference to the forms which had sufficed for Beethoven ; and the instances in which he departed from structural precedent are so rare, that they might be considered as the signs of a logical development of a musical form. His themes are always noble, and even from the point of view of emotional appeal, their deep intensity of expression is of a kind that grows upon all who have once been awakened to their beauty.

The prevailing weakness that is noticeable in some composers notably in Mendelssohn's Piano Trios, is over-elaboration of the piano part, which distracts the listener's attention. Nevertheless, Brahms has been particularly careful in his writing. He has proved to us that it is possible to avoid this danger, and has given us a glorious work in this form. His solo piano music is an independent literature in itself. He composed three sonatas, of which the last is very popular, and its andante and scherzo are object studies in piano writing. His solo studies in E Flat (Op. 4) were a great favourite of Liszt, who saw in them more than a suggestion of Chopin. These little gems, composed in the evening of the master's life, are exquisite poetic *bijouteries,* set together by a genius and executed with the finicking craftsmanship of a lapidiary. In these miniatures Brahms is at his best and most genial mood. Here Brahms, the wielder of thunderbolts, drops his form behind him like a chrysallis, and flutters forth, like a butterfly, in his lovely little gardens of fragrant flowers. His Paganini paraphrase for the piano displays his extraordinary skill in technical invention. They are the Ultima Thule of all pianists. Another great piece is his St. Anthony variation, which is a noble gesture to a challenge that Brahms had no soul for the orchestra.

But the greatest of his music is the German Requiem (Op. 45) first performed at Bremen in 1868—a mighty work, colossal in its sweep, elemental in its depth and power. If one may pilfer a poetic phrase of Dr. Crassi, "it is the heart's blood" of a nation "wrung forth in its hour of sorrow." His most popular works are his Hungarian dances, the works by which his name was known outside his native land. How far he stood from the prejudices of the average pedant, may be seen in the passionate love he showed throughout his life for national music, especially that of Hungary. The Hungarian dances originally appeared as piano-duets, and later were turned into orchestral compositions. When the first piano quartet (Op. 25 in G Minor) was produced, it incurred the ire of the critics of the time by its introduction of some characteristics of Hungarian tunes into the finale.

Brahms's greatness lies in a subtle appeal to the very core and essence of human nature as it palpably exists, just as we witness it daily about us—struggling or repressed in our very selves. The voice of his music is the mystic voice of humanity. He did not degrade it, nor deprive it of its pristine mysteriousness. On the other hand, he

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transformed it into as near an articulate and human expression as is possible to make it.

He is a priest, unceasing in his song-offerings in the Temple Beautiful! A sovereign, whose suzerainity is over the despotic rulers! A hero, who knew his mission, and subordinated it to himself, his longings, his loves, his very life! A seer, as Ruskin says, "of imagination in the prophetic sense, calling the things that are not as they were, and for ever delighting to dwell in that which is not tangibly present. . . ."

His art asked his all; he knew it, and gave his all. After his death, which occurred on April 3, 1897, a twilight seemed to have settled down over all musical creativeness. It hushed the noises of the material world—as if the departure of the most suddenly prodigal and florescent of all aesthetics demanded a period of silence, of repose, of inaction—that we might better hear the whisperings of the spirit which pervaded his death. It seemed to say, "I have done enough for a while. I have given enough for a while. Let me now sleep for some time for a century or more."

PORTS AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

By GAGANVIHARI L. MEHTA, M.A.

THE importance of ports in national economy and of the part they do and could play in a scheme of national development is seldom realized by business men not to speak of laymen. Although Calcutta is one of the most important ports in India and the East, very few persons have clear notions about the varied and complex functions of port authorities or of the effects which the port has on the trade and prosperity of this city, this province and the country at large.

Let us begin at the beginning. A port is something more than a mere harbour. A port must have not only adequate shelter for ships and sufficient depth of water like a harbour but also accommodation and facilities for landing and shipping of goods and passengers. A port, that is, is a harbour with terminal facilities. Shelter is mainly a natural feature but certain natural disabilities could be removed by engineering skill. For instance, Calcutta has several bars and two of them are dangerous; the Calcutta Port Commissioners have, therefore, to keep the river navigable by constant dredging. Similarly, Rangoon suffers from a shifting of the river bed which has been met by the creation of a river training wall and a similar wall has also been constructed in the Hooghly just below Sankral Bight. Cochin has also been developed by removing its natural disability about the bar. For, port development is necessary for the flow and expansion of trade. Ports can be distinguished according to their physical characteristics, *e.g.*, natural ports like Bombay, tidal ports like Moulmein, river ports like Calcutta or Rangoon, coast ports or open roadsteads like Cocanada. They could also be classified according to the nature of the traffic handled, for instance, ports which handle mainly passenger traffic, *e.g.*, Gopalpur, or only cargo like the coastal ports of India or both passenger and traffic like Bombay or naval ports or ports of call or fuel ports. Earlier ports were mostly river ports because rivers were the highways of commerce but now it is difficult to navigate vessels of deep draughts in rivers so that river ports cannot always accommodate modern tonnage. For instance, vessels of deep draught cannot approach Calcutta at all tides. Some ports of historical interest on the Orissan coast have decayed because the rivers on which they were situated have silted up.

Ports are gateways of traffic between the sea and the land, between shipping on the one hand and the hinterland of the ports on the other. They are links in the chain of commercial activities or vital centres in the continuous process of transport. Commerce must move not only rapidly and in safety from the producer to the consumer but it must be handled expeditiously at the waterside. To effect smoothly and rapidly the interchange of traffic from the land to the sea and from the sea to the land is a primary function of a port. In ports like Calcutta, the transfer is not only between the land and the sea but also between carriers on inland waterways and coastal and oceanic routes. The land area from which and to which the commerce of a port moves is usually described as the hinterland. This hinterland, however, is common to more than one port and these ports among themselves might compete for traffic. For

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instance, tea from Assam might be exported from Chittagong or from Calcutta; piece-goods from Ahmedabad might be shipped through Bombay or through one of the Kathiawar ports. But this leads to the question of competition between ports and the effects of such competition on national economy to which we shall come later.

Apart from being points of entrance or exit of national trade, many big ports perform another function which is often not adequately realized. The examination of the traffic in big ports having free areas, such as Hamburg or Copenhagen, goes to show that a great part of the merchandise imported into those ports leaves them again after a varying delay, and is re-exported by sea; the merchandise during this delay is safely warehoused; is perhaps, in the course of their stay in the warehouse, the subject of re-assortment, parcelling, selection and commercial handling of every sort, or possibly is subjected to still profounder alterations of an industrial nature. In this way, great ports become not merely the import and export points of national trade but centres for the storage, and the markets, for any given category of goods.

The question of port economy might be considered from the point of view of the adequacy and suitability of accommodation for shipping and of equipment for handling cargoes as well as from the standpoint of port operation governing the incidence of rates and dues. As regards the equipment of a port not much need be said. A port should provide access to berths at all states of tides, facilities for quick loading and discharging of cargoes, good transit sheds and easy approach to the quays by road and rail. The diverse and complex functions performed by port authorities are often not known. For instance, the Port Commissioners of Calcutta besides providing accommodation for ships and for export and import cargo, are river surveyors, conservators of port area and carriers of goods by railway extending to 173 miles and navigators of ships within the port area. The technical advance in respect of cargo handling will be evident from the fact that at the port of Hull two electrically-driven belt coal conveyors together with a twin coal hoist can load coal at the rate of 2,600 tons per hour while at Goole, coal is loaded directly by compartment boats, and five such boats shipped 1,500,000 tons of coal in one year. In Calcutta the average loading of coal per day comes to about 6-8 thousand tons. Without, however, going into the question of port equipment, it should be emphasized that under modern transport conditions, railway connection is absolutely essential not only for the development but the very existence of a port. Certain ports in India, such as Marmagoa and Mangalore, have not developed to their full capacity owing to lack of railway facilities. On the other hand, the port of Chittagong is, in certain respects, under the control of the Assam-Bengal Railway, while the new port of Vizagapatam is being constructed under the auspices of the Bengal Nagpur Railway. Railways in India have not been very favourable to the development of smaller ports and in alliance with powerful non-Indian shipping interests, they have at times adopted rate policies whose results are writ large in the decay of ports like Surat and Broach in Bombay Presidency and Tirumalvasal in Madras Presidency. The Acworth Committee, in fact, went into this question of competition of railways with ports whereby some small ports had to close down "so as to leave to railways a monopoly of traffic" or "force the local traffic on to the railways." The Acworth Committee, therefore, recommended an enquiry into the matter by the Communications Department which was to have charge not only of railways but of canals and ports as well. It is interesting to observe that in England the importance of smaller ports to the prosperity of coasting trade is recognized and has been emphasized in such schemes as those for derating and dock development which was part of Government's programme for relief of unemployment. The small ports provide cheap means of transport by sea for raw materials and manufactured articles of the surrounding areas which either because of their geographical position or the small tonnage of their traffic cannot otherwise enjoy such facility. They render possible an alternative means of transport to railways which would otherwise be monopolistic in their tendencies and help the growth of local industries. It is because of this close connection of ports with railways that railways often own and manage ports. A port owned by a railway is keener to develop traffic and can make up by increased land traffic what it loses on port facilities. It is for this reason, among others, that the port of Calcutta will be faced with growing competition from Vizagapatam which is a subsidized port and will be assisted in railway rates by the B. N. Ry. But whether railway ownership of ports is desirable or not, it is undeniable that the question of port development is intimately connected with railway policy and port charges have a close bearing on rate structure. It is, therefore, essential that the federal ministry of transport of the future must include within its province the organization of ports. For the traffic problem presented by ports extends beyond port areas as in it is involved the question of trade and transport potentialities of the hinterland served by ports.

The relationship of shipping to ports is no less vital. If because of the inefficiency of ports, ships take longer to have a round voyage, the result is so much loss in voyages. Again, if a ship has to pay more in port charges, the

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shipowner, the shipper and ultimately the public will be the loser because of enhanced costs of operation. Higher operating costs mean higher freight rates. Terminal expense is, in fact, a large factor in ship operation as in rail transport and terminal expense in case of shipping is dependent on port organization. Port expenses constitute a very important element in the cost of ship operation. It has been calculated that nearly 30 per cent of the total voyage expenses of a steamer goes to meet the cost of port and terminal facilities, but then this percentage varies considerably as it depends not only on the size, speed and type of steamships (whether passenger or cargo) but also on the length of the voyage. The enormous effect of despatch at ports on the expense of a steamer could be realized from the fact that a day's delay would mean loss of hundreds or thousands of rupees. The first consideration of a port administration therefore is to keep the traffic moving. Ports thus constitute an important branch of the transport industry and are a link in the long chain of overseas ships, railways, roads, and inland waterways. A port, in short, is a funnel through which the commerce of the country flows. The capacity and expense of terminal facilities are, indeed, of vital importance to commerce. Under the intricate conditions of industrial production, it costs more to transport, sell and deliver the commodities than to produce and manufacture them. Transportation is as much a cost of production as raw materials or labour or power. The charges of transportation at the terminals add, however slightly, to the total cost of transport and therefore to the cost of living. From the standpoint of national economy, unnecessary or wasteful expense at terminals adds to the cost of production of goods. It increases the burden on the ultimate consumer and is a drag on public resources. A striking instance of how port charges in India tend to increase might be mentioned. River Due charged by the Calcutta Port Trust on goods exported from or imported into Calcutta brought in an annual income of Rs. 17,97,568 in 1919-20 while in 1929-30, it amounted to Rs. 92,96,542, that is, an increase of Rs. 74,98,974 in ten years, that is 417 per cent in ten years or nearly 42 per cent per year. The burden of such charges on commodities is invisible and consequently is not often appreciated by commercial men or the public. Trade and industry demand cheap, regular and efficient transport and suffer by inefficiency or cost of terminal arrangements especially when present-day competition demands every effort to reduce the cost of production.

It was observed previously that a port connects sea carriers with a hinterland. But a hinterland might have more than one port as an outlet and these might compete among themselves for traffic. A hinterland might comprise either a local area which is non-competitive or a port's own territory served by it because proximity and lower costs as well as an area competition where the shipper or the impo has an equal choice among several ports. F instance, Chittagong cannot compete for th traffic of 24 Parganas but the development Karachi and of ports like Bedi, Okha, Navala and Bhavnagar in Kathiawar has seri affected the revenue of the port of Bomb These smaller ports are cheaper to operate, ow lower dues and get various facilities owing the support of the Indian States which them. Similarly, the development of Cocan and Puri has reacted on Calcutta since rice the Northern Coromandel coast and Orissa w used to be exported *via* Calcutta began to shipped directly from the smaller ports. F the shipowner's point of view, it is often pre able to have the traffic concentrated at a selected transhipping points rather than that should be distributed over different points inv ing delay in transit, detention through stay ports and payment of port dues at more one place. On the other hand, as the inter development of a country proceeds, it might cheaper to the community to have the provis of additional ports by short rail-route with terminal charges rather than suffer congestion traffic owing to continued effort to force most the traffic through one port. The producer manufacturer who ships from a small port w an open roadstead like Cocanada or Puri has advantage in regard to charges as against the merchant using a big port like Calcutta wi costly dock system and elaborate equipment handling cargo. For the development of any port is a matter of competitive capacity and capacity depends upon the cost and the serv to the shipper and the shipowner. Besides port developing beyond a certain point is subj to diminishing returns in economy of operation while in bottling up commerce in a few plac there is the risk of sudden and unforeseen obstructions and interruptions. It is, therefore, sound business to insist upon the development of po which would give to merchants a choice marketing their products under all emergencies On the other hand, a multiplication of too many ports would not always be economical as it might mean dispersion of traffic involving duplicate overlapping terminal facilities at many points along the coast which would run at a fraction capacity and entail expenditure greater than loss through one or two congested but fully utilized big ports. It is, of course, difficult in practice co-ordinate these conflicting interests or to arrive at the precise number of ports which necessary without being wasteful. But it might be broadly stated that a reasonable number ports serving their own territories and acting alternative gateways in competitive areas would be desirable. The State should not be indifferent to the decay or possible extinction of any of

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commercial gateways nor should it artificially foster the prosperity of one port at the expense of another. Expenditure from the national purse on national interests must as far as possible be distinguished from that incurred for purely local purposes. It might safely be said, however, that in proportion to her long coast line India does not possess an adequate number of suitable ports to meet her requirements of coastal or foreign maritime trade and has only seven major ports. Port development is, therefore, an imperative national duty if India is to grow as a world shipping and trading nation. It is for this reason, among others, that control over ports should be vested in a central authority which could co-ordinate various interests. Ports have naturally grown up and developed in India as elsewhere on haphazard and conflicting lines. One of the first tasks of the future ministry of transport should, therefore, be to conduct a comprehensive enquiry into the port system in the country and to include in it not only a survey of accommodation and equipment which stand in need of principle and design but also an investigation into the relation of ports to one another and to the welfare of commerce and industry. Such an investigation would also seek to find out how far port dues, charges and pilotage fees hinder sea-traffic. Coastal traffic has, of course, got the alternative of railway rate but foreign traffic has to bear these charges to suffer shrinkage. It is essential that in public interest some limitation should be placed on the freedom with which some port authorities who are in the position of monopoly services are able to force one-sided and onerous conditions on trade and shipping which have no alternative but to submit to them. If bodies like Port Trusts have statutory powers, they must have statutory obligations also ; they cannot exercise rights without performing corresponding duties.

Moreover, as Port Trusts provide services of public utility and subserve national economic interests, they should not be privately or locally owned or controlled by railways or steamship companies as are several ports in the West. For they have an outlook restricted to the immediate advantage of the railway or the municipality concerned. They should be managed by independent quasi-public bodies containing on their boards representatives of shipowners, dock ratepayers, chambers of commerce and municipalities under the general control and supervision of the Government and be responsible, in the last resort, to the national legislature. While the structure of the Port Trusts in India is satisfactory from this point of view, their composition and construction leave much to be desired. In all the Port Trust Boards, the Europeans are in an overwhelming majority. In Calcutta there are 8 Europeans as against 5 Indians, in Chittagong 3 as against 4, in Madras 11 as against 4, in Rangoon 12 as against 5 (including the Burmese and the Chinese), in Bombay 12 against 10, in Karachi 8 against 6, and in Aden 8 Europeans against 3 Indians. Thus out of a total of 110 Trustees at the seven Port Trusts there are today 73 Europeans and 37 Indians including two Burmans and one Chinese in Rangoon and one Arab in Aden. The proportion of European to Indian Trustees is therefore nearly 2 to 1. The representation of Indian interests is inadequate not only from the view-point of the natural right of the nationals but even of the economic interests of Indians in the maritime trade of the country. Moreover, no Indians have yet been considered competent enough to be Chairmen or Vice-Chairmen of a Port Trust. Although Indians have been found capable enough to occupy the highest positions in the Government from executive councillorship and ministership downwards, while they have held the posts of High Commissionership or that of Government's Representative in South Africa with distinction, while they have been considered fit for Presidentship of the Tariff Board or of an Agricultural Research Council and even for being agent of a Railway or member of the Railway Board and the Central Board of Revenue, an Indian who can be a Chairman or a Vice-Chairman of a Port Trust is not yet born. The plea that there are no trained Indians cannot be sustained. In the first place, non-Indians who at present occupy the highest posts in the Port Trusts are not technical men ; they are more often than not trained in the technique of port administration while in its service. Many of them have had no specialized training or practical experience in the line. Moreover, even in England, port administrations do not usually have technical men at their heads but choose persons for their general capacity and broad outlook. Plenty of capable Indians of the requisite calibre and wide experience are available to serve as administrative heads of Port Trusts. It is natural therefore that this non-Indian character of the administration should be reflected in the higher services of the Port Trusts. Sir Phiroze Sethna elicited in reply to his interpellation in the Council of State on 3rd March 1931 that the total number of officers in the different Port Trusts drawing salaries of (i) Rs. 500 to Rs. 999 (ii) Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,999 and (iii) Rs. 2,000 and over were 300, 190 and 27 respectively, making a total of 517. Out of these there were only 64 Indians, 54 in the first group, 10 in the second and none in the third, which comes to about 12½ per cent Indians. As this list would also include officers whose starting pay may have been less than Rs. 500, Sir Phiroze put another question asking Government to eliminate such officers whose initial salaries were less than Rs. 500, as hardly any European could have started in the Port Trust service on a lower salary than Rs. 500. Under the same groups as the above, there are altogether 288 such officers, 112 with initial salaries

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from Rs. 500 to Rs. 999, 153 from Rs. 1000 to Rs. 1,999 and 23 from Rs. 2,000 and over. In these 288 there are in the first two groups only 15 and 6 Indians respectively, total 21, while there is no Indian with a salary of Rs. 2,000 and over in any Port Trust of India. The percentage of Indians comes to only about 7. As regards the new appointments made during the last ten years, the different Port Trusts had made 144 appointments with initial salaries of Rs. 500 to Rs. 999 and of these only 14 or 10 per cent were Indians, in the second group there were 11 appointments with initial salaries of Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,999 of which only one was an Indian. He was Mr. K. B. Roy in the Calcutta Port Trust, who has been the only officer retrenched on the ground of inefficiency! In the highest grade of Rs. 2,000 there were three appointments altogether, all being Europeans. These figures tell their own tale and show what the domination of Europeans in the Port Trusts means. The British commercial interests are so apprehensive of their future position in the Indian ports that the famous Benthall circular suggested the removal of Port Trusts along with railways out of the control of the popular legislature. Sir E. Benthall speaking at the second R. T. C. urged that all legislation dealing with major ports which are so essential to shipping should be compulsorily reserved for His Majesty's assent. Obviously, the idea underlying these proposals is to make the important ports of India akin to the Treaty Ports of China, that is, veritable *imperium in imperio* independent of national control and free from any influence of the national legislature.

For ports are an integral part of the system of national transport and their development has a political no less than an economic importance. Adequate terminal facilities for shipping are as essential to national defence as a mercantile marine and a navy. These facilities cannot be constructed in an emergency even at enormous cost. In periods of war, the problem of the port is not less vital than that of shipping. For instance, Sir Arthur Salter in his *Allied Shipping Control* describing the co-ordination of merchant shipping of the Allies during the war observes :

> "At an early stage in the war the time spent in port in loading, unloading, and bunkering, became a serious factor in the shipping position .....At certain periods in the war (and for the whole period since the war) the reduction in imports through port delays was greater than that due to the actual loss of vessels."

It was in order to deal with this problem that a Port and Transit Committee was constituted by the British Admiralty in 1915. Describing the effects of the delays in loading and discharging, Sir Arthur Salter states :

> "The result was to reduce the importing capacity of ships by more than 30 per cent, that is, the ships in 1919 carried less than 70 per cent of the cargoes which they would have carried if port conditions of loading and discharge had been as they were in 1913. This fact may be forcibly put by stating that if it had been possible in 1919, by a wave of a magic wand, either to bring back at once into active employment all the tonnage sunk by the Germans throughout the war, or alternatively to improve port conditions to their 1913 level, the second of these alternatives would have given much the greater relief to the situation and help to the general economic position of the world."

The importance of ports will be evident from these facts. With a view to foster the development of ports and national shipping, differential port dues and tonnage dues on national and foreign vessels are levied by many countries. Portugal and Spain, for instance, subject foreign ships to such discriminatory dues even now, while at various stages in its economic history America has resorted to preferential dues for national vessels. This discrimination became so widespread and serious that only a few years ago, a Convention of International Regime of Maritime Ports was drawn up for securing equality in all port dues and charges between national and non-national ships, but even this convention specially excluded maritime coastal trade from its scope. At many British ports different dues are levied on ships on the British and foreign registers. At Liverpool, in the case of every new vessel built in the United Kingdom which on her first voyage goes to Liverpool in ballast direct from the port where she was built and trades outwards from Liverpool with cargo, one-half of the Dock Tonnage rates payable in respect of outward voyage are remitted. The Indian Trade Enquiry Committee of the Imperial Institute recommended some years ago that in order to encourage the export of oil seeds from India, ports in the British Empire should charge preferential dues for British shipping. The Port Facilities Committee appointed in 1929 for British shipping, industrial and commercial interests clearly stated in their report that the coasting trade is an important element in national defence and held that for the development of coastal trade, constructive action in regard to port improvement was necessary. It is evident therefore that the port problem is regarded elsewhere as a part of the problem of national economy and port administrations on their part do not ignore the larger and more fundamental economic interests. It is only in India that port authorities argue that they are "not concerned with the ownership of the ships which trade to the Port" and that because the revenue of the port is mainly derived from foreign trade, the Port Trust should not in respect of stores purchase adopt a policy of preferring indigenous goods which would put foreign imports at a disadvantage. In other countries national considerations do find a place in the administration

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policy of the ports. Ports are, in a word, national assets; their administration is not a municipal matter of local importance only. They should, as far as possible, be under central control in order that the nation might have a voice in their development on national lines and that their activities could be correlated in accordance with a national policy

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"I CHOOSE THEE MY REPRESENTATIVE"

By JYOTIRMAYI GANGULI, M.A.

A hot sun and an apparently hotter road! Yet men and women were seen hurrying along, electoral rolls in hand, busy canvassing votes for the coming elections of the Calcutta Corporation. One person peeped over the shoulders of a group of canvassers and bawled out: "Look up No. 19....Street, Sir! Hasn't Mr.... a vote? Ask the candidate to go personally to him and to secure his vote!" Another—a thin nervous sort of a man, joined the group and asked timidly: "Will you please look into the rolls and see whether I have my name printed there. It is..." The chief of the canvassers smiled into the eyes of the bawler and said: "Oh! yes! yes! of course! She will go personally from door to door to request the favour of your voting for her." The bawler retired from the field muttering grimly, "Or else she has but scant chance! A woman to aspire to be a Councillor! I must have a talk with her first." A young college student in a blue *khaddar* shirt was hunting up the name of the nervous person in the list. He looked up and said, "Did you say this name and street? I do not find the name." "You do not! Then see, whether there is this name and that and that?" "No, Sir! there are none of these names in it!" "How is this? We are all owners of houses and we pay the taxes regularly! Can't I see the candidate and get this put right?" "Yes, of course!" and the candidate was brought over, but she had nothing to do now. The day is long past and gone by when these people had to have that peep into the rolls and to demand their rights as voters to be enlisted.

Anxious faces looked out of motor-car windows peering into the number plates of the houses standing in rows. Rich or poor, the candidates were seen briskly walking down the streets, lanes and by-lanes, standing before a voter with an ingratiating smile on their lips, sometimes listening to a tirade against sitting Councillors, sometimes to a whole lot of grievances against the management of the Corporation affairs and the officers and employees of the Corporation and here and there gratefully drinking in praises about their own selves or a little sadly of their opponents, or, disconsolately, of Councillors long dead and gone. "You want me to come and vote for you? But these are not the days of Nalinbehary Sircar or Radha Charan Pal! Yes, they were real Councillors, the true representatives of ratepayers. They knew what they were sent to the Council Chamber for."

An immaculately dressed candidate was seen gingerly stepping inside a *bustee*, while his luxurious car stood by the pavement of the wide street with a high-sounding name belying the very existence of a *bustee* to crown its glorified head. But the *bustee* is there. A burly-looking man came forward and grimly appraised the suitor for votes. Aristocratic to the tips of his fingers let him be, let him be the millionaire owner of palatial buildings and lines of *bustees*, ride he unnoticing by, and fast past these men at other times in his grand Rolls Royce, today he seems puny and insignificant as little Hop-o-my-thumb before the ogre, and this dweller of a hovel by the side of an almost hidden dirty *nullah*, has gained the

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stature of a gaint in his eyes. Does the multi-millionaire father weigh the indigent suitor for his daughter's hand exactly in this way before he shuts his door on the face of the poor young man who expects to be thrown out of the window every moment? The candidate waits for the gruff voice to give him some assurance, and the giant plays his game. It is almost as the cat plays with the mouse. Some say that you can never be sure about the *bustee*-people, but my experience has been otherwise. Those big children of the *bustee* have a very soft heart for the cajoling voice of those who are of the race of mothers. "Mother! I bow to thee!" Yes, it is really so for them.

In spite of the uninviting look of the half opened portals of a house, an enthusiastic young batch of canvassers were busy arguing the benefits that would accrue from choosing a woman councillor for the Corporation. A be-spectacled gentleman stood at the door blinking at them through the gold rim of his glasses. "Will that woman sweep the roads and clean the drains that you have come brandishing the fact before me?" The batch of young men looked nonplussed but the candidate herself stepped forward and saved the situation. "No, Sir," was the meek reply, "I did not know that you required these of the men councillors and that they had so long complied with these demands!" The doors widened and the whole batch was offered tea along with the woman who might have been asked to sweep the streets. Over the tea-cup she smiled and said, "But it is the women who sweep and dust and keep your houses clean."

"What is your profession, may I ask?" was gruffly put to me at one of the houses. "I am one of the big host of unemployed at the present moment," I said. "Do you know that you will be required to make speeches in the English language in the Corporation?" "Oh yes, I know that full well." "Then?" And the hands and eyes expressed the disgust and the disdain their owner felt at my daring to oppose the sitting councillors who were of the great profession of law, and the other young aspirant, who was never my opponent and whose friendly help will be ever gratefully remembered by me and my workers, was of the noble profession of healers of all physical ailments. A young man in a grey-green Punjabi gave an inane laugh and said a little fearfully, "Sir, Mahatma Gandhiji keeps one day of silence in the week only, whereas some of our councillors have been found keeping 365 days of silence in the year and I am afraid that is why you have broached this subject, but I can assure you that this lady will not be one of them, if you elect her to be our representative." "May I ask what are her qualifications besides being a woman?" was asked in an exasperated tone, and then the voice was lowered and the scornful lips were seen muttering, "which fact may be a great reccomendation to you all but to me it is on the contrary a—," and the voice trailed into inaudibility.

"What is this? It is not at all befitting a woman to leave her kitchen and her house and to dare aspire to a seat in the municipal corporation." "Are you not a little late in venting out your views?" "Why?" "The Government nominate every time a lady councillor. Did you ever ventilate publicly your view against that?" And then again at another house a smart, alert-looking gentleman waved his hands in a vigorous manner and in a determined voice entered his protest. "I do not want to see you in the Council Chamber of the Calcutta Corporation. You are too high for that! Do withdraw your name at once! It is no good for you nor of you to contest a seat. Think over the matter and do decide not to go." Wearily came the reply, "I have thought over the matter well before entering into the field and I have no intention to withdraw."

But in spite of all, a full forty-five minutes' lecture was inflicted upon me and the days got blurred before my mind's eyes and I found them looking into the mirror of the past wherein I was a student sitting amongst rows of other students in a colonnaded mansion with crows gleefully singing their slogans overhead.

Night-time and a narrow by-lane and the light from a small pocket torch acting the search-light on the number-plate of the houses, while young voices called out eagerly the name of the owner of a house. Hurried footsteps were heard coming downstairs and

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then, with the opening of the front-door, the high-pitched voice of a choleric old gentleman was heard, "Do not dare flaunt the certificates of your great men before my eyes! If I give my vote, I will choose my candidate. I myself will judge their merits or demerits. I do not care who is who and what he says."

The window overhead opened in one of the streets and a shaggy head peeped out and came a snort: "Oh! Go away! You are becoming a pestilence and a nuisance! I have already decided whom to vote for and I do not need any pleading." The voice rose to a shout, "I am adamant, man, and you cannot change me." The boys had outdone Griselda in patience and a persistent one still pleaded, "May we know the name of the candidate you have chosen to elect?" "It is not a he, man, it is the she," was the seemingly caustic reply. The boys were jubilant, and beamingly the voices came out in unison, "We are her workers and she is here with us." A flash of warm, welcoming light and gleaming fair hands from underneath the folds of big bordered *sarees* brought forth another shout of joy from the boys, and the woman candidate was seen drawn in, while voices grew soft and tinkling of gold ornaments mellowed the atmosphere into one of sweet friendliness.

"Mother will not vote," gruffly said the son, but from the balcony overhead the grey-headed, sweet face beamed at me and nodded: "Oh, yes, I shall come! Oh, let him shout, but I am a woman and I know my duty."

Pattering little feet and small yet eager hands holding up little placards vainly hoping to reach the sky were seen bravely parading the streets. The little ones were trying to assert their rights to demand of their mothers and the mother-sex the fulfilment of *their* duties as citizens and thus not to leave the little Nanda-dulals neglected. "The city demands of every mother's son the acknowledgment of the mother's rights" was the idea that actuated these little darlings, who have not yet forgotten their debts to the mothers, to come forward of their own accord into the arena where tilting of the lances reigned supreme. "Vote for the City Beautiful," they said. "Vote for the city cleaned of dirt, freed of pestilence! Vote for the city palpitating with a mother's heart!" The future alone will show whether their need and their desire will be granted by Him Who rules the destiny of mankind!

"It is not an easy job to be asked to and to consider the question whom to vote for, you know," was the admonition received from one ratepayer who seemed to be a man in a thousand. "I have to choose my representative and so I have to know whether my ideas and ideals tally with those of the candidate." And thereafter vehemently arguing all sorts of things and quoting out-of-point slokas from Shastras, for half-an-hour he gave out his opinion that of no woman can it be said by ratepayers, "I choose thee my representative."

Thor has thundered and Odin has ridden through the sky, Valkyries have screamed, but even through all these, young and old have smiled, men and women have discerned, boys and babies have persistently reiterated their wishes and wants and the fates have spun the thread of existence and destiny.

And now, will there be an association or associations of women ratepayers to help those whom they as well as the men have chosen as their representatives to make of this pestilence-ridden city of ours a cleaner, healthier and a more beautiful city for the present generation and the generations to come? Will not the mothers and sisters come forward, as well as the fathers and brothers, to remind us that it is to free us from serfdom, from bondage to dirt, disease and degeneration of the physique and the mind that they have elected us? Will not they—lest we forget that they have said: "I choose thee my representative"?

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BOOK REVIEWS

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ENGLISH

CURRENT ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF INDIA: *With a foreword by Sir J. C. Coyajee, Kt. Bengal Publicity Board. Pp. 161. Re. 1 or 1s. 6d.*

The book brings together five essays previously issued in the form of pamphlets. The foreword of course is now published for the first time. As may be easily imagined, Sir J. C. Coyajee has nothing but commendation for the Government measures. It is rather surprising that an economist of his eminence should try to defend the indefensible. On pages 8 and 9, he has given a number of reasons to prove that India cannot continue without reciprocity in face of keen competition with other tropical countries. We may present him with another argument, *viz.*, that Great Britain is no longer a free trade country as before. We also agree that India must now enter into a trade agreement whether she likes it or not. But the plain issue of the matter is, will India derive any advantage commensurate with her secrifices under the present pact ?

In speaking of the Indian fiscal system, Sir J. C. Coyajee says : "India can justly claim the credit of setting an example to the world of a system of protection which gives his due to the producer without *unnecessarily* burdening the consumer" (p. 9 ; italics ours). In view of the fact that the sugar industry now enjoys a virtual protection of over 200 per cent, it is better not to speak about the burden of protection,—at least in Bengal.

On page 10 again there is an equally amusing statement to the following effect : "We have to balance the loss of a certain amount of gold against the strengthening of the public credit, the improvement in the budgetary position, the reduction in interest charges and the improvement in the gilt-edge market." Surely these are as much desired by other countries as India. Why then do they not follow the same policy of gold export ? On the contrary, all countries off gold are trying to conserve their gold resources to the utmost. The real reason is that the reduction in interest charges and the consequent appreciation of Government securities are not primarily due to gold exports at all but to the accumulation of idle business funds, which cannot be employed in trade and industry as before on account of the depression.

The first essay on "Economic Depression and Civil Disobedience" is about the weakest in the whole series. There is a considerable confusion between cause and effect throughout. Of the four causes mentioned, as many as three are really the consequences of the depression. As has been repeatedly pointed out by competent writers with the help of incontestable statistics, the over-production of agricultural commodities and raw materials, the disparity between different prices and monetary maladjustments—all these appeared *after* the crisis and not *before* it. American financial crisis was no doubt the immediate cause of the collapse, but this in its turn was brought on by the preceding regime of dear money.

The argument attributing the present depression to the civil disobedience movement is equally specious. The wholesale price level in Bombay did not deviate much from the level of prices in the United Kingdom, whereas the Calcutta level was appreciably lower. Surely the disturbance to trade in Bombay was much greater than in Calcutta. The price of jute began to fall early in 1929 long before the initiation of civil disobedience movement. Here also the effect has been confused with the cause. For the intensity of the civil disobedience movement must have been often due to the economic distress which made people desperate and incited them to break laws, *e.g.*, in certain agrarian regions of the United Provinces.

The next essay "Indian Fiscal Policy" displays the Roman hand of Sir J. C. Coyajee and is probably the best of all. This historical account is fair and accurate. One cannot however accept the statement in the last sentence to the effect : "... will no doubt be conceded by the impartial historian that in their fiscal policy the motive force of Government has *always* been the promotion of the welfare of the people of India." (Italics ours). Surely

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the writer, whoever he may be, does not contend that the cotton excise duty was in the best interests of India!

The third essay on "Gold exports and Government" appears to have been touched up at places to meet some of the criticisms urged against it when it had been issued as a pamphlet. Although the reviewer's own criticism which was forwarded to the Bengal Publicity Board was not even acknowledged by them with their peculiar notions of manners, he is glad to find in the second foot-note on page 79 that the distinction between *gross* export and *net* export pointed out by him has now been recognized. He does not desire to repeat here his arguments against the policy of gold exports, which are available in the issue of "Capital" dated the 2nd February, 1933. But he cannot refrain from pointing out that one cannot have stability in exchanges as well as in price at the same time, unless the price levels all the world over are stabilized and the mutual balances of accounts are all adjusted. If the super-economist in charge of the Publicity Board can solve this inherent conflict between the two, he will assuredly have an honoured place in economic literature, whatever the position accorded to his pamphlets.

The next essay on "Indian Currency Policy" gives an eminently readable account of our checkered currency history. Unfortunately, there are a few misleading, and possibly inaccurate, statements. For instance, is it correct to say, as has been done on page 103, "the Gold Exchange standard...is still in operation in India"? On page 106, the Gold Exchange Standard is stated to be aiming at securing a stable exchange and a stable level of prices." Again, one cannot but demur at the statement on page 121 that "None of the usual tests and statistics support the view that the ratio (of 1s. 6d. gold) is having a devitalizing effect on the trade of the country." The fact, however, remains that the depression in India has been severer than in other countries, which also produce agricultural goods and raw materials. This points to the fact that in India the world crisis has been superimposed on the "adjustment crisis," proving that prices, wages, cost of living and cost of production had not been adjusted to the 1s. 6d. rate.

On page 122, the blame for the dropping of the Reserve Bank bill is put on the shoulders of "certain Indian members of the Assembly." Is it justified? Was not there greater obduracy on the part of Government? The freedom from political control about which so much fuss was made may be necessary for the day-to-day administration of a central bank, but certainly not in the formulation of national economic policies in the present politico-economic condition of India.

The last essay on the "Ottawa Agreement" is full of special pleadings. Surely if the advantages to India had in reality outweighed the sacrifices made by her, such long and laboured advocacy would have been clearly unnecessary. After the able analysis of Prof. D. Ghose, it is too late in the day to claim that the Agreement was in the interests of India (p. 161).

FINANCE AND COMMERCE IN FEDERAL INDIA: *By "British Indian." Oxford University Press. 1932. Pages 172. 5s.*

The purpose of the book, although carefully disguised, seems to be propaganda in favour of the new constitution. The writer, who has chosen to be anonymous for obvious reasons, is most likely a British official. The pseudonym "British Indian" tries to hide the extreme solicitude for the "Economic case of the Indian States" displayed in the last chapter and also in many earlier pages of the book.

On page 7, there is an ingenious and thoroughly mischievous propaganda in favour of financial safe-guards. Says the writer:

> The Finance Minister with a big 'No' written on his forehead will not be easy to secure in a democratic India, and he will bless a Constitution under which he can seek shelter in his natural desire to keep expenditure under control rather than invoke support from colleagues whose political commitments may occasionally run counter to considerations of economy and sound finance.

If it is really so, why try to do the impossible and set up a democracy in India? The issue is quite simple. Either you trust India, or you do not. If you do, safe-guards are unnecessary and irritating. If you do not, why in the name of honesty make a pretence of offering self-government? If it is argued that safe-guards are necessary merely to disabuse the foreign bond-holders and that the British Government are fully satisfied themselves about the future Government of India, may we humbly suggest that one way of satisfying their keen desire to confer self-government on India is to take over all these foreign bonds on their own account, India remaining indebted to them alone; and not any unduly nervous foreign lenders?

A novel reactionary proposal is about voting on money bills by ballot, so that members may not be accountable to their constituencies (page 14). Another measure designed to thwart financial powers has been suggested in many places. Thus on page 8, the status and powers of the Standing Finance Committee are sought to be widened. Again on page 41, a Statutory Advisory Council is suggested pending the establishment of the Reserve Bank. The experience gained from the working of the present departmental committees such as the Standing Finance Committee for railways makes one extremely sceptical about their usefulness. It has been rightly pointed out by Mr. W. F. Willoughby in his National Budget System (p. 41):

> .. departmental committees become partisans of the particular department committed to their care through Government activities and through constant exposure to the point of view and propaganda of the administrative officials in charge of the service in question.

A sugar-coating for the bitter pill of certification has been suggested on page 24, where it has been pointed out that in the Japanese constitution, if the legislature throws out a money bill

> the provision made for the last financial year continues automatically to be operative. This suggestion leads to the same result as certification and may be adopted.

The only change we desire to make in the above extract is to change the last word into "rejected."

On page 30, there is a clear admission that in the proposed constitution out of a total central revenue of Rs. 90 crores, Rs. 47 crores would be absorbed in Defence, Rs. 15 crores in Debt Services and Rs. 10 crores in Salaries and Pensions, leaving only Rs. 18

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crores or 25 per cent to the control of the central legislature and even that subject to "the special responsibilities of the Governor-General."

In chapter VII, page 36, the author discreetly draws a veil over the past history of Indian currency and exchange. Does he thus tacitly admit that the financial policy hitherto adopted has unduly favoured British trade and industry to the damage of Indian economic development? The less talk there is about budget deficits and unsound methods in public finance under the new constitution, the better it is for the present administration, which, as the author has himself stated, "had successive budget deficits for five years ending 1922-23, aggregating about 100 crores" (page 33).

The next section of the book on "Commerce" begins with a discussion on the Demand for Safeguards. The writer has advanced a novel and ingenious argument in his support. Says he :

> The apprehensions of the British community do not appear altogether unjustified when we see that Indians are asking for similar safe-guards in a separated Burma (page 51)

But are the two cases similar? Indians are not afraid of a policy of a fair field and no favour. What they apprehend is that British capitalists will set up a puppet Burmese Government and with its help strangle perfectly fair Indian competition. If there is any moral to be drawn from this, Indian business men should demand stringent safe-guards against British traders and industrialists in the forthcoming federation. This is necessary in order that there may not be any undue preference to British trade and industry secured with the help of Princes, who, to quote the words of Mr. Mardy Jones, "are all proud and strong when they have to deal with their own subjects, but lambs before the Viceroy or Agent to the Governor-General."

The discussions on safe-guards whether financial or commercial are all unreal. The author in company with other exalted personages in the service of the State has tried to establish that the wheel has completely revolved since the beginning of British rule in India. The servants of John Company had power but no responsibility, whereas in the proposed constitution, so goes the canard, Viceroys and Governors will have onerous responsibilities but very little power which will be vested mainly in the legislatures. The reviewer shudders at the prospect of the Viceroy's post going a-begging!

The third and the last section on Federal Finance gives a useful summary of the allocation of resources in the leading federal constitutions of the world. There is also a careful compilation of materials from the proceedings of the first and second Round Table Conferences, the report of the Percy and Davidson Committees and similar official documents. As stated above, the author's heart bleeds at the sacrifices made by the Indian States in joining the Federation. The credit side of the balance sheet, *viz.*, the contribution of the States, has been drawn up with meticulous care, but the debit side, or the assessment of the States to the common burdens, has been more or less perfunctorily calculated. It is no wonder, therefore, that there has been a heavy debit balance, revealing great economic hardship to the poor States!

One wishes that a small portion of this milk of human kindness was available for at least one British Indian province, *viz.*, Bengal. On page 100, as many as four arguments have been advanced against making over any portion of the jute export duty to Bengal. The first objection is that the Federal Government cannot forgo a revenue of Rs. 44 crores derivable in a normal year from this duty. The question is, has the Central Government explored all avenues of retrenchment and of fresh taxation in the same way as the Bengal Government has done? Thus the Central Government cannot have any better claim for financial relief than the Bengal Government. The second objection is theoretical. Thus it is stated

> Jute is an *absolute* monopoly. (Italics ours). The tax falls upon the foreign consumer and not on the home producer, and there is, therefore, no theoretical justification for assigning a share of the proceeds of the duty to any individual Province.

In the first place, jute is not an absolute monopoly, especially in a time like the present, when paper bags are not unknown and when bulk-handling is coming into greater and greater prominence. If the position of jute had been really impregnable, there would not have been such a disastrous fall in price in spite of severe curtailment of production. In any case, there is no question that the duty is extremely onerous in the present level of prices and is probably being paid very largely by the cultivator. It should be remembered also that the steeping of jute in village ponds and *khals* giving rise to an offensive stench and the threshing of the fibre by *ryots* waist deep in that filthy water for hours together with the tropical sun overhead, create ill-health and disease in Bengal villages, for which funds should be made available from the jute export duty. The third objection, *viz.*, the administrative difficulty of sharing a duty between the federation and a State may be easily removed if the entire duty is made over to Bengal. In any case, any share however large, will defeat its purpose by maintaining the *status quo* of Bengal as the Cinderella of all Indian provinces. The fourth and the last objection against the sharing of this export duty is that it may furnish an unwholesome precedent for a similar division of import duties. This danger seems to be chimerical. As the author must himself have perceived from his study of federal constitutions, import duties form a federal source of revenue all the world over, whereas export duties are generally regarded as a pernicious form of taxation. They can be tolerated only on the principle of *quid pro quo*, if the proceeds are utilized for improving rural sanitation in Bengal.

Although written with a purpose, the book is timely and useful. The printing and get-up maintain the tradition of the Oxford University Press.

H. SINHA

MAHARANA PRATAP (*D. A. V. College Historical Monographs, No. 1*): *By Prof. Sri Ram Sharma M.A.; D. A. V. College, Lahore, and Lecturer in the Mughal Period of Indian History, University of the Punjab: with a Foreword by A. C. Woolner, Esq., C.I.E., Vice-Chancellor, University of the Punjab. Pp. 151.*

The monograph on Maharana Pratap is a welcome addition to the scanty literature on Rajput history. It contains a very exhaustive bibliography, a good index, two maps and 13 illustrations. Mr. A. C. Woolner in the foreword says that Mr. Sharma's

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book is not a "literary fictitious history masquerading as a true one." A book on any episode of the history of Mewar hazarding publicity after the appearance of M. M. Gaurishankar Ojha's Hindi *Rajputana ka Itihas* is naturally expected to be almost the last word on the subject. Moreover, Mr. Sharma remarks that Panditji "has however in this depended upon Munshi Devi Prasad's works and English translations for reference to Persian chronicles. This has occasionally led him into difficulties. This book also suffers from the author's attempt *to make a god of Pratap*" (p. 150). However, curiously enough, Mr. Sharma says elsewhere, "the bulk of this monograph was written *before* Ojha's third volume dealing with Pratap was published. My indebtedness to his work is immense however" (p. 4, foot-note 2). This however appears to be hardly more than formal courtesy to Panditji. Though Mr. Sharma's book was probably written before the publication of Panditji's work, it was *published* long after *Rajputana ka Itihas*. It is apparent that Mr. Sharma did not care to revise and re-write his book in the light of Panditji's work. Nowhere in his monograph has he either cited Panditji's authority or tried to refute his conclusions. It seems Mr. Sharma studied much more for bibliography than for actual writing of his monograph, *e.g.*, on p. 62 Mr. Sharma writes, "Tod has handed down the tradition, *we do not know where he picked it up*, that it was Salim who led the imperial armies at this time (at Haldi Ghat). In the bibliography we however, read : "It was from this MS. (*Amar Kavya Vamsavali* : MS. No. 75, Udaipur Palace Library), that *Tod wrongly derived the information* that Salim led the Mughal forces in the battlefield of Haldi Ghat" (p. 134). At any rate we are thankful to Mr. Sharma for tracing the origin of Tod's error.

Something about the contents of the book. 1. Man Singh's visit to Pratap and the insult of Man Singh at Udaipur in 1573 A.D. Mr. Sharma says, "To our mind Rajput accounts of this meeting are more convincing and look less improbable. And almost all of them agree ; Mehta Nensi, *Rajprashasti* and *Jai Singh Charitra*, all these explain at great length the outcome of this meeting" (p. 47). All the three above-mentioned accounts are from the pen of writers who wrote about 90 years after this incident. Yet they are to be preferred to absolutely contemporary historians of the age of Akbar, such as Abul Fazl, Nizamuddin Ahmad, Badayuni and others. Pandit Gaurishankarji also holds the same view in his history (pp. 739-740). They both summarily reject Abul Fazl as a flatterer of Akbar, and as such interested in concealing the incident of Man Singh's insult and Pratap's defiance of Akbar's authority. But what about Badayuni ? Nothing was likely to be more palatable to Badayuni than such an insult to Akbar and his creature. Apart from the fact that the story has no historical basis, even common sense would militate against it, if studied in the light of the subsequent conduct and attitude of Man Singh and Rajah Bhagwandas who were suspected by Akbar to be friendly towards Pratap. Three months after the departure of Man Singh Rajah Bhagwandas came to see Pratap at Gogunda under Akbar's instructions. This time also, according to Mr. Sharma, "The proud Rana shuffled off Bhagawan Das as before, *he refused to sit with him at dinner* and Bhagawan Das came back empty-handed." (p. 51). That Bhagawandas was insulted in this way by Pratap is not to be found in any Muslim or Rajput chronicle known to scholars. Even Pandit Gaurishankarji does not say that Bhagawandas was insulted in this way at Gogunda by Pratap. As Mr. Sharma has not himself cited any authority this is a mere guess perhaps ; or at best an adaptation of the account of the Bundi poet, Surajmal, who says that Rajah Bhagwandas was insulted in this manner not by Rana Pratap but by Pratap's father Udai Singh (See *Vamshabhaskar*, p. 2251). This is certainly outdoing Tod but with far less excuse. Mr. Sharma would have us believe that even after such insults to two envoys, Akbar would not think of immediate hostilities with Pratap, but try persuation third time when Rajah Todarmal visited Pratap for this purpose in December, 1573.

Mr. Sharma as well as Pandit Gaurishankarji have made capital out of Abul Fazl's statements (i) that during Man Singh's visit, Pratap made professions of obedience to the Emperor and wore the Mughal *khilat*, (ii) and that *Pratap's son Amar Singh accompanied Bhagawandas* to the Mughal court. As regards the first point it is quite probable that Pratap's conciliatory mood and formal courtesy were interpreted either by the imperial envoy or by the imperial historiographer as signs of obedience as later on friendly presents from Golkonda and Bijapur were set down as *tributes* from Adilshahs and Qutbshahs. Next point is certainly embarrassing. But it is regrettable that Mr. Sharma, who finds fault with Panditji for relying on translations of Persian histories has not himself taken the trouble of consulting the Persian text of *Akbarnama* (Newal Kishore Press edition) to check the English translation of Mr. H. Beveridge. Mr. H. Beveridge, and not Abul Fazl, is responsible for the statement that Pratap's son accompanied Bhagwandas to the imperial court. We should like to draw the attention of the author to the *footnote* of that passage in Beveridge's *English translation of Akbarnama* : "The Lucknow edition (of *Akbar-nama*) has *the son of the Zamindar*, and Blochmann (p. 333) calls him *Amar, son of the Zamindar or Rana of Idar*, but *it seems* that he was really the son of Rana Kika—See Jarret (269) where he is described as Pertab's successor." A slight error of judgment on the part of Mr. Beveridge has thus confused a brother-in-law of Pratap (who married the daughter of Naraindas Rathor of Idar) for his hair-apparent Amar Singh. The whole passage in Beveridge's translation is misleading. However, if there be any truth in the story, unfounded as it is, it is discreditable to Pratap's memory. If Pratap light-heartedly provoked enmity with Akbar and insulted an honoured guest, certainly less Pratap was he.

2. *Khurasani Multani ka Aggal* : *i.e.* the story of Pratap's pursuit by two Mughal soldiers whom Sakat Singh killed to save his brother flying on Chetak from Haldi Ghat. Pandit Gaurishankarji rejects this story though substantially corroborrated by *Rajaprashasti Mahakavya* and other Rajput sources cited before as reliable authorities for Man Singh's insult at Udaipur. In this case Panditji remarks that he can not accept the above-mentioned versions of Tod as well as that of *Rajaprashasti* ; because during an interval of 100 years many unfounded stories crop up and get currency (*Rajputana ka Itihas*, p. 752, foot-note). None can certainly challenge Panditji's opinion in this case ; we only wish Panditji might find his way to revise his opinion on Man Singh affair and remove a false stigma on Pratap's fair name. Mr. Sharma, on the contrary,

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devotes two pages to reproduce Tod's story with some embellishment, thus giving the idle bardic tale a colour of truth. (pp. 78-79).

No chapter of Mr. Sharma's book calls for more severe criticism than his chapter on the battle of Haldi Ghat. Details as well as the diagram are equally inaccurate and unsatisfactory. As regards Pratap's character and place in history Mr. Sharma says; "Maharana Pratap occupies a very high place in the galaxy of the Hindu leaders who inaugurated *a reaction* against Muslim domination in India..It has been customary to count Pratap as one of that band of hardy warriors who went on fighting against heavy odds rather than own a master. The foregoing pages, it is believed, would tend to correct that impression. Pratap rather belonged—we should rather say he was the precursor of—to the series that produced Shivaji in the Deccan and Ranjit Singh in the Punjab." (p. 127). The reign of Akbar was the era of Indian nationalism, and not of Hindu Reaction as Mr. Sharma imagines. We need hardly reiterate that *Hindu reaction* began in the reign of Aurangzib; its leader was Shivaji and not Rana Pratap; and the movement spread from the South to the North. Shivaji and Chatrasal Bundela, Rathor Durgadas and Maharana Raj Singh were the real leaders of Hindu reaction because they enjoyed universal Hindu sympathy which Pratap had not in his struggle against Akbar's imperialism.

However, we have no doubt that Mr. Sharma's book in its next edition will be a valuable contribution to Indian history only if he works out the bibliography more seriously on a scientific method and exercises judicious restraint in style which in this book is somewhat declamatory.

K. R. QANUNGO

THE RECORDING ANGEL, *by J. A. Hobson, published by Messrs. Allen and Unwin. Price 3s. 6d.*

It is seldom that one comes across a book on economics that one can wholeheartedly recommend to both the expert, and the layman. *The Recording Angel* is, however, one such book, and anyone reading it will spend his time profitably. The idea of the book is that every hundred years a celestial messenger has to present a report of the conditions obtaining in this world, to the Recording Angel. The book is supposed to contain some fragments of the conversation between the celestial messenger and the Recording Angel, when the report describing the state of the modern world is presented. In the course of the conversations Machinery, Disarmament, Debts, Religion, and many other matters are discussed, but though the matters discussed are both serious and important, the style, and explanation are throughout clear, but stimulating. For example, the messenger explains that owing to the advance of science it has been found possible to increase production, but there is also unemployment. The Recording Angel asks whether this means that all men had had their wants completely satisfied, but the messenger then has to go on to explain that this is not the case.

'Messenger: The stoppage of industry, restriction of output they some times call it, does not occur because all men's wants are satisfied. This is far from being true. While tons of wheat are rotting in American granaries, or are fed as fuel to engines, millions of people in China have been dying from starvation. In many countries of Earth the native population lives a life of bare animal subsistence with no access to the comforts and enjoyments of civilization. Still stranger, in the very countries whose industry is checked because it was turning out too many goods, large numbers of the inhabitants are underfed, underclad, underhoused for lack of these very goods.

Recording Angel: You amaze me. Can it be true, as I seem to recollect somebody suggesting that this planet of which you speak may be the lunatic asylum of the Universe?" (p. 34.)

The above quotation gives a very far idea of the general style and manner of the book, and it might be again emphasized that this book is not one to be avoided by the many, nor even a book to be borrowed, skimmed, and returned, but a book to be bought, read, and seriously considered.

CHRISTOPHER ACKROYD

RHYMES OF ARTURO: *Times of India Press, Bombay, Rs. 2, pages 93.*

There are fifty humorous poems on various subjects such as the "Dhobi," "the Mosquito," etc. that will repay perusal. The nosy portrait of Arturo is well drawn,

A BROKEN FLUTE: *By Verra Crassi: the Examiner Press, Bombay.*

A book of prose-poems; the pieces are entertaining and thoughtful.

MESSAGE OF SAKUNTALA: *By R. V. Shah, Ahmedabad.*

The author has made Sakuntala stand as a model to married Indian women. It is an interesting publication though the story is old.

VANAMALA: *By C. K. Subramaniam: Modern Printing Works, Bombay.*

This is an excellent romantic drama in three acts depicting the warlike times when the kingdoms of Ajanta and Malwa flew against each other, and where hermits presaged union of heroes and heroines.

SWALLOW FLIGHTS: *By T. B. Krishnaswami, M. A., B. L., Teachers' Publishing House, Madras.*

There are many poems and essays which are highly entertaining. The stories of the Old Shoe, etc. are capital productions.

HINDU HEROES AND HEROINES: *In three parts, by Prof. D. C. Sharma of Lahore. Macmillan & Co.*

The excellent type of the book at once engages attention, and stories that are as old as the hills become attractive. A perusal of the sketches of Valmiki, Karna, Buddha, Kabir, Gauranga, Tulsi Das and others proves entertaining.

CRITIC

THE FORGOTTEN GOD, *by Most Rev. Francis C. Kelley, D. D., Ph. D. (Science and Culture Series; The Bruce Publishing Company, New York 1932; pp. 143.)*

The existence of God and his nature; the mission of Christ and his message; the true meaning of religion and its goal, such are the subjects treated by Bishop Kelley. Yet the book is not difficult to read; the style is simple and easy and the arguments quite clear. As a friend talks to a friend, so does Bishop Kelley explain his theses to his reader. Those who wish to read the best that can be said for the

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bases of religious belief will find this book quite to their liking.

A. TAYBRA

ST. ALBERT THE GREAT. *By Rev. Thomas M. Schwertner, O. P., S. T. Lr., LL. D. Published by The Bruce Publishing Co., New York, Price $ 3.00.*

In our day when education is more or less a passion with men, this volume is of striking interest. It embodies the life story of a man whose rank in the legion of pedagogues has seldom been equalled, and perhaps never surpassed except by his own pupil, Thomas of Aquin.

Into a background of historical eminence (the 13th century) the author weaves the many-sided life of Albert (whom the world called, "the Great") as priest, bishop, philosopher, theologian, educator, doctor, scientist, naturalist, experimentalist, statesman and diplomat, defender of right, and scourge of moral laxity. Despite these many accomplishments which bid well to overshadow a man's religious aspirations, the author never leaves the reader lose sight of the fact that Albert was first and foremost pre-eminently a Man of God.

Of particular interest to the Indian student is the work of Albert as a philosopher and theologian. The Classical, Oriental and Christian thought of Europe which at the time tended to confuse the thinking minds of the age, Albert discriminatingly synthesized into a system whose universal influence prevails to our present day. A great testimonial to the man's genius !

The author makes no pretence whatever at an exhaustive study of the subject ; it is quite impossible to commit adequately to a few hundred pages the gigantic scope of Albert's achievements, varied as they were. What the writer has done is to epitomize into clear-cut chapters the high lights of the man's life. In so limiting the space, the historical interest occasionally outstrips the biographical value. This, however, does not detract from the worth of the book.

R. T. MEHREN

OUTLINES OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY—*by M. Hiriyanna, M. A. Published by George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. Pp. 420. Price 15s. net.*

This is an excellent handbook on Indian philosophy. Within its limits, it gives a fairly comprehensive account of the various branches of Indian thought,—Hindu, Buddhist as well as Jaina. The treatment of the subject in all cases is both historical as well as expository. The general tendencies and distinctive features of Indian thought are also carefully indicated. The book is divided into three parts dealing with the Vedic period, early post-Vedic Period and the age of the systems.

Indian thought of late has been receiving considerable attention both at home and abroad. But many of the books put into the market are far too erudite and far too comprehensive to be useful to the ordinary reader who is either unwilling or unable to wade through the heavy mass of material. This, however, is one of those books which are calculated to supply this need—and, it may safely be commended as one of the very best of its class. It can not only be used as a text-book where one such is needed, but the general reader also will find it 'not too good for human nature's daily food.'

The author does not claim completeness ; for example, within the limits of one volume he has not found it possible to deal with *all* the schools of Vedanta. But though not complete in that sense, the fundamentals of Indian thought in all its aspects are indicated well enough. The style of the book is simple and attractive and the exposition clear and succinct.

The printing and get-up of the book also leave little to be desired. But it seems to us that it would have been better if the Sanskrit words and quotations were put in italics, so that they might be marked off more easily from the rest of the book.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

FIRST FOUR CALIPHS, *by Ahamed Shafi, pp vi + 88. Price Re 1. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.*

It was a happy idea of Messrs. Natesan & Co., Madras, to publish a book on the lives of the first four Caliphs of Islam. In its pages, Mr. Ahmed Shafi gives short biographical sketches of Abu Bekr the Truthful, Omar the Discriminator, Osman the Rich, and Ali the Lion. The sketches are written in a style suitable for school boys. It should find a place in every school and public library ; and should be recommended by the authorities as a prize-book. The price is rather high for such a small book.

J. M. DATTA

CASTE AND RACE IN INDIA. *By G. C. Ghurye. (History of Civilization Series, London, 1932.)*

Students of social institutions of this country will be thankful to Dr. Ghurye for this well-written account of the origin and history of the most important and characteristic aspect of our culture. In tracing the origin and early history of the caste system the author has based his views mainly on Sanskritic texts and has tried to explain the ban on commensality and inter-marraige between castes as "the outcome of the desire of the Brambins to keep themselves pure" (p. 146). It is to be doubted, however, if this explanation is sufficient. The "Aryans" came into contact with native races in ancient Persia, Greece, and Rome in much the same way as they did in India, but nowhere do we find the social divisions existing in the Aryan Society developing these features of the caste system. There must have existed, therefore, among the indigeneous people of this country certain traits which had helped in the development of these institutions and it behoves all serious students of the subject to enquire carefully into the civilization which has lately been unearthed in the Indus Valley and to see if their germs could not be traced there. We have passed the stage when from a mere study of Sanskrit literature we can hope to arrive at an adequate explanation of the caste system.

The chapter which is of special interest to anthropologists is that dealing with race and caste where an attempt has been made to find out the racial divergence existing among the Indian people and the extent to which caste may have played a part in it. It is extremely unfortunate that though much more accurate and comprehensive methods were available, Dr. Ghurye should have had recourse to the Differential Index of Soper and Joyce. This expression does not take account of either the number of individuals measured or the number of characters taken and is as such very

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incomplete. How misleading and unreliable are the results obtained from this formula may be illustrated from the following illustration. The valuable anthropometric measurements taken by Sir Aurel Stein in the Hindu Kush regions were reduced by Joyce by means of this formula and he obtained the value of 4.84 (*Serindia* vol. III, p. 1385) as the measure of divergence between the Khos of Chitral and Mastuj, *i. e.* between two sections of the same people living in the Lower and Upper Chitral Valley. The value obtained however by using Parson's Reduced Co-efficient of Racial Likeness on the measurements taken by me on the same people in 1929 is -0.01 ± 0.15. In other words, whereas in the latter case very intimate association is indicated, as is to be expected between two groups of the same people if quantitative methods have any meaning, the results obtained by Joyce disclose a moderate degree of kinship only—in fact if these are to be trusted the Red Kaffirs of Kaffiristan become closer in somatic relationship to the Khos of Mastuj than their own kinsmen from the Chitral Valley with a D. I. of 4.18 only !

Lastly, the characters chosen by Dr. Ghurye for comparison were only six and data used by him though published under the name of Risley were in reality taken by four different people. As the works of Prof. Karl Pearson and his pupils have amply shown, to obtain reliable and accurate results the number of characters compared should be as large as possible and the personal equations, when dealing with the measurements of different people, specially on the living, render any direct comparison impossible.

Readers should, therefore, be warned against placing much reliance on the values obtained by Dr. Ghurye and it is to be hoped that in a subsequent edition of the book new calculations will be made and the chapter entirely re-written.

B. S. GUHA

THE ADMINISTRATION OF MYSORE UNDER SIR MARK CUBBON (1834-1861): *By K. N. Venkatasubba Sastri. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. 16s. net.*

The book was originally written as a thesis and was approved for the degree of Ph. D. of the London University. It gives a comprehensive and, on the whole, a fair and accurate picture of the period (1834-1861). It describes the conditions that made it necessary for the Government of India to administer Mysore temporarily on behalf of the Maharaja. It states the problems which the British administration in Mysore had to face on its assumption of the duties of government and it describes the manner and the extent to which they were solved. The book is an appreciative study of the administration of Sir Mark Cubbon during his Chief Commissionership of Mysore for 27 long years, which, in the opinion of the author, compares very favourably with the administration of the Punjab by Lawrence Brothers. However, the book is weak on its critical side and does not bring out clearly the defects or the drawbacks of the British Administration in Mysore.

It is no doubt true that Sir Mark Cubbon did improve the administration of Mysore greatly and that he did set up higher standards of efficiency and honesty than those prevailing in other Indian States at the time. But it should not be forgotten that valuable concessions were acquired by the Europeans and the British Government in Mysore during the period of direct British rule. To give only two instances: (a) it was during Sir Mark Cubbon's administration that the mint at Bangalore was closed and the Mysore currency abandoned; and (b) it was also Sir Mark Cubbon who granted lands freely to Europeans for coffee plantations—who were on accumulating land, not only to promote or extend coffee cultivation, but also to make profit by its sale later when the prices rose higher. In 1862-63, states the Mysore Administration Report of the year, in Ashtagram the average area is given as 933 acres for each European planter, and 6 for each native, and one Mr. Middleton alone had an estate of 15 square miles.

Such facts are not brought into relief by the study of Dr. Sastri. On the other hand, every effort is made to convey the impression that everything possible was done by Sir Mark to promote the peace, prosperity and happiness of the people of Mysore. This may be due largely to the fact that the author has pieced together the story almost wholly from official sources—from the political and foreign proceedings of the Government of India and from the State Administration Reports.

GURMUKH N. SINGH

SPINOZA THE BIOSOPHER. *By Dr. Fredrick Kettner, with an introduction by Prof. Nicholas Roerich. New Era Library. Roerich Museum Press. New York 1932. Pp. viii+263. Price, cloth $2.50*

What the steadily increasing literature on Spinoza has proved to demonstration is that Spinoza is an institution by himself, and not a mere individual. The tercentenary of his birth which the world celebrated on the 24th November, 1932 served as a fresh rallying-point for commemorative works on Spinoza, of which the book under review is professedly a typical instance. But this fact does in no way detract from the merit of this book, making it in the end one of ephemeral significance as all claptrap literature so often turns out to be. Suffice it to say that the work has been executed with scrupulous regard for objectivity, enlivened by that gift of intellectual sympathy which is the essential pre-requisite to the study and appreciation of Spinoza.

The title of the book appears at the first blush to be somewhat forbidding and out of the common run. But that is exactly what serves to stimulate our curiosity and sustain our interest therein till we get to the end of the book in question. By way of a prologue an instructive 'introduction' has been inserted by that 'world-renowned leader of culture,' Professor Nicholas Roerich, through whose assistance, we are told, the First Spinoza Group in New York City 'became the Spinoza Centre of the Roerich Society at the Roerich Museum, New York, where it is now located.' The introduction incorporates two discourses—one on "Spinoza" and the other on 'Vital wisdom." Then comes the author's note which is followed by five lectures entitled respectively: (i) The Improvement of the Understanding, (ii) Religious Ethics, (iii) Spinoza the Biosopher, (iv) Wonder and Science, (v) Spinoza Challenges the World. Lastly, the Conclusion traverses the entire course and in a retrospective review the author sums up his main findings regarding the theme. The book ends with a fitting 'Epilogue', which is an extract from Spinoza's treatise on 'God, Man, and his Well Being.'

In his prefatory 'Note' the author clearly reveals his aim which is 'to give the reader a picture of

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Spinoza's teaching, interpreting it more from the point of view of Biosophy than from that of Philosophy. By way of expounding what he understands by 'Biosophy,' our author lays down that, as a science, Biosophy 'considers man as a human individual, irrespective of his class, race, nationality or religious creed. Biosophy alone is interested first and foremost in the conscious "being within man," and it has as its ultimate aim man's freedom.' (p. 247) "By the term Biosophy I understand" says Dr. Kettner, "that science of life which follows from the realization of our substantial nature as the cause of higher principles, laws and qualities of which we can become conscious and which we can apply in the creation of an ethical-social fellowship" (p. 132), or what he has happily called elsewhere, "the foundation of ethical co-operation or psycho-synthesis." (p. 15). Hence, an empirical approach to truth is not sufficient. We need a biosophical approach, an approach based on understanding of the attribute of Thought" (p. 249) "to the extent to which one penetrates into the principles of ethical life, to that extent does one succeed in the practice of it" (p.16). As Spinoza also foresaw, "the most important thing for human beings, therefore, is to improve their understanding of reality, and so to gain a better appreciation of ethical values," (p. 15). Such a re-valuation, rather than re-valuation of the values of life *sub specie aeternitatis*, Spinoza sought to accomplish chiefly through his 'Tract of the Improvement of the Understanding' and his 'Ethics', on which a well-deserved emphasis has been laid by our author. This he does in the good faith that "the idea of eternity is really the basis on which biosophy is established." (p. 142). In the execution of his task, he has adopted what is known in America as 'the case system,' and preferred 'to let Spinoza speak directly to the reader."

It is true that Spinoza's Ethics is attuned to the joy of the Infinite and the Eternal; but it does not on that account savour of Mediaeval other-worldliness. Its grip on the eternal verities is as sure as it is unmistakable, and that is exactly what has earned for it a universality of appeal and it requires no label of modernism. With unerring insight Dr. Kettner has spotted out what he terms the four cardinal "L's" of Spinoza's system'—'light, life, love and liberty' (p. 231). Spinoza did not seize the inspiration of his philosophical activity on the wrong side. Not *meditatio mortis* but 'love to a thing which is eternal and infinite feeds the mind only with joy—a joy that is unmingled with any sorrow' what was, as it has ever been to Indian thinkers of old, the abiding source and fountain-head of his inspiration. It is in this 'intellectual love of God' that Spinoza discerns the final blessedness or beatitude of man—which is at once the Alpha and Omega, the Bass and treble, the crown and consummation of the ethical life of man. This blessedness he defines in words that bear quotation: *Beatitudo non est virtutis praemium sed ipsa virtus*—"Blessedness is not the reward of virtue but virtue itself; neither do we rejoice therein, because we control our emotions, but contrariwise, because we rejoice therein, we are able to control our emotions." Enlarging on this very central doctrine of his Spinoza writes elsewhere in more re-assuring terms: "Nothing but a gloomy and sad superstition forbids enjoyment. For why is it more seemly to extinguish hunger and thirst than to drive away melancholy? My reasons and my conclusions are these: No God and no human being, except an envious one, is delighted by my impotence or my trouble, or esteems as any virtue in us tears, sighs, fears, and other things of this kind, which are signs of mental impotence; on the contrary, the greater the joy with which we are affected, the greater the perfection to which we pass thereby; that is to say, the more do we necessarily partake of the divine nature" (pp. 49-50). Confessedly, there is nothing in this moral philosophy that approaches a call to repentance in sackcloth and ashes, nothing of eternal perdition and everlasting darkness; but it overrules other truncated or ascetic philosophies of life by virtue of its own intrinsic authority proceeding from "biosophical knowledge (integration)" or "biosophical intuitivism" (p. 154). It has at least the weighty confirmation of modern psychology on its side, so far as it attests what Channings once called 'the expulsive power of a higher affection.' To the world of today comes the insistent challenge of Spinoza, as our author rightly observes, for a resurrection of Man from the grave of his distracting interests. The present chaos of modern civilization springs from the fact that 'man is not as yet sufficiently interested in human beings from the ethical point of view.' (p. 226). As against false valuations attendant upon the over-specialism or technicalism of the present age, the restoration of civilization would consist in a re-discovery and rehabilitation of man—not as a civic, economic or political unit, but man in the wholeness of his being, man in his ethical integrity and supremacy. To the distracted world of to-day Spinoza would preach the gospel of humanism in its intensest form, and say: "Put the central thing in the centre, and, under its centripetal influence, all the diverse interests of man will naturally shuffle into an ethical equilibrium." If, however, they are allowed to develop in a centrifugal manner, they are sure to spell disaster in the end. For, as our author has the courage of his convictions to affirm, "economics, family relationship, and nationalism are all based on the instinct of selfishness and not on the principle of ethical mutuality. It is of little wonder, therefore, that these selfish tendencies have always led, as they always will, into wars and conflicts" (p. 230). All these distempers of present-day civilization are in ultimate analysis traceable to our inability or refusal to think and think with relentless, vertical consistency of which Spinoza is the classical example. Truly does Russell say: 'Men fear to think as children fear to go into darkness.' With incisive clearness Dr. Kettner lays bare the vulnerable point in the so-called democratic freedom of to-day. "True we already have freedom of speech to some extent. But man does not yet think adequately. Political revolutions of the past have brought only superficial betterment and apparent peace. Democracy, heretofore, has been based and still is based not on mutual understanding but only on mutual tolerance. The political democracy which we already have is not yet the true or ethical *democracy*." (p. 255). The futility of all our political prophylactics and makeshifts will at long last awaken us to the need for this ethical re-orientation of our political outlook.

The supreme need of the hour, according to Dr. Kettner, is the resolute carrying out of the prescript given by Spinoza in his treatise on the 'Improvement of the Understanding'—a pregnant hint, to be sure, in the fullest realization of which lies our only hope for the future. It is on the granite rock of understanding that the civilization of to-

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morrow, profiting by the instructive errors of the past—will build itself up. This is to be the religion of the coming man as it was also Spinoza's. We whole-heartedly agree with Dr. Kettner when he says that 'Spinoza was not interested in religion as but rather in religion as culture: the religion friendship or mutual understanding.'

SAROJ KUMAR DE

LONDON LETTER

Where Do We Stand ? A Review

FROM MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

THE COST OF WAR

THERE has been a good deal of comment lately on a resolution passed by the Oxford Union Debating Society that in no circumstances would they take part in war. Nearly twenty years ago, many of us volunteered and took part in what we were assured was to be a war to end war. It was represented as a fight for freedom, for self-determination for small nations.

One of the thinkers in the Labour Party had shortly before written a book called *The Great Illusion* to prove that war would bankrupt any country that took part in it. He was laughed to scorn and it was contended that not only could we conduct a war for years, but it was shown that we were able to and did spend as much as £8,000,000 a day in waging that war. There was no trouble then about unemployment. Certainly food was rationed, but there was enough for all.

POLITICIANS LOST THE PEACE

We won the war, but politicians lost the peace. Nearly everyone had the horrors of war, the mud and the blood, brought home to them, either by their own experience or by hearing the experience of members of their own family. Scarcely a family in the country was left at the end of the war without one or more gaps.

MANUFACTURING HATE

One very interesting thing that those of us who took part in the war noticed was the entire absence of hate or personal animosity amongst the combatants. At b there was an endeavour to keep up atmosphere of hate by a propaganda m facturing tales of the cruelty of our enemies. Most of this existed chiefly in minds of those who manufactured it. L Northcliffe was appointed head of the Pro ganda Department. This need not surp anyone who reads the *Daily Mail*, wh imagination can so often supply the pl of facts.

HIGH IDEALS

In spite of all that propaganda, ideal at the end of the war were very high the only desire in the minds of soldiers civilians alike was that there should ne be a repetition of war. We had won t war, and we could afford to be genero President Wilson outlined his famous Points on the acceptance of which t Germans were induced to lay down th arms. They accepted the 14 Points the war was finished over fourteen years ag

DEBASING IDEALS

We then had an unparallelled opportuni for the reconstruction of a broken world. General Election was ordered within a mo of the termination of war. Instead appealing to the better instincts of electors, Mr. Lloyd George, egged on by Northcliffe Propaganda Press, threw id aside and based his khaki election cry on the reconstitution of a broken world on the slogan: "Hang the Kaiser!" "Make Germany pay the whole cost of War!"

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Experts' Figures

Unfortunately Mr. Lloyd George had at his command practically the whole of the Press and unlimited publicity resources. It was in vain that many of us told the electors that the Government's election cry was a false one; that one had no right to ask for the hanging of the Kaiser until at least he had been tried; and that it was a practical and economic impossibility to make Germany, or any country, pay the whole cost of the War which Mr. Lloyd George's advisers, headed by the Governor of the Bank of England, told him would amount to no less than £ 24,000,000,000. This alone far exceeds the whole available supply of gold in the world.

The electors were deluded and returned Mr. Lloyd George to power at the head of a Coalition Government with an enormous majority in a Parliament, as was described by one of themselves, of "hard faced men who seemed to have done well out of the War."

The Loss By Taking

After a Peace Conference which dragged on for months and months the Treaty of Versailles was signed, a treaty not in accordance with President Wilson's 14 Points—a treaty that was forced at the point of starvation on an unwilling and protesting Germany.

We agreed to the principle of Reparations in addition to War Debts. France and Italy were to receive millions of tons of coal annually from Germany without making any payment for it. As these countries had previously relied to a great extent on England for their coal supply, naturally thousands of miners in this country found themselves unemployed.

Sir Eric Geddes, one of Mr. Lloyd George's Ministers and chief advisers, said that we would "squeeze Germany like an orange till the pips squeaked."

A great deal of our merchant shipping had been sunk and we insisted on taking from Germany ton for ton in German shipping. This naturally meant that Germany had to begin building new and up-to-date ships, while, with millions of tons of second hand German shipping, there was no need for ship-building in this country. Shipbuilders found themselves idle and the shipbuilding industry has never recovered.

Ships are built with steel. As steel was no longer required for ship-building, steel works and blast furnaces closed down one after another. As it takes three tons of coal to work up every ton of steel, less coal was required at home and more miners were unemployed.

There is an old Chinese saying:

> "That I spent, I had
> That I gave, I have
> That I kept, I lost."

Allies' Broken Undertakings

Labour protested, but in vain. Germany was disarmed as a first step to universal disarmament. We even embodied this in the Peace Treaty. It is not Germany that has broken the Peace Treaty, it is we and our Allies—and we see the result in Germany today. Had we treated Germany as an equal instead of as an outcast, the position would have been very different.

Who Pay?

War can only be carried on at a loss. Workers are bound to suffer. The rich lend their money at 5 per cent interest. The poor give their health and their lives, their homes and their small businesses. The war of 1914-18 added £7,000,000,000 to our national debt. The unemployed, the underemployed and the wage earners on their reduced wages, are paying for that to-day.

In war we could take 7,000,000 men out of industry and feed them well. Why not in peace? Only organization is required and the will to do it.

Incompetence of Rulers

There is abundance and more than abundance of everything. Food is being destroyed while people starve—and only because of lack of national organization and the idea that production is for profit and not for service.

President Roosevelt, in his inaugural address, put this well when he said:

> "Nature still affords her bounty, but the generous use of it languishes in the very sight of supply.

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This is primarily because the rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods have failed through their own stubbornness and their own incompetence."

What did he ask for? He did not talk, like Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, about the need for economy and a tightening of belts. But he asked for the recognition of the falsity of material wealth as a standard of success and added:

"Our greatest primary task is to put the people to work."

We have 3,000,000 unemployed, while the United States have nearer 15,000,000. There was no despair in President Roosevelt's message, no ten years of hopeless waiting for the unemployed. He spoke of our interdependence on each other and asked for and received the powers of a dictator to ensure

"The strict supervision of all banks and credit investments.

"There must be an end to speculation with other people's money."

He realized that the financiers and bankers had made serious mistakes. Instead of continuing to be guided by their advice, he proposes to put them under strict supervision.

Build Sure Foundations

In the old days of slavery the employers at least fed their slaves well and kept them physically fit so that they could do the work required of them. Now employers greatly leave the physical well-being of their workers to haphazard chance.

There is an old Latin saying that for a healthy mind you must have a healthy body. Our first care should be for the physical well-being and nourishment of the workers on whom the whole foundation of society rests.

In building a house the first necessity is to see that the foundations are strong and secure to carry the weight of the house and to withstand the vagaries of the weather. The walls or roof can be repaired, but if the foundations go, the whole building is useless and a danger. Trade and industry are the life of the nation. The workers are the foundations on which it is built. Without them there could be no trade. They must be kept in first-class condition, even in the interests of the employers themselves.

Be Bold: Claim Better Conditions

Towards the end of the War, Mr. L George, when Prime Minister, addressed Trade Unions and said that at the end the war they should be bold and claim b conditions of life—not beg or argue them, but *Claim* them as a right. W has Mr. Lloyd George done since to see they get it?

The Cause of War

Trade and the desire for more trade at the root of all modern war. Germ desired to expand and to get a place in sun and war of 1914-1919 was the re Japan today desires to expand and increase her sphere of influence for trade Hence the present conflict in the Far East.

Tariffs are trade wars. The pre Government, like the last Coalition Gover ment, has a war mentality. In a disp with Ireland, they immediately resort a tariff war to the detriment of b countries.

War always defeats its own ends. one really wins: all are worse off.

There are people living in houses today that were condemned as insanitary half a century ago! A million houses are required in this country. In the slums people live in over-crowded and insanitary dwellings under conditions that the proprietors of the slums would think were criminal if applied to their horses or dogs.

400,000 building operatives are unemployed. £20,000,000 a year is paid to them in unemployment pay with nothing to show for it except the steady deterioration of the workers and their families.

Roads and bridges are badly required in many parts of the country. We talk about the King's highway, but tolls are still exacted from foot passengers and vehicles in many parts of the country,—often where the roads are still in the worst condition and these toll charges go into private pockets and not to the State.

Labour has pressed for a great system of land drainage. In a certain part of Yorkshire today, where there should be dry land, you can go five miles in any direction by boat!

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All this is waste, and preventable waste, and therefore criminal waste. The Royal Commission on Land Drainage reported in 1927 that no less than 1,279,000 acres of agricultural land suffer from flooding. They reported that "until the State is prepared to accept due financial obligations very little progress can be made." Floods cause avoidable waste, and loss and much unemployment. Drainage schemes would give employment and more land to grow food.

Foreign Loans.

The Government can find no money for housing. They plan only to construct 12,000 houses a year, while slum property increases at a much greater rate.

It should be noted, moreover, that although the Minister of Health, during his speech on the Government's Housing Bill, spoke of slums, several conservative members pointed out to him that there is not a word about slums in the Bill.

At the same time, less than a fortnight ago the Government guranteed a loan of over £4,000,000 to an Austrian bank to take the responsiblity off the private shareholders of the Bank of England who had incurred it.

Austria, at least, cut down as she has been since the War, yet with a Socialist administration, has cleared out all her slums and built model dwellings with plenty of fresh air and sunshine for her workers.

Unemployed Labour And Unemployed Capital

In war we mobilized men. In peace we should mobilize idle money, of which there is no less than £2,000,000,000 lying in the banks at the presect moment. There is an excess of unemployed labour. There is a supper-abundance of unemployed capital. They should be brought together for the good of the whole community.

The Government, like Micawber, does nothing but waits for something to turn up.

One of the first things the new President of the United States did was to intimate that in his programme was a development loan of £100,000,000 for public works. In this country all such work is virtually at an end.

In India, in Egypt, we have undertaken at the expense of the people there, great public works costing many millions of pounds, because, great as the expense is, it will be a tremendous saving in the end and will be to the advantage of the people.

The Banking System

The British constitution is unlike most other constitutions in that it was not deliberately planned. Like Topsy it "just growed." Similarly with our banking system: it just developed. It is now the pivot of our industry. It really is a national service. Ought it to be in private hands?

Making Crisis

The crisis of 1931 was a banking crisis. Gold ceased to function as it had done hitherto. Gold only functions if you give it away, if you keep it in circulation. Hoard it and you have a crisis.

The present American crisis is also a banking crisis. Gold was dug up from the bowels of the earth in Africa and elsewhere and buried in the bowels of the earth in vaults in New York and Paris. It ceased to function and was as useful before it was dug up as it was after it was buried. The American banks did exactly what the City of London financiers did in 1931. In the words of President Roosevelt they "speculated with other people's money."

A great deal of the American speculation was in property, a speculation that could not have taken place if there had been taxation of land values, which so many of us desire to see here, and which Philip Snowden, even when he brought it into his Budget, postponed for two years.

No Man Liveth Unto Himself

America is an object lesson to the world. She believed she could be and tried to be self-supporting. No man liveth unto himself. If a man or a nation tries it, they are bound to collapse. America raised great tariffs to keep out these goods. She wanted to sell, not to buy. She has found that in this world that is impossible.

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The National Government here has adopted similar methods and surrounded this island with a ring of tariffs. That also is bound to fail.

We have just had a great British Industries Fair. Eighty foreign nations were invited. They found the whole place placarded with *Buy British* and they have gone back home appalled at our lack of vision, but determined to retaliate by placarding their own country with *Buy French, Buy Danish, Buy Belgian*, etc.

Gold In Kenya.

But America and France are not the only two countries that take a wrong line with regard to gold. Gold has been found in Kenya, in the land reserved to the natives by the pledge of the British Government for ever. Natives are to-day being pushed off the land without being given alternative land as compensation. The homes where they have lived for generations are broken up and all because of this false god, gold.

Principles Or Interests

One of the greatest sources of profit in the past has been the manufacture of arms and ammunition. Sir John Simon told us in the House of Commons a fortnight ago that it was a horrible thing to make profits by the sale of arms and armaments as a means of promoting fighting that was neither necessary nor just. The Government refused to issue further licences for the export of arms to China or Japan and the Foreign Secretary in the House of Commons said that this was "a bold decision" which "will commend itself to the better judgment of the country." It did; but a fortnight later the Government dicided to reverse their decision and to allow arms to be sent to both combatants. We decided to adopt this "horrible thing" just because other nations were sending arms and ammunition.

Why do our statesmen talk about principles, when all they are interested in is financial interests? If it is wrong for one nation to make blood money like this, it cannot be right because a large number of nations do it.

Disarmament: Words And Action

For over a year a Disarmament Conference has been sitting at Geneva. So there is little in the way of practical results to be seen. France has given a good lead by reducing her military budget this year by £5,000,000. What about England? To our shame we have to confess that our military budget is up by £1,500,000 and on the day the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary left to attend the Disarmament Conference at Geneva last week the Navy estimates were published showing an increase of £5,000,000 over last year, and proposing to build 21 new warships.

Actions speak louder than words. It is useless to talk about disarmament and at the same time to order 21 new warships.

Fear

President Roosevelt in his inaugural address said to the American people "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself." Fear is at the root of all the evils of the capitalist system. The workers fear unemployment, want, broken up homes, under-fed families. The employers fear loss of money or loss of profit. In a Socialist state, where work was for service instead of for profit, where we each realized that we are our brother's keeper, fear would vanish.

Unlike members of our National Government, President Roosevelt has no fear of the financiers. In his first speech he intimated that they would be controlled and prevented from speculating with other people's money. In this country the financiers practically rule.

The Cost of Bankers' Advice

The financiers of the Bank of England in 1925 induced the Conservative Government, with Winston Churchill as Chancellor of the Exchequer, to put this country back on the gold standard at a time when the £ was worth less than 20/-. It was a disastrous step for this country to take because it made our exports 10 per cent dearer. Our exports, accordingly, fell off.

In 1931 the bankers persuaded the Government to borrow £ 120,000,000 to keep this country on the gold standard. The

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money was borrowed, but we were forced off the gold standard. On the advice of the bankers again the National Government borrowed £ 150,000,000 to prevent this country returning to the gold standard.

One of the surprising things for an observer to note is that the bankers are proved wrong time and again and yet their advice is sought and followed by the Government!

At the time of the late General Election, when Mr. Arthur Henderson was leading the Labour Party, the Bishop of London said it was really a banking crisis, and he advised electors not to vote for the Labour Party because Mr. Arthur Henderson was not a banker.

That would have seemed to a person of ordinary intelligence to be a reason for voting for him! The electors, however, followed the Bishop's advice, and are paying for it now.

The bankers' standard is purely a money standard. The Labour standard is the standard of human values, human lives, human happiness—life and that more abundant.

National Government's Failure

The Government have seen the failure of their tariff system. They have seen unemployment figures grow to unequalled totals. They have had deputations from Liverpool and other cities that see in the local burden of the Poor Law appallingly high rates that look like approaching bankruptcy for these cities.

They told us that with the imposition of tariffs foreign nations would be on our doorstep anxious to bargain with us. Representatives of these foreign nations have come and gone, and there is no sign yet of that mutual lowering of tariffs or of the encouragement of trade.

Every month the Board of Trade figures show that the trade of this country is growing less and less. It is not enough to say that our adverse balance of trade is diminishing. If we had no trade at all we would have no adverse balance, but we would have imminent starvation.

Insular self-sufficiency means less foreign trade and less shipping. It means that more and more ships are laid up, more and more seamen and dockers idle.

It was truly said that where there is no vision the people perish.

And with its Micawber-like attitude the Government's only message of hope to the unemployed is that they may continue to be unemployed for another ten years.

The physical effect of this is bad. But the moral effect is infinitely worse. To have no employment is disheartening. To have no hope of employment is absolutely demoralizing.

India

Three Round Table Conferences have been held in this country. The last finished at the end of last year.

Only on Friday of this week will the White Paper be published, showing the intentions of the Government with regard to this all important subject dealing with the destiny of one-fifth of the whole human family.

I have not seen the White Paper, and cannot tell what it may contain. But looking at the attitude that has been taken up by the Government I feel fairly confident that the White Paper is not likely to be accepted by any section of Indians as a workable basis for the future constitution.

We have estranged most of our best friends amongst the Indians. It is admitted on all hands that in any election the Congress Party are likely to carry the day at the polls. They are the people who will have to work their new constitution and yet most of their leaders today are in gaol, some of them even without trial.

The Government will insist on safe-guards in the new constitution. Surely Ireland has taught us that no safe-guards can be effective except the good will of the people governed.

The words of Parnell are worth remembering at the present moment :

> "No man has the right to set a bound to the march of a nation."
>
> "No man has the right to say to a nation thus far shalt thou go and no further."

Indians have the right to make their own constitution with such limitations and safe-guards as they think advisable in their

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own interests. They may make mistakes but that is how nations, like individuals, learn.

The Position Today

These are some of the problems that confront us today. They cannot be dealt with, in any lasting manner, except on the lines of great, broad principles.

In India it is the interests of Indians that should be supreme. In Foreign Affairs there must be a spirit of co-operation, of the realization of the oneness of all and the sinking of petty or insular interests. No nation to-day can stand alone: it must realize that it is part of a greater whole. In home affairs there must be a building up of the weakest elements—the foundations of the society. That means better housing, better wages, more land drainage, more co-operation for the common good—for service rather than for profits.

London. March 15, 1933.

JUTE ENQUIRY

By SUDHIR KUMAR LAHIRI

A Committee is now engaged in making an enquiry into various matters relating to the jute industry. The terms of reference to the Committee include the consideration of

"(*i*) the question of regulation of the production of jute ;

"(*ii*) the marketing of jute including the establishment of regulated markets and the supply of market information in a suitable form to the producers ;

"(*iii*) the creation of a jute committee for the province of Bengal on the lines of the proposed Central Jute Committee and the minimum amount required to finance such a committee ;

"(*iv*) the extent to which other materials have displaced jute and the likelihood of further substitutes being found in the near future, and

"(*v*) the possibility of making any other economic use of jute to an extent that might relieve the present situation."

The questionnaire issued by the Jute Enquiry Committee, which has already been published in the press, ranges over a wide variety of subjects relating to the different aspects of the cultivation and trade of jute. The Committee has been asked to submit its report by May, 1933.

Three important appendices are supplied with the questionnaire. These are, the text of the Central Provinces Cotton Market Act, 1932, a short and up-to-date history of the adoption of universal standards for American cotton with the text of the United States Cotton Standards Act, 1923, and a Note on the proposed Jute Control Corporation by Mr. A. P. McDougall, member of the committee of foreign banking experts attached to the Central Banking Enquiry Committee. These appendices will be of help to individuals and institutions desirous of expressing their opinions on some of the more important among the questions included in the questionnaire. The proposals of the Committee are expected to be based on the opinions elicited from individuals, institutions and public bodies interested in the matter. The recommendations of the Committee cannot but have a far-reaching effect on the future welfare of the vast masses of people engaged in the cultivation of jute, and as this cannot but react on the future progress or retrogression of Bengal, a great responsibility rests on people solicitous of the proper development of the province. They should bestir themselves in the matter and take every possible means to help in the right solution of this difficult and complex problem.

It has to be borne in mind in this connection that on one side of the jute controversy are associated powerful vested interests, having enormous wealth at their back, and on the other the vast body of jute cultivators. In the census of 1921 the number of population supported by the cultivation of jute was given at [illegible] millions. Mr. McDougall estimated that about one-fourth of the figure, that is, about a million people were actual cultivators of jute. If we take this estimate to be an approximate one, we find how large is the number of people whose well-being depends on the right solution of the problems that await the decision of the Jute Enquiry Committee as also of the authorities. It must be remembered that any solution, if it is to be real, should be such as would afford, in the first instance, relief to those engaged in the primary processes of production of jute. This means that any proposal that may be recommended for adoption should satisfy this condition above everything else; this must, in fact, be the basic factor of any solution

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likely to be accepted by the public and be successful at the end.

It is proposed to deal in this paper with only one aspect of the jute problem, namely, a better organization of marketing. Since the present economic depression set in, the need of introducing proper marketing arrangements for jute has been keenly felt. The question has, in fact, been discussed by numerous committees, commissions, individuals and public bodies and various suggestions have been made from time to time. But no effective steps for tackling the problem have so far been taken.

The Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, which reported not long ago, discussed at some length the disabilities under which the Indian cultivator laboured in the marketing of his produce. These disablities, they said, would "only be removed by the establishment of properly regulated markets," and they held that the establishment of such markets would confer an immense boon on the cultivating class of India."

The Bengal Banking Enquiry Committee pointed out how the standards of quality of jute were manipulated. "By far the greatest difficulty in marketing lies", the Committee said, "in the absence of definite standards of quality which often disorganizes the jute market in Calcutta, entailing enormous losses on the Indian merchants who import jute from the mofussil centres." They recommended that "the standards should be made definite by some special legislation on the lines of the American Cotton Standards Act and that any difference arising between the buyers and sellers should be settled by a Statutory Arbitration Board including representatives of both the parties".

Mr. A. P. McDougall, shows, in a note appended to the Report of the Central Banking Enquiry Committee, how as a result of the organized competition of the rest of the world, Indian produce is being displaced for want of a proper marketing organization. He thinks that "unless India can improve her position in the world market, she must remain a poor country." He further observes :

> "There is one great problem before India—to increase the prosperity of the ryot. If this can be done then not only will the economic but also the social position of the country be revolutionized to the advantage of all. There are only two ways —co-operation (in its broadest aspect) and marketing."

Mr. McDougall makes detailed suggestions with reference to the marketing of jute, and in his scheme the application of co-operative principles forms, perhaps, the most important feature.

Interlinked with the problem of marketing are such questions as improvement of transport facilities, including rural communications, lowering of railway freights and grant of other railway facilities ; establishment of regulated markets ; standardization of weights and measures ; adoption of measures to secure improved quality of produce by organization amongst buyers and traders and to guard against adulteration ; fixation of standards and grades of commodities ; promotion of co-operative sale societies and other suitable organizations for purposes of sale, etc,. The recommendations of the Royal Commission on these heads have generally received the support of the Central Banking Enquiry Committee.

The International Institute of Agriculture, Rome, has published a work on "The Agricultural Situation in 1929-30." In this publication recent developments in agriculture in twenty-eight of the most progressive countries of the world are described. Summing up these developments the work says :

> "The principal lines of the evolution of the agricultural policy of the different governments and of the activities of the different organizations representing the interested persons, seem to be at present directed towards the organization of markets and the improvement of the methods of marketing farm products."

Whether in India or elsewhere, the introduction of proper marketing arrangements for agricultural produce appears at the moment to be a recognized policy for the improvement of agriculture and of the lot of the vast mass of people engaged in that industry.

It will be seen that if proper measures be adopted for the marketing of jute, this cannot be done without the active intervention and initiation of Government. The example of some of the more prominent among the progressive countries of the West supports this view.

We note that the Government of the United States of America has already adopted legislation of a comprehensive nature "to protect, control, and stabilize the currents of the inter-state and foreign commerce in the marketing of agricultural commodities and their food products." The Agricultural Marketing Act of 1929 was passed to achieve this object by (*i*) minimizing speculation ; (*ii*) by preventing inefficiency and waste in distribution ; (*iii*) by encouraging co-operation among producers ; and (*iv*) by aiding in preventing and controlling surpluses in any agricultural commodity. Under this Act loans may be made to co-operative societies for (*a*) marketing ; (*b*) construction or acquisition of marketing facilities for storing, processing, etc.; (*c*) formation of clearing house associations ; (*d*) propaganda for increased membership ; (*e*) advances to members on goods delivered. The rate of interest on loans and other advances may not exceed 4 per cent. The measure further recognizes a new form of organization, "the stabilization corporation," having most of the characteristics of "the co-operative pool." The Board may recognize as a stabilization corporation any properly constituted federation of co-operative marketing societies. Such bodies

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thereby become entitled to act as marketing agencies for their members and also to buy up the commodity in question from non-members, and further to receive loans from the "revolving" fund to assist in their operation. An appropriation is made for the working expenses of the Board [Vide, *Year-book of Agricultural Co-operation*, 1930].

Among European countries in which the State has fostered agriculture in various ways France is one. The Government in that country has not only fostered co-operation, but has, in addition, promoted the organization of special credit facilities. The Caisse Nationale de Credit Agricole depends for the greater part of its resources on the Bank of France. The total advances made during the years 1900-1928 amounted to 1,168,557,951 francs, of which 9.1 per cent were for short-term loans, 23.0 per cent for medium term loans, 44.5 per cent individual long term loans for the acquisition of holdings, and 23.4 per cent long term loans to co-operative associations, etc. These credit societies number about 5,730 and have a membership of 383,000. There are 9,000 co-operative purchase societies with a membership of 1,225,000; 1,500 cheesemaking societies with 70,000 members and 2,877 societies for co-operative production and marketing, as well as many other types of society. (*vide, Land and Life: The Economic National Policy for Agriculture*: by Viscount Astor and Keith A. H. Murray).

> "The history of agricultural co-operation in France is instructive," said the late Prof. Charles Gide, the great French economist, in a paper on the progress of the co-operative movement in France, contributed to the Year-Book of Agricultural Co-operation, 1930, "as it contravenes the theory of the liberal economic school, which refuses to recognize any efficacy in State aid. It shows, on the contrary how, in a milieu hostile to the co-operative idea, and where private initiative would probably have remained impotent, the persevering work of the State has brought into being a flourishing co-operative movement. ..."

England adopted in July, 1931, the Agricultural Marketing Act. "Agricultural Marketing Funds (£500,000 for England and £125,000 for Scotland) are derived from the Treasury and placed in the hands of the Agricultural Marketing Facilities Committee to be used for short term-loans, free of interest to those preparing schemes, which loans may be treated as grants if the scheme fails to secure adoption and long-term loans (not exceeding £100,000 in England and £50,000 in Scotland) for the working of schemes" (*vide*, *Year-Book of Agricultural Co-operation*, 1932). It appears that the Government in Britain spends enormous sums for fostering the growth of agriculture. The Government spends annually up to £5,000,000 for encouraging the production of sugar-beet and £2,000,000 to £11,000,000 for the production of wheat by subsidy. Already more than £30,000,000 has been spent in sugar-beet. The Government further encourages legislation the development of small holdings. The total capital expenditure on Small Holdings and Allotments Act, 1908 and Land Settlement (Facilities) Act, 1919 amounts to over £21,000,000. Further the Land Settlement (Facilities) Amendment Act, 1925, the Small Holdings and Allotments Act, 1926, and the Agricultural Land (Utilization) Act, 1931 provide for expenditure of large sums.

A study of the national agricultural policy of countries like Germany, Belgium, Denmark, Holland, etc., shows that the State has done much in these countries to foster agriculture development by financial assistance and subsidies, by helping in the introduction of better marketing methods and by stimulating the promotion of co-operation. For instance, about Germany Astor and Murray say in their recent book, *Land and Life*, referred to above:

> "Co-operation: In the pre-war years, the credit institutions, which developed greatly in the country during that time, played a great part in stimulating production. It was necessary to finance the purchase of land in connection with the land settlement policy; it was necessary to provide sufficient capital for an intensive system of agriculture. A credit system both for long-term and short-term loans was built up with the assistance of the State, which for efficiency and for the terms which it was able to give, was probably without parallel in any other country. During recent years, there has been a marked increase in the number of co-operative societies, and these have played a large part in determining the economic status of agriculture."

The *Year Book of Agricultural Co-operation*, 1931, states that in Japan the Government gives aid for the promotion of agricultural co-operation in various ways in financial fields. Of these the following special provisions for helping agriculturists or small farmers may be mentioned: 1. Exemption of business profit tax and income tax. 2. Exemption of registration fee for acquiring mortgage or land ownership in case of creating and maintaining independent agriculturists. 3. Through the Central Co-operative Bank (this special bank is organized by joint investment between the State and co-operative organization) the State furnishes co-operative organizations with low-interest loans. 4. Subsidy by the State for encouraging agricultural ware-houses. The writer adds:

> "The agricultural co-operative movement in Japan, has developed by generous aid given by the State. The most important of all associations are agricultural co-operatives for credit, followed by co-operative purchasing associations for agricultural implements and fertilizers and co-operatives for marketing agricultural produce."

The particular agricultural commodity with which we are concerned at present is jute. The dislocation of the jute trade since the economic crisis set in affords a proper opportunity to

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parties concerned in the matter, including Government, to put their heads together and to devise measures of relief for those who have been hit hard by the present depression.

With reference to the marketing of jute three methods have been suggested, namely, (*i*) that the entire process should be brought under Government control, (*ii*) that marketing should be the concern of some corporation or board, such as that recommended by Mr. A. P. McDougall,* (*iii*) that co-operative marketing should be introduced. Under the existing conditions any system of complete government control and management cannot but be very expensive. Besides so long as the cultivators of jute will remain mostly illiterate, such government control is likely to give rise to various abuses. The second method will give undue power and influence in the hands of representatives of interests other than those of the producers, and the producers will be thrown entirely on the mercy of the former. The former being very efficiently organized and having large resources at their back and the producers of jute being an entirely unorganized mass of people, the interests of the latter cannot be expected to be safe-guarded by an arrangement which will place all responsibility and power in the hands of the former. In these circumstances the second method cannot be supported. According to Mr. McDougall's estimate about one million people are directly engaged in the cultivation of jute. It is the duty of Government to protect the interests of this large body of people, instead of placing them at the mercy of a few persons whose sole interest lies in securing jute from the producers at the lowest possible rate in order that they may be able to make the largest possible amount of profit. It is only by introducing an all-round system of co-operation that it can be expected that the interests of the producers of jute will be safe-guarded.

Co-operative marketing is considered to be not feasible by many because of the recent failure of co-operative jute sale societies and the heavy loss that they entailed. The objections on this score can be easily met if a suitable scheme be devised, avoiding conditions and circumstances that gave rise to the abuses and mistakes of past days and providing proper financing arrangements. It is true that co-operative efforts have sometimes failed. But such failures have often been the stepping stones for future successful endeavour. If failure in an undertaking is put forward as an argument against any similar future efforts no progress would be possible in this world in any sphere of human activity.

It may very appropriately be pointed out that experiments in co-operative marketing of agricultural products on a small scale have been attempted and have succeeded in two small areas in Bengal. These are at Gosaba in the 24 Paraganas and Naogaon in Rajshahi district. Such experiments have been in respect of paddy and other crops, not jute. Gosaba is a compact area in the Sunderbans, not far from Calcutta. The main agricultural product of the area is paddy. The marketing of this product has been co-operatively organized in the entire area. The producers as a result have benefited by this organization. The other example is that of Naogaon, a sub-division in the district of Rajshahi. *Ganja* is cultivated in what may be described as a small compact area and both cultivation and marketing are organized co-operatively. Of course, there is this difference that while the organization at Gosaba is a voluntary one and has had to face competition in the open market, that at Naogaon has now the advantage of dealing in *Ganja* which is an excisable monopoly.

The results at Naogaon have, however, been an immense improvement of the whole area in various ways and of the condition of the cultivators who were financially at the entire mercy of brokers and middlemen. It is not generally known now "that every effort to organize the *Ganja* producers into a co-operative society was discouraged till a situation arose when tired of the oppression of the brokers the cultivators did not come forward to take license for the cultivation of *ganja*. It was then that the Co-operative Department was approached to organize the producers into a co-operative society for the elimination of middlemen." In this connection the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Bengal, in his Report on the Working of Co-operative Societies in Bengal, 1921-22 says: "The success of the society is undoubtedly discounted by the fact that the society enjoys a monopoly in trading, and that it is not faced with the difficulties which are peculiar to this type of societies. Critics, however, forget that it is by co-operation alone that the society has been able to obtain the monopoly, and that the grant of monopoly has been as much to the interest of Government as to the society. It has undoubtedly conferred enormous benefits on the *ganja* cultivators who now produce the crop with the certainty of getting a fair price for it; and as the *ganja* society purchases the entire crop the cultivators are no longer haunted with the fear that their crop, if not sold within the year, will be destroyed under the rules of the Excise Department. It has not only freed the cultivators from all anxieties with regard to the marketing of their crop but has changed the whole aspect of the country, has introduced better sanitation, has placed medical aid within the reach of all, has encouraged schools, has provided veterinary aid for their cattle and, above all, has developed in them a sense of self-help and self-respect which is bound to convert the most pessimistic into an ardent co-operator."

Vide, Report of the Central Banking Enquiry Committee.

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The experiments at Gosaba and Naogaon demostrate in an unmistakable manner that co-operative organization constitutes a suitable agency for controlling and stabilizing the prices of agricultural products.

Co-operative jute marketing societies may be organized throughout the province in the same way as co-operative credit societies: one, two or three villages may be taken as the unit of organization. It is realized that it will not be possible to cover the entire ground in less than a decade or more, but a beginning may be made on, however, small a scale. These village societies may be federated to a Central Co-operative Jute Marketing Society located either at the place where the Central Bank is situated or at the headquarters of the sub-division, at which arrangements for sorting, grading and bailing under expert supervision should be provided. These central societies may in their turn be federated to a provincial organization, in the same way as central banks are linked to the Provincial Co-operative Bank. In this way the entire jute area in the province may be organized on a co-operative basis.

The proposed organization should be placed under the control of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies. As the work of the Registrar is very heavy, he should be given the assistance of a Deputy Registrar, who is to be entrusted with the work of organization and supervision of jute sale societies, as also of marketing experts. The Registrar, of course, has to be provided with the proper staff to carry on the work of the proposed jute societies. The total expenditure of Government for maintaining the staff of the Co-operative Department amounted in 1931-32 to about Rs. 7,64,000. Out of this a sum of about Rs. 3,37,000 is to be deducted. This sum was realized from the societies on account of audit fees. Thus Government spends about Rs. 4,27,000 for the maintenance of the Co-operative Department. If the entire amount of jute is sold through co-operative societies a sum of Rs. 4 to 5 lakhs may be raised from the sellers and buyers of jute, if for each maund a pice is charged half to be paid by the seller and the other half by the purchaser. As the entire area cannot be organized all at once, the whole amount will not be required in the beginning.

The staff of the Registrar will not carry on the business of the societies. For this work properly qualified staff will have to be appointed. The apex society in Calcutta will be responsible for the management of the work of the societies. With the managing committee of the society, which will be composed of representatives of co-operative jute societies, may be associated representatives of the Co-operative Department and of other interests of the jute trade whose advice will doubtless go a great way in shaping the policy of the society, though such representatives may not have the right of vote on such question. The committee will have power to form advisory committees of ex to help it in the work. Owing to the illiteracy ignorance of jute cultivators, in the initial the department will naturally be endowed large powers. As the societies grow and the department will gradually part with power and ultimately the apex society will entrusted with the entire work.

Questions of policy relating to the market of jute will, of course, be decided by Committee, in consultation with the experts, representatives of the department and of jute trade to be associated with it. The of preparing the jute forecast will as a of course devolve on the society. Arrange will have to be made for carrying on work in connection with jute. In this way may be possible to utilize it also for purp other than those for which it is at present and to improve its cultivation. The Comm will be able to take steps for avoiding production and for stablizing prices. The that there will be representatives of department and of interests other than of the jute growers on the Committee ensure that all possible efforts will be made keep the price of jute at a proper level. A important work that has to be done is discourage speculation as far as possible.

There are people who think that as is a monopoly it is possible to raise its considerably. This does not appear to be by facts. It should be in the interest of growers not to raise the price excessively to keep it at a reasonable level and stable basis if the demand for it is to be constant and if it is not to be replaced by and cheaper substitutes.

The question of prices of a commodity jute is, indeed, a very complex one. It may, the first instance, be considered from standpoint of the country of produce. But a treatment alone cannot, it must be admit help us in finding an adequate solution of difficulties with which we are confronted. is so because jute and jute products constitute very important part of the export trade of In and dealers of these products have to depe for their disposal on many foreign count and that under a variety of circumstan Great Britain, Germany, Austria, Belgi Bulgaria Czecho-Slovakia, Esthonia, Fran Finland, Hungary, Poland, Yugo-Slavia, Italy Spain, Norway, Canada, the United States America, Japan and China are among customers of these commodities. Further, one takes into consideration the nature extent of the present economic depression the various efforts that are being made restricting foreign trade and fostering products by these countries, as also the num

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devices that have been set up for dealing with the present situation, one realizes the perplexingly tangled nature of the problem with which one is faced.

If the suggestion that the marketing of the entire jute produced in Bengal be co-operatively organized be accepted then it will be necessary to undertake special legislation for the purpose.

A very important part of the scheme must be the provision of funds for financing jute and for helping the cultivators with advances. Three alternative methods of financial accommodation may be suggested. Now that the Government of India have agreed to pay to the Government of Bengal at least half of the net proceeds of the jute export duty, the cultivators of jute may reasonably expect that a portion of the funds to be allocated to this province should be devoted to the improvement of the cultivation and marketing of jute. If at least a portion of this is made over to the proposed Provincial Co-operative Jute Sale Society for the purpose, ear-marking a small percentage as a permanent grant for the organization and management of the business in the initial stages, and the remainder as loan, it may be possible to start the work. Another method is to raise funds on the security of jute. A very necessary part of the scheme is to arrange for godowns and warehouses where jute may be stored and graded as also to attempt as far as possible to stablize prices of jute. With reasonable prospects of stablized price and proper arrangements of warehousing, it should not be difficult, if help from Government is forthcoming, to raise money on the security of jute stocked in registered warehouses, worked under the supervision of the proposed Provincial Co-operative Jute Society. A third method is the raising of loans or debentures, the Government agreeing to guarantee the interest. All or any of these methods may be employed for financing the proposed project.

The Government has invested enormous sums for the irrigation of vast tracts of arid land in some of the provinces for stimulating the growth of wheat and cotton. In the same way it should come forward to help in the introduction of co-operative methods in the marketing of jute in Bengal.

Such measures as have been adopted by some of the more important among the progressive countries in the West for a better organization of markets for agricultural products and improvement of agriculture have mostly been worked during recent years. It cannot, therefore, be said that the time has arrived for making definite conclusions about the results of these operations. But encouragement of co-operative organization forms an important feature in such schemes almost in every country where these have been undertaken. And it cannot be denied that co-operative organization has achieved definite results wherever it has been worked under proper conditions. Anybody who advocates a wider application and extension of co-operation advocates a policy that has been tried and has not been found wanting.

CAVOUR AS A LIBERATOR AND UNIFIER OF ITALY

By Dr. TARAKNATH DAS

It is not generally realized by students of the Indian nationalist movement that foreign influences have played an important part in shaping the ideals of Indian nationalism. Of these, the Italian effort to attain national independence and unity has profoundly influenced the course of the Indian nationalist movement. Long before the organization of the Indian National Congress, the patriots of Bengal were influenced by the teachings of Mazzini, the actions of Garibaldi and the statesmanship of Cavour and Victor Emmanuel. The late Pandit Jogendranath Vidyabhushan of Calcutta translated the lives of Mazzini and Garibaldi into Bengali; and some thirty years ago, these works were used as sources of inspiration of young Indian nationalists in Bengal. This I say from my personal experience, during my student life in Calcutta.

Mazzini's *Duties of Man*, his doctrine of republicanism, service to one's country and humanity and devotion to God—his clarion call to the Italian people to work for the achievement of a free and united Italy, even his method of spreading propaganda for freedom, roused Indian patriots. Mazzini's life was translated into Marathi, and into Urdu. Through these books Mazzinian ideals spread in other parts of India. The present writer was also inspired by the teachings of Mazzini as well as those of the founders of the United States of America. When the late Lala Lajpat Rai, as an exile in New York, started his paper *Young India*, he was only trying to follow the ideals of Mazzini and his paper *Young Italy*. It may be noted that Mahatma Gandhi borrowed the title *Young India* for his paper from Lala Lajpat Rai.

Under Austrian rule in Italy, the people were under a tyranny, about which Cavour wrote: "The worst of miseries is the oppression which covers itself with legal forms." Italy had her glorious past, as the giver of civilization, as was

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the case with India of the Buddhistic and pre-Buddhistic era. Italy gave religion, art, law and ideas of government to the people of most of the countries of Europe. Similarly, Indian influence was felt in Southern Europe, Eastern Africa and all parts of Asia. Italy once established her political power over Britain, France, Central Europe as well as in North Africa and the Near East. Yet this glorious and powerful Italy, owing to internal disunity and world conditions, was subjugated by other nations for several centuries. The condition of Italy during the middle of the nineteenth century was not very unlike that of India under British rule. Yet Italy freed herself from the Austrian yoke and asserted her independence. This was done by the Italian people only about twenty-five years before the founding of the Indian National Congress. There is no doubt about the fact that the success of the Italian patriots in freeing their country was an inspiration to Indian patriots.

Following the example of Mazzini, several Indian leaders have tried to bring about a radical change in the ideal of national aspirations. The very fact that today there is a party in Indian politics which takes the uncompromising stand for Indian Independence outside of the British Empire and the establishment of a Federated Republic, shows that the Mazzinian phase of preaching of Indian Independence has been completed. Mazzini did not live to see the fulfilment of his ideal in Italy; but Italian independence was achieved through the statesmanship of Cavour, the leadership of the Patriot-Prince Victor Emmanuel and the fighting qualities of Garibaldi and his followers. The international position of Great Britain in India has not been as weak as was the case with the Austrian hold over Italy. In some ways the task of freeing India is more difficult than the task of the Italian patriots of Cavour's time.

All serious students of the history of Italian independence are unanimous that the part played by Cavour was by far the most important. If India is ever to attain her freedom, she will need the valued services of a group of statesmen of the breadth of vision, courage, conviction and ability of Cavour, whose motto in life was: "I am the son of Liberty; to her I owe all that I am."

Count Cavour was born in a fairly wealthy family and educated as a military engineer. From his early youth he showed liberal tendencies, and was opposed by the members of his family and relations. He was for freeing his mother country from foreign rule and was opposed to the autocratic rule of the Italian Princes and the Pope. For this attitude he had to suffer and was indirectly forced to give up his career as a military man. For a time he had to occupy himself as a gentleman farmer and on several occasions he was obliged to live abroad. It has been remarked: "Cavour had the ability to live within himself. Instead of discouraging him, opposition served like blows on steel, to shape and harden." Although a radical thinker and advocate of Italian independence, he was firmly opposed to political conspiracy.

"He regarded conspiracy as an ineffectual and stupid means to political regeneration."

He was neither a pacifist nor a militarist, but he believed that Italian regeneration would come through Italian participation in a war. He wrote:

"It is not possible for me to desire peace which would prolong the marasmus in which we live. An Italian War would be a sure pledge that we are going to become a nation again, that we are going to emerge from the slough where we have vainly floundered for so many centuries."

Cavour was convinced that an exile had but very little scope for serving the cause of his country. Therefore when Madame de Circourt suggested to Cavour to settle down in Paris, he made the following classic reply:

"No madame, I cannot leave my family or my country... And why abandon my country? To come to seek a literary reputation in France? To run after a little renown, a little glory, without ever being able to attain the goal which my ambition would aim for? What good could I do humanity away from my country? What influence could I exert in behalf of my unhappy brothers, strangers and proscribed in a land where egotism occupies all the chief social positions?... No, not in fleeing one's mother-country, because she is unfortunate, can one reach a glorious end. Woe to him who abandons in scorn the land that bore him, who renounces his brother as unworthy of him! As for myself, I have resolved never to separate my lot from that of the Piedmontese. Fortunate or unfortunate, my country shall have my whole life...I shall never be untrue to her, not even were I sure of finding elsewhere a brilliant career..."

Cavour strove to serve his country in a most difficult period of Italian history. In 1852 parts of Italy were under Austrian control; and Marshall Radetzky's rule over Italians was as harsh as can be imagined. The following will give an idea:

"A workman caught urging some companions not to smoke, was sentenced to 50 lashes for disloyalty. (The tobacco tax was a source of revenue for Austrians.) To own a fire-arm or deadly weapon, to circulate anti-Austrian publications, to know of a conspiracy without denouncing it, were capital crimes. The Italians adopted an attitude of passive resistance that galled their masters....."

Therefore, one may say that the so-called Non-co-operation movement in India is not of purely Indian origin. This was practised in Cavour's time in Italy and the Irish—the Sinn Fieners—gave it to the world in its modern form of "boycott." Under the restricted sphere of freedom, Covour's method of work was

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method of the highest opportunism without disowning his aim of absolute independence of his country." William Roscoe Thayer in his monumental work *The Life and Times of Cavour* characterized Cavour's political method in the following way :

"Cavour's opportunism was the opportunism of a statesman whose acts all tend to the desired goal, although like the wise pilot he may lay his course to port or starboard, to catch a favourable wind or to ride out a gale. Opportunism has come to mean drifting, without chart or compass ; Cavour meant by it, that, having dedicated his life for certain principles (Italian Independence), he would seize every means, use every tool, gain now an inch and now an ell, in endeavouring to make these principles prevail. To justify this method, we must appraise the ideals by the goal arrived at....."

Before Cavour attained the position of the Prime Minister of Piedmont, he had to undergo at least fifteen years of political apprenticeship. He at first accepted the position of the Minister of Agriculture and showed through his untiring efforts, that much constructive work could be performed for the benefit of the people, even through a position of restricted responsibility. He became the Prime Minister of Piedmont by his ability and by over-riding all opposition.

Cavour was not anxious to follow the course of establishing a republic in Italy, because he was convinced that under the then existing condition of Italy, it was impracticable. Therefore, he established his paper *Il Risorgimento* (the Resurrection) to spread his own ideas. Count Cesare Balbo, one of the most far-sighted and respected statesmen of his time, helped Cavour to draw up its programme, which comprised "Independence, the union of princes and people, progress in the way of reforms, league of Italian princes among themselves, and strong but orderly moderation." He was persuaded to adopt the above course—apparently a very conservative programme—because of his conviction. He wrote :

"I am persuaded that the only real progress is the slow and wisely ordered progress. I am convinced that order is necessary for the development of society, and that of all the guarantees of order, a legitimate power which has its roots in the history of the country is the best.

Furthermore, Cavour was not a mere doctrinaire, but a real statesman who must adjust himself to circumstances. He was not even averse to compromises, as a means to gain strength for the achievement of his ultimate goal. He knew that "the aftermath of an unsuccessful rebellion is injustice and sufferring" ; and he tried to avoid such adventures as were bound to fail. His idea was :

"There are times for compromises and there are times for decided policies. I believe that there is neither in history, nor in statesmanship, any absolute maxim. If ever the time for a resolute policy, and not for compromise, shall come, I shall be the first to adopt it ; because I feel that I am by character more inclined to it. But the wisdom of the statesman lies in discerning when the time has come for one or another. Now I believe that we are precisely in the situation where we ought to abandon the policy of fool-hardy counsels in order to cleave to that of compromise..."

In recent Indian politics, there have been very few persons who have exhibited the "wisdom of the statesman"; the late Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das and the late Lala Lajpat Rai are the foremost of them. Chittaranjan Das dared to defy the edict of Mahatma Gandhi and his programme, when he realized that it was necessary for the nation to adopt a new course, such as capturing the machinery of the state so far as possible. Lala Lajpat Rai showed his statesmanship when he refused to pursue the spectacular course of walking out of the Council Chamber and thus allowing the Government and its supporters a free hand in carrying out their programme against the nationalists. One may say that, if the policies of Lajpat Rai and Chittaranjan Das had been pursued, instead of the barren "no-changer" policy, the Bengal repressive laws could never have been passed by the Legislature.

While Cavour was supposedly following a policy of compromise, he was all the time laying the foundation for a positive policy through which and through international support, Italy would achieve her independence. Cavour engineered Italian participation in the Crimean War, on the side of Great Britain, France and Turkey, conscious of the fact that Italy would gain international standing and support by being allied with the group of Powers that would most probably win. Later on Cavour succeeded in interesting France, Britain as well as Prussia in siding with Italy against Austria. Cavour was bold and audacious at the opportune moment. The late Andrew D. White classed Cavour as one of the seven great statesmen of the world ; and Cavour was in no way inferior to Bismarck as a statesman.

For Indian statesmen who wish to follow the ideal of freedom there cannot be any compromise regarding the ultimate goal. At the same time, they should be willing to "seize every means, use every tool," under the most unfavourable circumstances towards the realization of the goal—freedom. Is there any statesman in India who would, like Cavour, use his energy to make India a significant factor in world politics of today and that of the future ?

Rome, Italy.
March 21, 1933.

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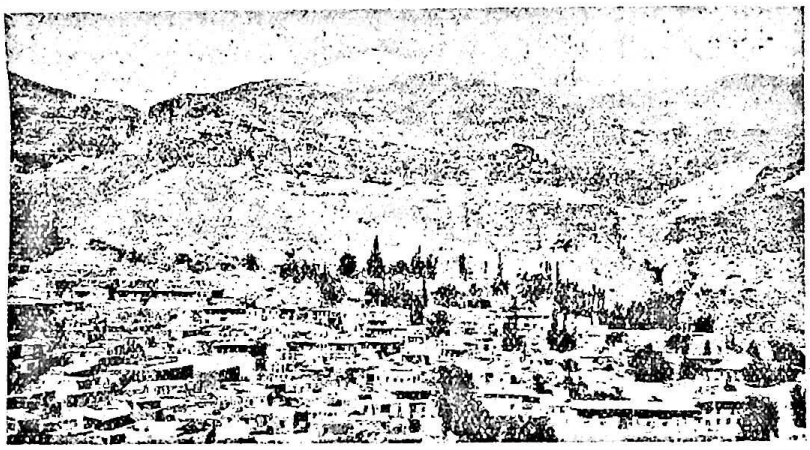
ITINERARY OF THE PERSIAN TOUR

By K. N. CHATTERJI

ON the afternoon of the 15th of May, the Poet took leave of his friends and hosts, and we started on our return journey. The route chosen was the time-honoured path that was the only means of communication between the East and the West in the heyday of Persian glory. Now it runs through Kazvin, Hamadan (Ecbatana), Kermanshah, Kasr-i-Shirin and thence on to the Iraq frontier. The roads along this route are far superior to the terrible roads from Bushire to Isfahan and better served with hostelries.



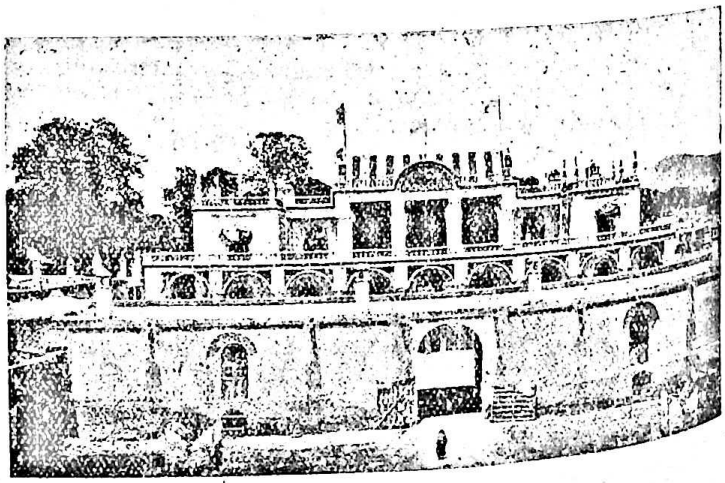
On the way to Kazvin. The Village of Laridjan

The Court Minister, the Education Minister and many other high officials, and a number of distinguished non-official gentlemen led by Aga Fouroughi, bade us farewell, expressing their hopes for a pleasant journey. *Au revoir* was the expression used, but few had hopes of that wish being fulfilled. Unique experiences and happy adventures like the present tour are rare enough occurrences in the lives of people placed under circumstances such as ours, and a recurrence would, therefore, be nothing short of a miracle.

* * * *

The road now led north-west through a beautiful and well-watered country, past immense orchards, flourishing villages and cultivated fields. The immense mountain chain of Elburz lay to our right, the mighty peak of Demavend being occasionally visible throughout the entire day's journey.

The first halt was at Kazvin which is a semi-Europeanized town. A long and crowded Muharram procession, carrying mourning banners and the emblem of the hand of the holy Fatima on an immense flag-pole followed by a long train of barefooted and black-robed mourners, was the first sight that met our eyes on entering the town. The orderliness and the restrained attitude of the procession lent it an impressive grandeur that



Kazvin. The Principal Hotel

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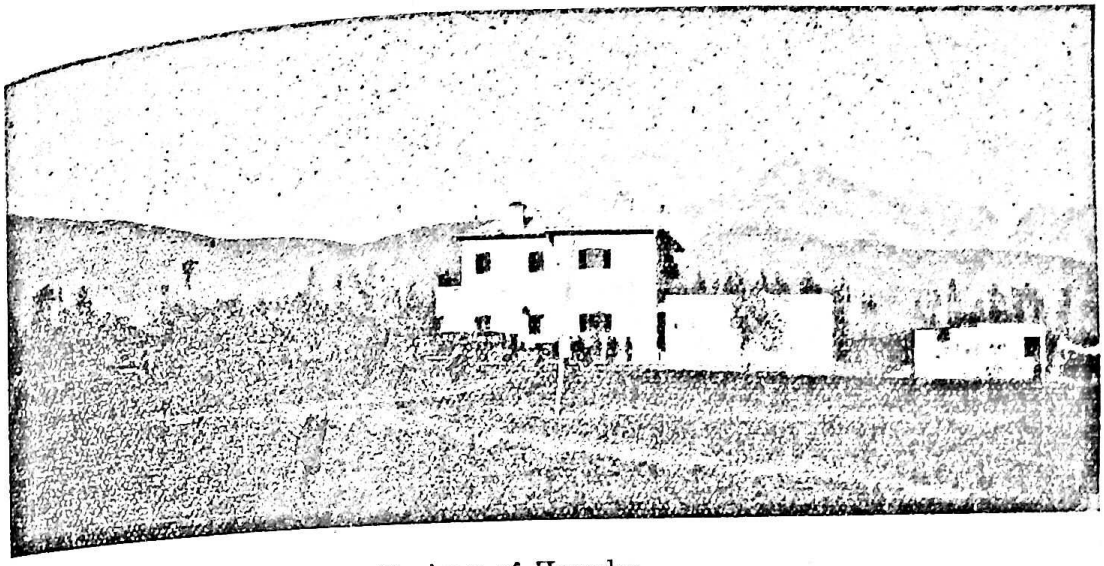
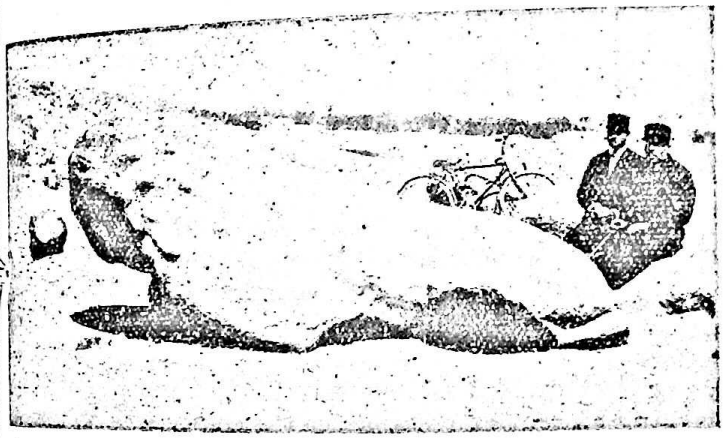


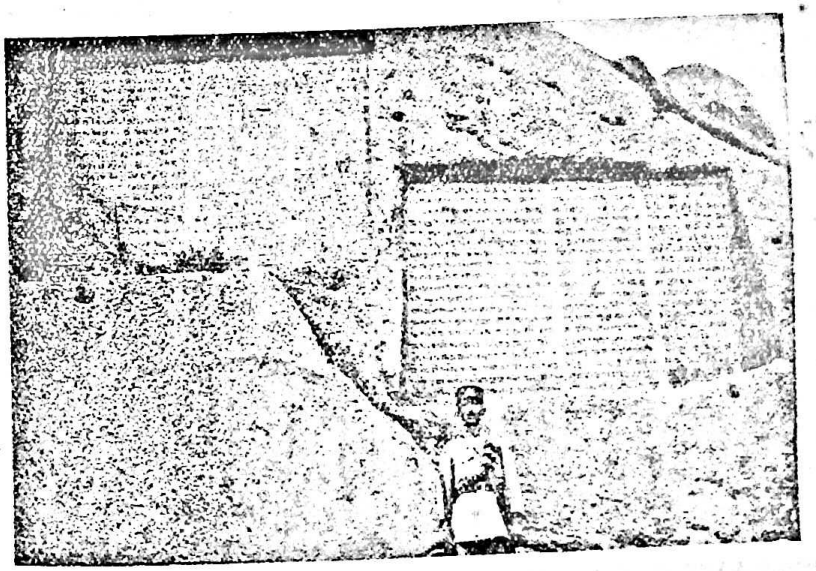
Environs of Hamadan



The Lion of Ecbatana

is perhaps characteristic of the new outlook among the free Moslems of the Near West. This is the result of the banishment of bigotry and fanaticism and a blind and unreasoned faith in the obsolete traditions of the dead past from the life of the nation, whereas in our benighted country these very scourges are regarded as being the constituents of a panacea for all evils!

We halted for the night at the principal hotel and started on our way the next day before dawn, reaching Hamadan in the early afternoon. The road lay through cultivated fields, the irrigation channels for which pass under the road every furlong or so through raised culverts. This makes fast driving impossible. A beautiful garden-house had been arranged for our stay and there we spent a few happy days amongst idyllic surroundings. Hamadan is a beautiful town built on the site of ancient Hagmatana, (Ecbatana of the Greeks) the capital of the Medes, of which now no trace remains excepting an almost shapeless block of stone known as the "Lion



Hamadan. The Cuneiform Rock-inscription

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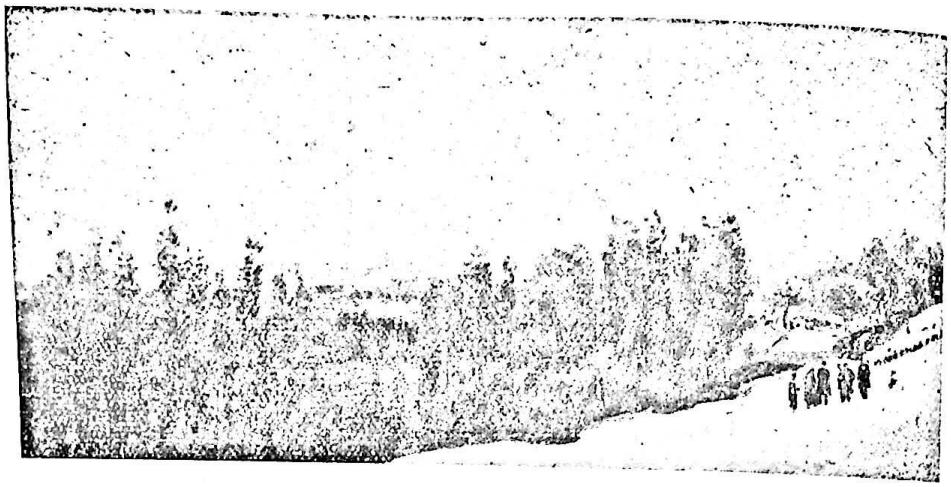
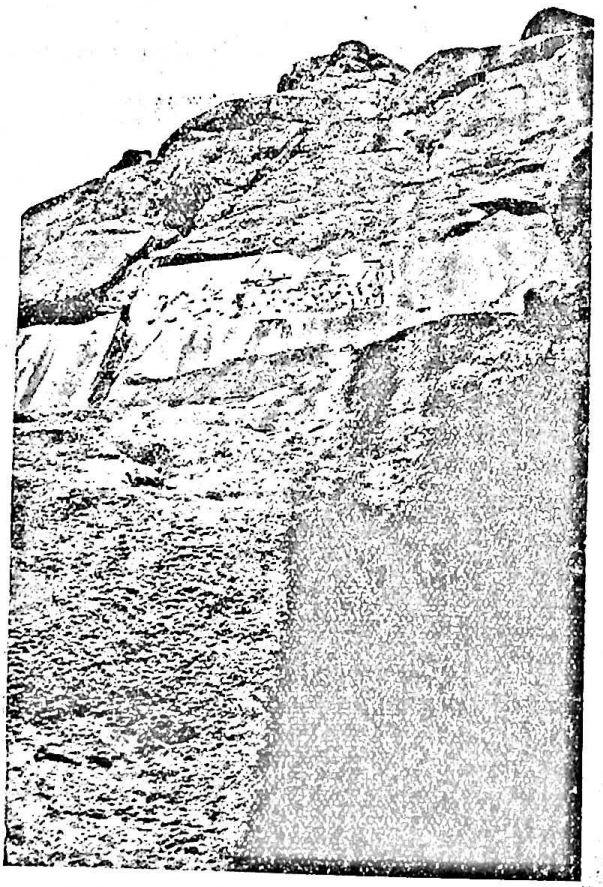


Environs of Hamadan.



The Rock of Bisetun (Behistun)

of Ecbatana" and a cuneiform inscription (of Darius ?) in the hills near by. Hamadan is situated at an elevation of nearly 8,000 feet amongst wooded hills and lovely sylvan surroundings. A mountain stream races through the town taking occasional leaps over falls where the gradient becomes too abrupt. Hamadan is being rebuilt and as such at pr bears an unkempt with demolition as most striking feat The quaint bazaar has shops where arti ply their craft in ancient fashion, w working, pottery the jeweller's cr being the predomi occupation.

We parted from Parsi friends at place, their route lying due south to port of Mohammerah, whereas ours w be in a south-westerly direction towa Iraq.

From Hamadan we started for Kerm shah—the City of the Germanic Kings. the way lay two world-famous archaeologi sites, the rock of Bisetun (Behistun) and t grotto of Tak-i-Bostan. Bisetun with i wonderful bas-reliefs and inscriptions Darius is too well known to be describe over again. Besides, in spite of scrambling over rocks and climbing at the risk of neck and limb the writer was unable to get near enough to take successful photographs, the nearest point attained presenting too steep an angle for the camera. However, it was a pleasure to see with one's own eyes the figures depicting the King of Kings and his captive opponents. The grim cliffs of Bisetun with their desolate surroundings are the fittest place to carry the everlasting records of Darius.

The caves of Tak-i-Bostan with a beautiful pool and a running stream of water in the foreground are charming by contrast. The natural beauty of the place with its groves of wild olives, poplars and larches and the exquisite bas-reliefs showing the hunting party of Khusru, the bridal procession of Cyrus (Shirin) etc., as well as the martial equestrian figure of Shapur, the crowning of Khusru by his royal father, with the Roman princess—his bride—on the other side, and the other reliefs are very satisfying to one with leanings towards art and archaeology.

* * *

Kermanshah is a semi-modernized town

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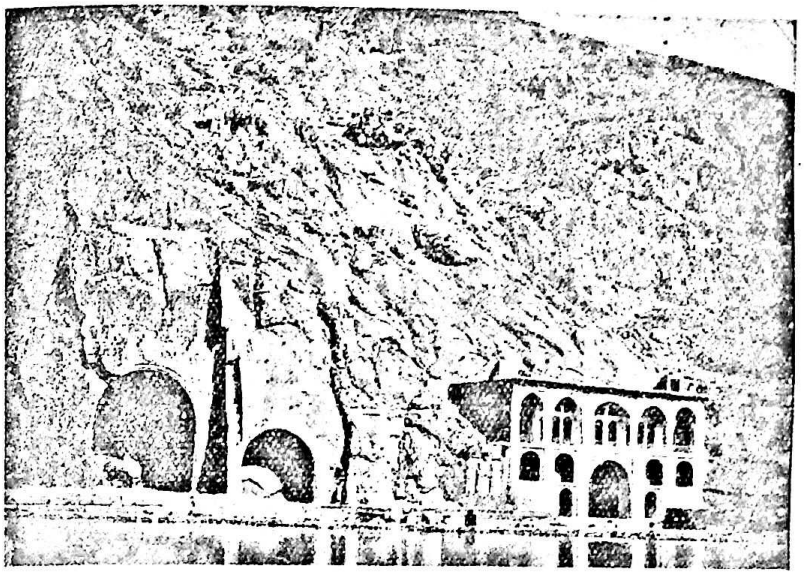
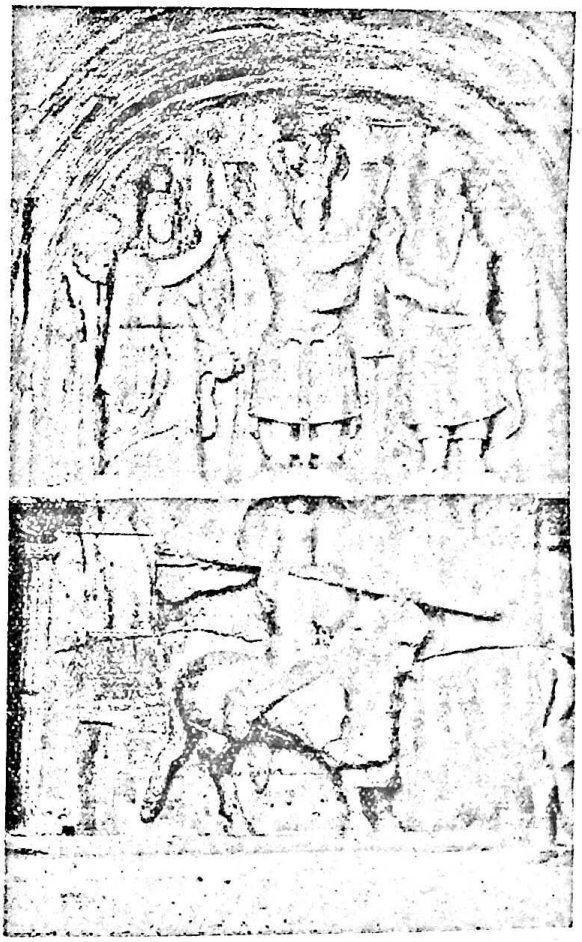
with a fairly large population. Agriculture and textiles are the principal occupations, with a considerable leavening of nomadic pastoral elements. The better class residences are all in the nature of gardens, which here have a somewhat Indian aspect, reminiscent of the United Provinces. Here we halted to rest before the final stage of our journey. That we were approaching the frontier was apparent from the tall masts of the wireless installation and other military arrangements.

From Kermanshah we went to Kasr-i-Shirin, the frontier town of Persia, *via* Shahabad—a beautiful little settlement in the crown-lands of H. M. the Shah—and the picturesque village of Kerent, perched on a crag with flowing streams of water all round. Kerent has a



Tak-i-Bostan. General View

Tak-i-Bostan. Shapur, Khusru and Ahura-Mazda



Tak-i-Bostan. Shapur in Battle Array

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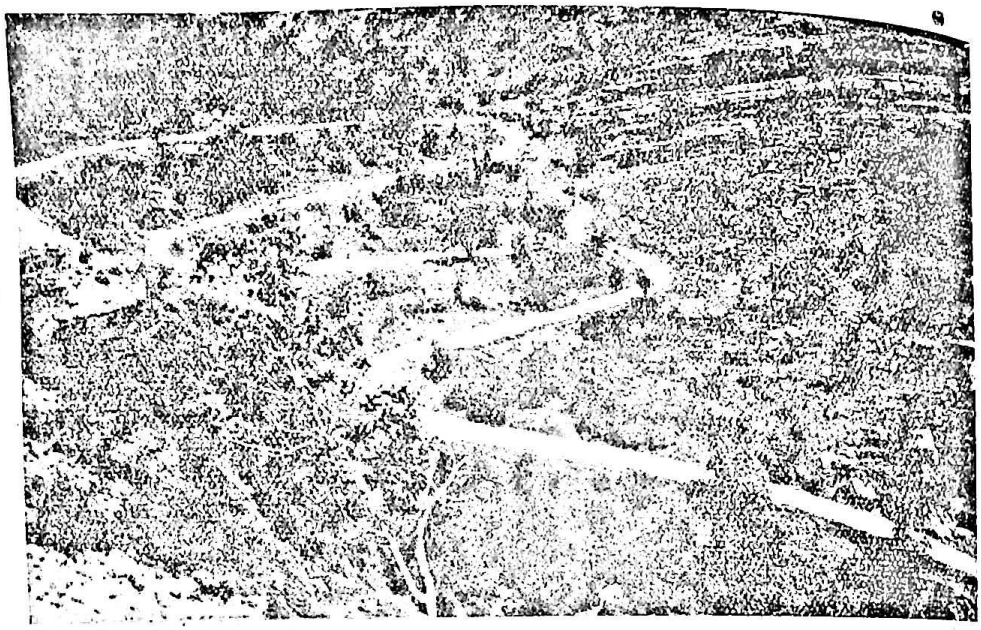
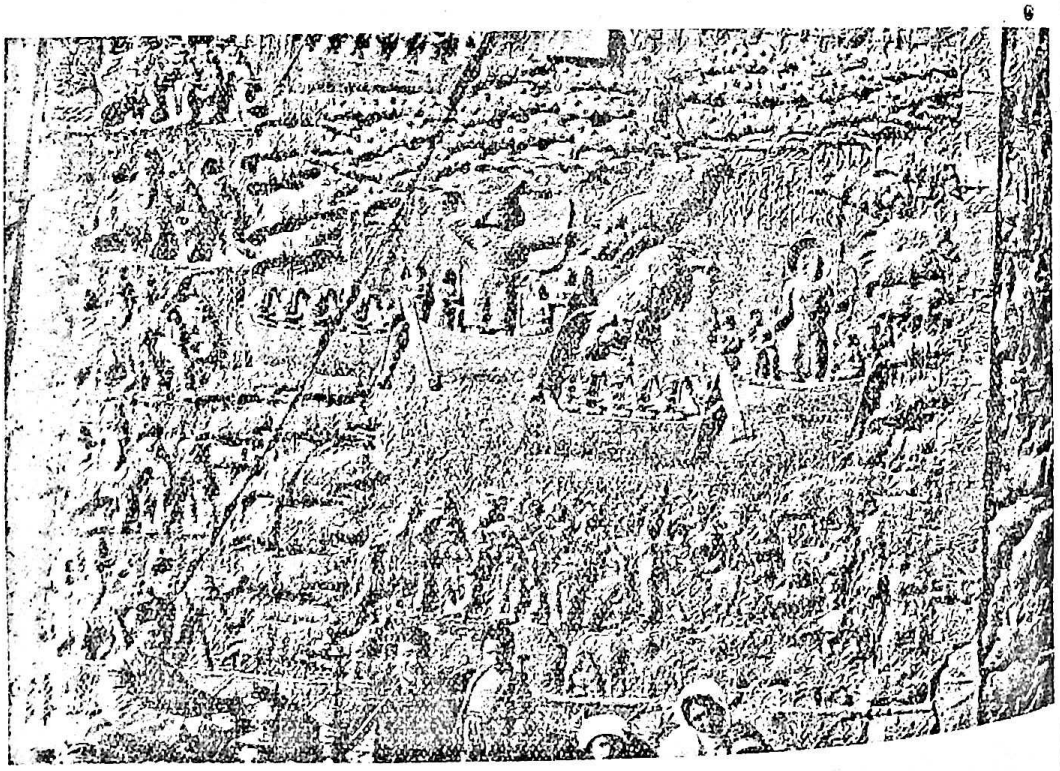


On the way to Kasr-i-Shriin



Tak-i-Bostan. The Hunting Party of Khusru

population much like those of the gypsies that roam over northern and central India.

The road to Kasr-i-shirin lay through a range of mountains which were crossed by passes surrounded by most wild and picturesque broken country.

We arrived at Kasr-i-Shirin in the c at the tail end of a sand-storm. The and the atmosphere of impalpable forcibly impressed on us the fact that w indeed come back to the every-day wor the "Behest" of Iran.

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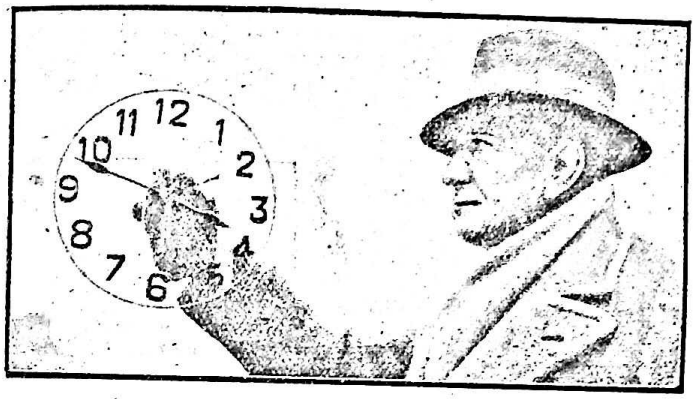
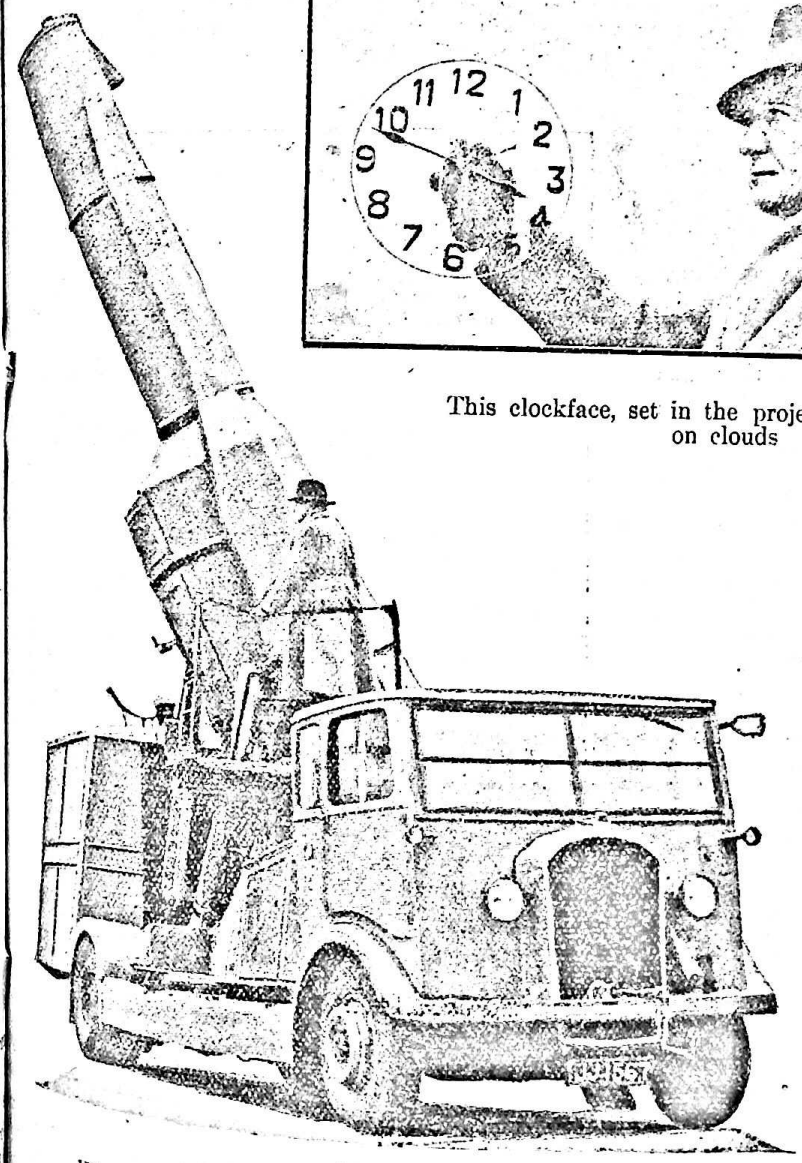
GLEANINGS

Light Prints Time on Clouds.

Once engaged in the development of a death for possible military use, H. Grindell-ews, British inventor, has developed a new for projecting light rays. A motor carriage orts the cannon-like projector, which is designed to throw signs upon clouds miles away, and is an improved model of one he demonstrated in New York City not long ago. By inserting a special clock with a transparent face and opaque hands and figures in the projector, the correct time is also thrown on clouds.



This clockface, set in the projector, throws time on clouds



With this gun-like projector, a powerful light ray throws the time on clouds that are far away

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800 feet on a Fireproof Rope Inside a Flaming Volcano.

A slender white thread, a rope of asbestos, rose straight above my head to the edge of the cliff. Below me were boiling lava and billowing fumes. Dangling at the end of the rope, I was being lowered 800 feet into the mouth of an active volcano !

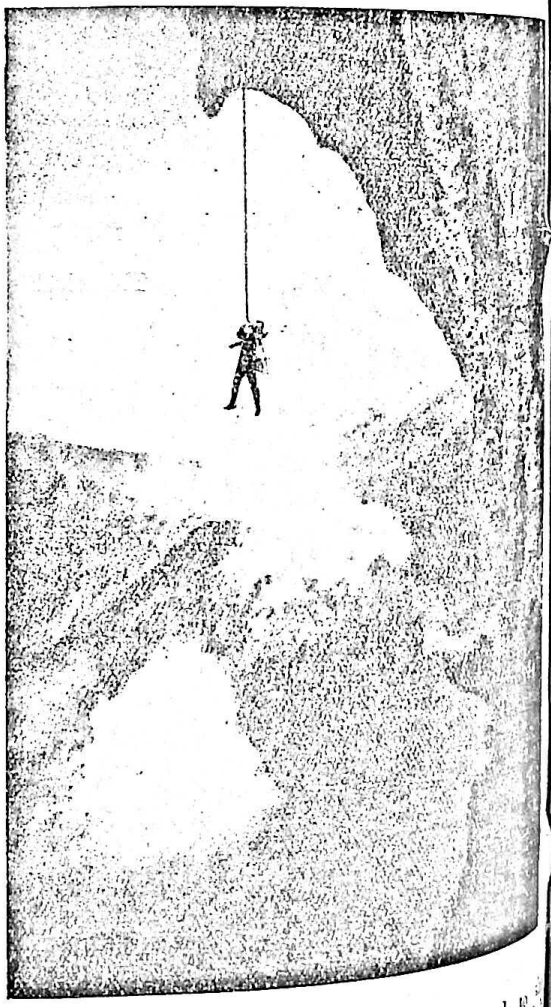
A steel helmet protected my head from flying rocks. My suit, my shoes, my gloves, were all made of asbestos. Strapped to my back, were oxygen tanks that enabled me to breathe amid the fumes. I was realizing a scientific adventure which I had planned for years.

My friends thought I was crazy when I announced my intention to explore the crater of an active volcano, to descend the depths of its enormous pit, to photograph the infernal vent-hole while it fumed and grumbled, to go where explosions rapidly follow one another and where phenomena, still mysterious, constantly occur.

None of those who had preceded me in volcanic studies had dared a descent into a c in full activity. They had contented them with simple excursions to the mouth of Ve or Etna during quiescent periods. If I succ in my plan, I knew I would witness phen unseen by anyone before. If I returned open air and sunlight after this trip into inferno, I would bring back specimens, and gaseous, of unusual interest. So I determ to make the effort.

My choice fell ugon Stromboli, the vol cone rising from the Mediterranean north Sicily. Why Stromboli ? Because it is the volcano in Europe of uninterrupted act Here I risked no dud. In its crater I wa to find the spectacle I desired.

It was with the greatest difficulty that hauled the equipment up the side of Stro which rises sharply from the water without slightest beach. At the spot previously sel I prepared for the test. I was secured asbestos rope by means of a heavy leather similar to those used by mountain cli Control of my descent was handled from



Dangling at the end of an asbestos rope, the intrepid author is seen, right, during his descent of 800 feet into the heart of the volcano, Stromboli. Below, a rock on a string was thrown over to get the crater's depth before the descent was begun. At left, Arpad Kirner

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means of a windlass set up several yards the edge of the crater. To prevent the from being worn away by scraping against rocks, a pulley was placed at the crater's

Several friends, and some of the island chosen for their strength, had accompied me and worked the windlass to which my was attached. As a means of signalling after my entry into the crater, I carried an ric band lamp. Wires running down the stos rope supplied the current for the power-little light.

I realized clearly the danger confronting me I slipped over the edge of the crater and was ered slowly into space. I knew my return problematical. My precautions might prove sufficient. My heart and lungs might not stand strain of the gases and the terrific heat. spended in space, I knew not where I was ing nor where I would set down my feet. hat awaited me at the end of my descent? ld rock? Boiling lava? A sheer, slippery dge with fire below? I could not tell.

As I sank into the pit, I studied the walls of crater, black, red, yellow, pierced with holes which sulphurous vapours poured. I saw eath me immense openings veiled in smoke. en I raised my eyes, I estimated the distance had descended and asked myself:

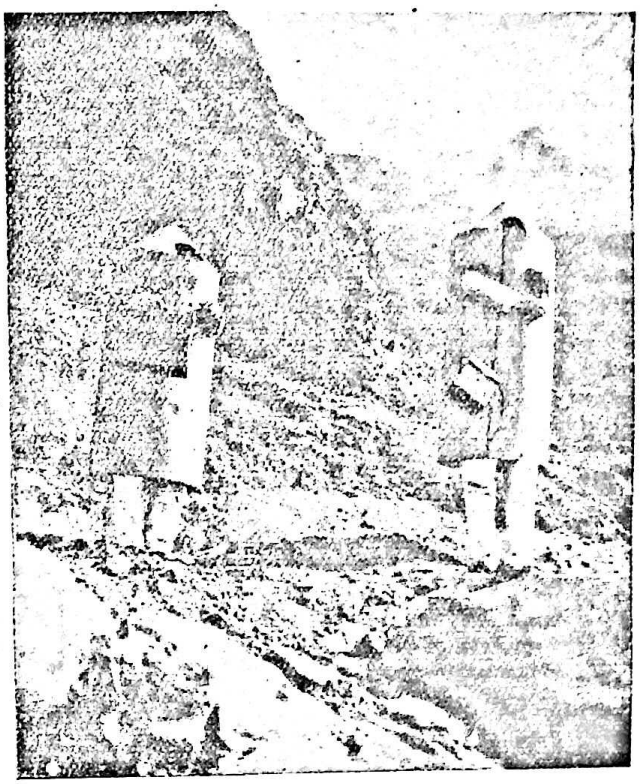
"Will the rope stand the strain? Can they pull me up again?"

Suddenly, the descent was over. I landed on ledge 800 feet below the top of the crater. he rock was extremely hot, but firm. I could and up. I measured the temperature of the ck and found that in some places it was as ch as 212 degrees F. The air around me had temperature of 150 degrees and was saturated ith poisonous sulphurous vapors. Thanks to y oxygen outfit, I was able to breathe and so gan to tour of the crater bottom.

Casting off my rope, I set out for the real enings of the volcano—immense vertical pits m ten to thirty feet in diameter. At intervals, ith formidable explosions, these mouths threw rth jets of lava. The pits, however, slanted in ch a way that the lava always descended on e side. By timing the explosions, I was able race to the mouths and, in some cases, actually an over them, between eruptions looking pendicularly into the interior as one looks wn a well.

What did I see there? Beyond a screen of moke and strangely-coloured vapours, I saw an candescent sea of liquid lava, agitated, boiling aken with convulsions.

As I watched, this molten sea welled up. The mysterious force which moves it was about eject it violently. The time had come for the plorer to flee from this post of observation. Scarcely seconds passed before the explosion came, the orifice spewing forth its jet of lava, hurling it hundreds of feet into the air. Great flaming masses fell back into the crater. The rest, thrown farther, rolled and bounded down the flanks of the mountain and plunged into the sea with a hissing of steam.



Kirner and his friend, Paul Muster, wearing armour of steel preparatory for the climb up the lava bed called Sciara del Fuoco

Three hours passed while I pursued my explorations, timing the rhythm of the explosions, gathering samples of gases and minerals, studying the unforgettable sights around me and snapping pictures with my camera.

Sensing exhausion near, I gave my friends the pre-arranged signal with the hand lamp to haul me out. The ascent was painful beyond words. My will, stretched to the breaking point, deserted me. The oxygen reserve was exhausted and I was forced to breathe air charged with the sulphurous fumes. As I was dragged over the crater's edge into fresh air, my over-taxed lungs gave way and I suffered a severe hemorrhage.

When I recovered, I felt infinitely calm. After so much effort, so much nervous strain, I was happy that I had succeeded in an enterprise thought impossible by every one.

Food for Cattle Grown in Metal Cabinet.

A synthetic pasture contained in a sheet-metal cabinet seven feet high, and reported capable of

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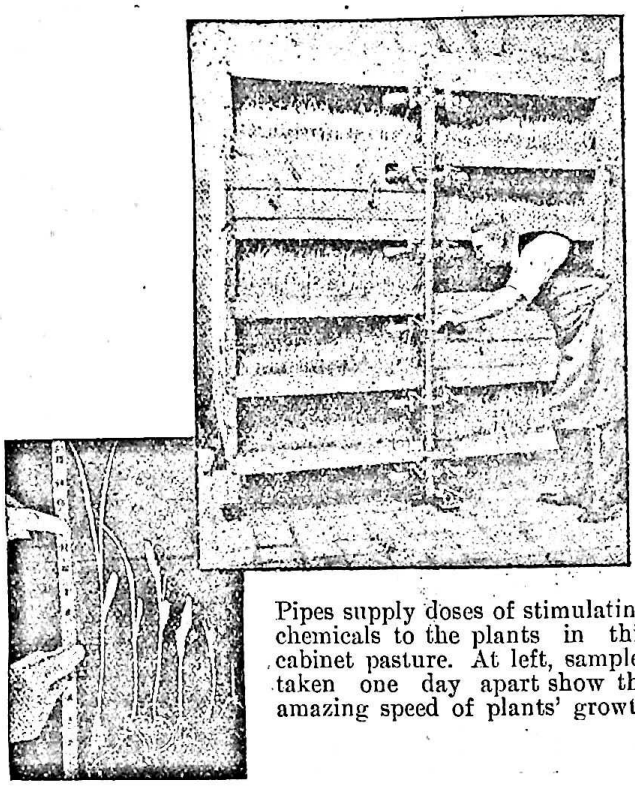

Pipes supply doses of stimulating chemicals to the plants in this cabinet pasture. At left, samples taken one day apart show the amazing speed of plants' growth

supplying sufficient green herbage for a herd of twenty cattle has been devised by a German agricultural expert. The cabinet contains ten drawers in which tender maize plants sprout, their growth being accelerated by doses of a special solution of stimulating chemicals administered three times daily. Ten days from the time growth starts, a drawer is carpeted with thousands of delicate yellowish-green sprouts ready to be harvested. By planting each drawer a day apart, a daily supply of about 550 pounds of fodder is assured. According to Dr. Paul Spangenberg, inventor of the synthetic pasture, it takes the place of from twenty to fifty acres of pasture land. He foresees that its application on a large scale would enable cattle to be raised with equal ease in the city and country. The artificial food is said to provide an excellent diet, rich in, vitamins.

Popular Science

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Progress of the Swadeshi Movement

Even in these days of economic depression our heart leaps up with joy when we see the progress Swadeshi factories have made in the production of the daily necessaries of life. Mr. G. D. Karwal writes in *Indian Journal of Economics*:

The *Swadeshi* movement gave a great stimulus to some industries, rehabilitated certain ones, and called into being certain others. A few examples may be cited in substantiation of this statement. A large number of soap and toilet requisites factories have come into existence and have placed upon the market their products which compete on very good terms with the foreign produced articles. The soaps and toilets requisites of the Himani Soap Works, the Mahaluxmi Soap Company, the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, Calcutta, of the Godrej Company, Mysore, and of the Benares Hindu University, Benares, to mention a few names, have received wide recognition. Medicines of excellent quality, emulsions, liquid paraffins, effervescent salts, injections, etc., are prepared by some firms, particularly by the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, Dr. Bose's Laboratory and the Bengal Immunity Company, Calcutta, and they are said to be so much in requisition that the firms are not able to cope with the demand for them. The stationery industry has received a great encouragement and is making huge progress—Indian-made fountain pens, pen-holders, pencils, inks, nibs and other articles in the line are available—especially those manufactured by F. N. Guptoo of Calcutta—in large numbers and are having a good sale. Electric torches have started to be manufactured by the Flash Light Company set on foot at Calcutta, and boot polishes of different varieties especially those prepared at the Jallo Factory in the Panjab are seen everywhere. Gramophones and electric fans have also begun to be made especially at the Dayal Bag at Agra. Iron bed-steads are being manufactured on a large scale and according to some writers are supplanting foreign ones. The glass factories have been able to stand on their own legs and put their wares in competition with the *bideshi* products. The tanneries are having a brisk trade and are meeting the needs of the mill-owners of Ahmedabad and Bombay. Mention may also be made of the *biri* industry which has been greatly stimulated and has to some extent been responsible for the large reduction in the imports of tobacco. The hosiery industry particularly at Ludhiana in the Panjab has shown a wonderful achievement. It is putting upon the market large quantities of woollen and cotton socks, pull-overs, muffllers, etc., of all qualities and designs. Most important of all should be noted the indigenous cloth-making industry and the industries subsidiary to it. Here the success recorded is wonderful indeed. The production and sale of *Khadi* has gone up by leaps and bounds. Hand-spinning and hand-loom is carried on in most homes and hand-loom factories in the country. This has led to the manufacture of *taklis*, *charkhas* and hand-looms in very large numbers and the dyeing, bleaching and printing industries have been saved from the grave and are making rapid recovery. It is true that much still remains to be done in regard to many of the *Swadeshi* products, but the beginnings that have been made augur well for the industrial future of India.

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Ideals of the Benares Hindu University

In an article in *The Benares Hindu University Magazine* Prof. S. V. Putnambekar writes about the ideals the Benares Hindu University stands for, thus:

The Benares Hindu University is an institution symptomatic of the new ideal of synthesis of human studies, human relations, human pursuits in the modern world. Its constituent bodies, such as the colleges of Oriental divinities and humanities, of *ayurveda*, law, pedagogy, arts, sciences, engineering, agriculture, industry and commerce indicate that synthesis. religion, literature, liberal and fine arts; law and education; anatomy and physiology; biology, chemistry and physics; psychology and sociology; economics and politics; ethics and philosophy; history and civics; mathematics, mining and metallurgy; geology and geography; engineering and technology; agriculture and commerce: all these studies and disciplines have contributions to make to the art of good social living. Each independently pursued, developed and specialized contributes little to that end. We must note that the mind of the researcher or the specialist scientist is in too sharp a focus for every day uses. New synthesis which cut across specialized research fields are necessary if we are to have or enjoy every day utilities and full values.

We, students of civics, and our leading citizens and rulers want today more conscious planning of our human needs and more conscious solving of our human problems as engineers do in their great buildings and erections, engines and motors. Our needs of health, cleanliness, education, food, clothing and shelter, luxury and leisure, all our material, mental and moral needs and objects require conscious and advanced planning on the community or country basis and not on the individual or local basis.

Today we feel insecure in getting even the elements of our physical life and social order. We want public planning. Instead of half-blind fumbling and groping and muddling through, we want rational planning and designing on a national scale. We have no use for *laissez-faire* tradition, or trivial

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reforms or ameliorations. We want to plan the whole system of our all-sided life and its needs. We need long-range thinking. We shall use wider knowledge and more conscious thought in our social work and national endeavour.

—

Jail Life in India

Many educated Indians have suffered imprisonment for their political convictions. Mr. "Twice-in-Gaol" writes in *The Theosophist* about the treatment meted out to them in the jail as follows:

(1) *The File System.* The prisoners' wards are opened at about sunrise. From that moment to the moment they are locked in again at about sunset, they must move in file, in rows of two. To make the point clear, suppose one batch goes to attend the latrine and perform morning ablutions. The whole batch is made to sit down in file by twos near the latrine. From the front ranks some are allowed to go to the latrine. When they return another batch is released to go to the latrine, all others remaining quietly seated. The first batch wash their hands, face and teeth and then sit down in a separate file and remain there so seated till all of that batch have finished their ablutions, and then only is the whole batch ordered to get up and move to its next task. Similarly at meals they must sit like this and after finishing their meal, all must move in file with their plates in their hands to wash them; as they finish washing up they must sit in file till the whole batch has finished and then only they are allowed to get up and go. This appears a good system in theory; in actual life it looks odd and is very humiliating.

(2) *Fixed periods for different items of work.* The mechanical way of living is enforced in jail to such an extent that prisoners are given a fixed number of minutes for the latrine, for the bath, and so on. No prisoner dares to delay a bit as that would necessarily elicit from the warder-in-charge abuse, blows and kicks.

(3) *General treatment of the prisoners.* As a rule the jail officials hardly call out a prisoner by his ordinary name in the usual way without adding a word of abuse. Similarly blows and beating with belts is common for very petty things. No prisoner can utter a word, or make a gesture without permission. The convict overseers also copy their warders and head-warders in unrestricted abusive language towards the prisoners under them, and even beat them. A prisoner ceases to be a man in the estimation of the jail authorities, and indeed in India they are treated worse than beasts.

(4) *Food.* As a general rule the quantity of food supplied to the prisoners is just enough to enable them to live. And generally the worst quality of food-stuffs is supplied to the prisoners—a quality which nobody, however poor, could ever eat in the outside world. The rice is usually full of sand and stone particles, and one cannot devour one mouthful without them. The bread is made of flour of rotten worm-eaten wheat, and so is extremely painful to chew and devour. The curry is generally long vegetables from tanks cut in bundles, then cut into bits like fodder and, unwashed, is boiled in some oil and water; when served it is all watery and full of dust and dirt. Such was the food supplied even to political prisoners; in some places they have, however, seen their way to bringing about some reform in this system through a good deal of suffering, though at other places they are also given such meals. It is said even these are an improvement upon what used to be given to prisoners some years back! Heaven knows what man is making of man inside the prison-bars and prison-walls! The fact is that in this particular respect the jail officials and the contractors both combine together to make things so bad. Of course, there are periodical inspections of the food-stuffs. The dates of such inspections are generally well known to the jail staff, and it is easy to show to the Superintendent a better quality of food-stuffs for inspection than is actually given to the prisoners. Reform in this branch is practically impossible unless a better type of people under supervision are employed in jails and that means changing practically the whole outlook about them.

—

Functions of Union Boards

For good or for evil, union boards have come to stay. How best we can utilize them has been discussed in a paper on "Union Boards and Rural Reconstruction" in *The Bengal Co-operative Journal.* We quote the following extracts from it:

The first and foremost need of the people is education. The advancement of primary education is a matter which the Union Boards may take up under the Act, and in which their funds may be employed. So long as every member of the community is not literate, that is, cannot read and write a simple letter and cannot make simple calculations, no substantial progress is possible in any direction, It is due to the illiteracy of the masses that the co-operative movement has not made more rapid progress in this country. It is nothing short of a national misfortune, therefore, that the Primary Education Act of 1930 has become inoperative on account of the general economic situation and is likely to continue so for some time to come. But because rapid progress is not possible there is no reason why we should not do as much for education as our present circumstances permit. It is true that much depends on the state of our funds and on the assessment which can be made under section 37-B. But some improvement may be effected by utilizing our resources to the utmost, by creating an enthusiasm for education among the masses. The existing school-houses may be improved by collecting bamboo and straw and by organizing local labour, especially of those who may be considered too poor for assessment. The emoluments of the teachers, who are ill-paid, may be improved by the introduction of the system of payment in kind at the time of harvest. Even some new schools may be started with part-time teachers, located in such buildings as may be available without payment. After all, a good and well-ventilated building with its equipment of chairs, benches and tables, though very desirable, is not essential to a good school. We all know that in the school at Santiniketan, established by the Poet Rabindranath Tagore, the classes are held in the open air, the boys squatting on the ground underneath the trees. This

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as also the way in which instruction, even to advanced students, was imparted in the hermitages of ancient India. What is essential is that there should be an enthusiasm for education, not only among the teachers and the pupils, but among the parents and guardians, too. Even in villages where a school exists, we often find that only a small percentage of the boys of school-going age actually attend it. In such cases, it is our duty to investigate the causes that prevent our schools from being properly utilized and to remove those causes. If we can do so, a great step forward will have been taken.

The next duty which the Act has laid upon the Union Boards is to arrange for the sanitary needs of the area. This is indeed a vast subject which cannot be properly dealt with in the compass of a short discourse like this. I shall, therefore confine myself to a few broad questions. In the first place, we are too apt to complain about the inadequacy of our funds, but we should remember that in respect of the prevention of diseases, which is the object aimed at in this case, propaganda and the diffusion of useful knowledge is of great importance. I may be wrong, but enquiries recently made by me have led me to think that sufficient use is not being made of the Sanitary Inspectors and that there is no system of co-relating their functions with the Union Boards. It does not require money to teach people to boil their drinking water when cholera prevails, and to get themselves vaccinated when a small-pox epidemic is apprehended. One of the usual complaints we hears is that the villagers are shunning the vaccinators. It does not similarly cost much money to induce the villagers to keep their houses in a cleaner condition, to throw all the refuse matter into a manure pit, to use mosquito nets, to clear their tanks and rear fish in them, etc., etc. It is never contended that the Union Boards will clear the tanks, fill up the borrow pits in other people's lands and buy mosquito nets for them. Even in the most prosperous days with jute selling at a high price we shall not be rich enough for that. It is primarily a question of education and organization.

—

The Patrol System

The patrol system in scouting is very beneficial to the boys. Mr. N. Mahadeva Aiyer says in *The Educational Review*:

The patrol system, if soundly run, is an efficient organization based upon the modern doctrine of limited brotherhood, guided by the inimitable qualities of leadership. As no scouter, however confident, would venture to risk the dignity of his game by covering his standard through mass training, the greatest curse of our modern schools, a scout troop is generally compact and handy, never exceeding eighteen fellows, who could form into three smart and happy patrols. The leaders are chosen by the members of the respective patrols from among their own numbers and in this function of voting and selection the scouter merely exercises his experience and shrewd judgment of personality, in suggesting the names of the right fellows, who will possess a cheerful magnetism to draw their comrades into mutual trust and confidence. The patrols, so formed, under the leaders lend themselves conveniently to relieve the Scout Master from a great deal of minor details of administration and instruction and patrol responsibility. In all the parades, in outings and in camps or hikes, the scouter should set the patrols to healthy competition among themselves, in order to create a spirit of emulation and romantic rivalry, essential to elevate the tone and standard of patrol efficiency. When the patrols have been soundly organized an initial step towards character building must be searched in their moral recesses, by treating each patrol under its leader, as a responsible unit discharging its duties and practising the sacred code of honour common to the whole brotherhood. This pack or gang organization necessitates that the scouter should not only keep aloof from the centre of their busy arena but cast here and there a timely hit to correct or to refresh the leaders, whose over-enthusiasm or fanaticism at games or instruction may mar efficiency. As the patrol grows in strength and culture through the efforts of its individual members an *esprit de corps* is developed and each fellow cherishes a feeling of pride to enjoy and to increase his sacred share in emulating the honour of his patrol. He would quickly perceive that the joint reputation of his small group is enhanced, in a great measure, by his individual zeal and high standard and when all the fellows co-operate to achieve the same result a high patrol ideal is evolved.

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Where Men are Slaves, How Can Women be Free ?

Stri-Dharma has pertinently asked the above question and says :

When demanding our rights, we have often questioned our men 'where women are slaves, how can men be free ?' After studying the White Paper, we are inclined to reverse the question, where men are slaves, how can women be freed from the shackles of agelong customs and conventions ? Look at the Turkish women, how fast they have advanced and gained their rights ? where purdah and polygamy was the rule, absolute freedom and equality of the sexes has become a common phenomena. Even the once very backward Chinese women have won their freedom, they have secured their inheritance rights, the age of marriage has been raised, polygamy has been prohibited by law, bigamy is punishable and harem for women has become out of date and Chinese women are recruited at the present day to the police and to the army. The Japanese women even though not enjoying the franchise, are as free as women in any other free European country. Therefore, we are convinced that freedom and responsibility alone will bring out all that is best in the individual and in the race and that only under a fully responsible and representative Indian government will Indian men and women attain them full manhood and womanhood.

—

Co-operation among Danish Farmers

The Indian peasant should emulate the co-operation habit of his brother in Denmark, because co-operation is one sure road to prosperity. *The Young Builder* has the following on the subject of Danish farmers' co-operation:

A Danish farmer is connected with a network of co-operative organizations. The rural population of

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Denmark uses its double power as producers and consumers to attain a very complete co-operative welfare. Denmark has not only rural credit societies for the purchase of agricultural requisites, but co-operative societies for the sale of produce also. It "has developed its marketing organizations on co-operative lines in addition to its highly organized system of supply societies." In 1920 Denmark possessed about 5000 co-operative associations, including more than 1600 consumers' societies, 1100 creameries, 40 bacon factories, besides a number of central associations, export associations and co-operative bodies for various minor purposes. The Danish farmer buys his goods at a co-operative stores. He borrows his money from a co-operative credit association. He obtains his seed from a co-operative seed supply, his fertilizers from the Danish co-operative fodder association, his cement from the co-operative cement works, his electricity from an electric company established on a co-operative basis. And when he wants to sell his produce, he sends his milk to the co-operative dairy, his pigs to the co-operative slaughter-house, his eggs to the co-operative egg export, and his cattle to the co-operative agency for cattle export. He places all that he saves in the co-operative saving banks. He get his information about the best breeding stocks from the various breeding associations, and his knowledge regarding the amount of milk each cow should yield from the central unions. He is acquainted with the best and most up-to-date theories of agriculture through consultants appointed by the agricultural unions. Thus the numerous threads by which a modern agricultural undertaking is linked economically with the world around are all spun by a comprehensive system of co-operative organizations. Indeed, Denmark has been the model upon which many of the marketing organizations in the newer countries have been based.

All this has made the Danish farmer a man of culture and technical skill. In fact the co-operative associations of Denmark were started with the idea of educating the public. Added to this is the education which the folk-high schools of Denmark are imparting—the education which strengthens the peseant in his life-work.

These schools are essentially cultural and teach general knowledge, language of the country, history, science, hygiene, hand-work, drawing and gymnastics. The main purpose of this curriculum is to make the Danish pupil acquainted with Danish culture and also to get him a wider understanding of the world.

—

The Hope of Sugar

"The catastrophic fall in the price of paddy has upset the family budgets of hundreds of landlords and thousands of peasants," writes Mr. K. S. Srikanta in *The Mysore Economic Journal*. He wants portions of the arable land to be diverted to sugar-cane cultivation, as the prospects of sugar industry have a bright future in India. He says:

A careful examination of the types and soils in India and the suggestion of suitable commercial crops or substitutes for paddy is what is expected of the Agricultural Department. The protection that the Government has given, it is hoped, will be taken advantage of by the ryots to increase the sugarcane cultivation. Crores of rupees are being sent out India every year for sugar. A league for the Indian Sugar" will have to be soon launched encourage sugar culture; plantains, potatoes, coco cotton and groundnuts should receive the growing attention of the Department. It is therefore necessary that immediate steps are taken to remove the "Paddy-phobia" from among other of our cultivators.

The present position of sugarcane cultivation is, however, very unfortunate. Having 30,00,000 of acres under sugar which is nearly half the world's area under sugar we are still importing large quantities from foreign countries. In fact, while during the period between 1895-99 the output of Indian sugar amounted to nearly 50 per cent of the world's production in 1917-20 it came down to 20 per cent. It is needless to observe that it is nothing short of a tragedy to have such a large area under sugarcane and yet import from foreign countries. In actual India's sugar production per acre is less than one third that of Cuba, one-sixth that of Java and one seventh that of Hawaii. Thus the trouble with Indian sugar today is its inability to face the severe competition. To eliminate this competition, mere increase in the area under sugarcane cultivation won't do. Manufacture of sugar by easy methods is of greater importance than increase of area in the near future. But as matters stand at present, large-scale production of sugar after a factory type would be impossible. It is necessary, therefore, to demonstrate to the ryots the best methods of production on a small scale.

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The Britisher Fights Shy of "Dominion Status" for India

The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri has contributed an interesting article on "The White Paper in the Commons" in *The Indian Review*. The following extracts from this paper will show how the Britisher fights shy of the word "Dominion Status" for India:

It is not safe to judge speeches made in England by the summaries cabled to this country. With this caution one may note a significant feature. Neither the Secretary nor the Under-Secretary of State for India used the phrase 'Dominion Status.' Conservative mentality has no patience with it. A community of Hindus in South India cannot bring themselves to utter the word Narayana lightly. That sacred name, sure bringer of salvation, must be spoken in the ear of a dying person so that it may be the very last thing he hears. So morbid is the caution taken in this regard that it is always uttered after the last breath has left the body. "Is it time to say *that word*?" Is the hushed inquiry that passes round in the room of death. Something of this horror seems to possess the orthodox official of the India Office when the expression 'Dominion Status for India' would occur naturally to the Liberal or Labour politician. Perhaps he fears that it may cause the British Commonwealth to expire. True, too true, it was a Halifax who first let the fatal syllables profane his lips. But was he not then in the service of those enemies of the empire, the blaspheming socialists?

Sir Samuel Hoare warned his hearers solemnly to remember that year after year British statesmen had led India "to believe in the continuous bestow

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of new instalments of constitutional progress." Even while stating the demand made by Indians, he would not use their polluting vocabulary. He asked, paraphrasing their language, "Is it a wonder, with all this ferment in Asia, that India should be raising its voice for recognition and demanding a greater share in its own government?" Mr. Butler's turn came much later in the debate when the Conservatives had been fully awakened to the situation. He thought they could stand a slightly stiffer dose of the dread truth. So he ventured to mention "the idea of evolution of self-government towards ultimate political responsibility." But he shrank from saying *that word*. Once more it was these quixotic Labour men that perpetrated the enormity.

—

Conspiracy Against Indian Aluminium and Utensils Industry

A conspiracy against Indian aluminium and utensils industry has recently been divulged. *Progressive India* offers the following comment on it:

In the letter to the Secretary, Commerce Department, Government of India, New Delhi, a very curious tale of the strangling of the Indian aluminium and utensils industry is unfolded. It appears that a Canadian firm called the Aluminium Limited, of Canada Life Building, of Toronto, Ontario, Canada started the Aluminium Manufacturing Co. Ltd. in India, which produced aluminium untensils sold under the name of *Gold Mohur* brand. This company of thirty-six lakhs capital, has all its shares subscribed by the Canadian Company, with the exception of 20 shares sold to two Swiss gentlemen. Another company, consisting of Continentals from Switzerland, France, Canada, Germany and America, have started another company under the name and style of Jiwanlal (1929) Ltd. an Indian name evidently used for the purpose of deceiving the people.

Now the Canadian and Continental firms, which also contain some British interests, have set out to put all Indian manufacturers out of business. Up to recently, the European Continental firm used to supply raw material to India for the manufacture of untensils in this country. Now that the Canadian and European firms have got together, they are trying to restrict the sale of raw materials to Indian manufacturers, in direct contravention of an agreement with the Indian manufacturers that they would not produce aluminium utensils in India. As soon as these two foreign firms attempted to restrict the supply of raw materials, Indian manufacturers turned to Japan, for them. But since the Ottawa Pact has discriminated against Japan and given preference to Empire goods, the Indian manufacturer finds himself on the brink of destruction. The Continental firm has taken advantage of the Ottawa Pact by retaining some British shareholders.

It is possible to understand that certain allowance may be or should be made to British interests in India, but it passes comprehension why Indian manufacturers should be made to suffer and be put at the mercy of Continental interests, indeed, why should a struggling industry be exposed to the mercy of other parts of the Empire? Surely, India, as it now stands, is also a part of the British Empire, and perhaps the greatest part, and should not be sacrificed, to the interests of other parts of the Empire. So far as we can understand, each part of the British Empire is struggling to go ahead, then why should India, also struggling, be sacrificed to the other portions of the Empire?

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The Use of Printed Matter in Soviet Russia

Dr. James C. Manry has given his impressions of Soviet Russia in *The young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon*. Regarding the use of printed matter there he says:

Books, pamphlets and papers pour forth in a perfect stream in Russia today. Most of the books are cheaply got up, and paper-bound. The newspapers are unattractive when judged by the standards of Indian, British or American papers. But they have a single ideology, and all reinforce each other in building up a specific civic and economic attitude.

One of the purchases I made in a State bookshop in Moscow was a copy of the "Five-Year Plan Calendar for 1931." This is a wall-calendar with one five-day week to the page. On each page is an effective cartoon in colours, with a title or slogan, such as "Average Industrial Wages in the U. S. S.R. 1928-33," or "Development of Aviation in the Five-Year Plan." Then follow the days of the month and the days of the week. For almost every day is given at least one annotation showing what revolutionary anniversary falls on that day. Some days are anniversaries of two or three great historic events. I tabulated these references, and found that about ninety per cent of them are to events since 1905, a few to events in the last century, and only a scattering one or two to all previous times! The American youngster thinks of real history as beginning in or about 1776 or perhaps 1492. But the Russian youngster will think of real history as beginning only the day before yesterday. The time perspective built into the young enforces the lesson that a world is being born. On the back of each sheet of the calendar is some red-hot propaganda. The space is too precious to leave blank.

If one desires to read a sample or two of what passes as literature in the Russia of today. I may mention that I secured two Bolshevik novels in translation, huge amorphous things, with no hero except Revolution. They are "Brusski, A Soviet Peasant Epic," by F. Panferov, and "Cement," by Feodor V. Gladkov. Both are published by Martin Laurence, Ltd., 26, Bedford Row, London, W. C. I. and cost a shilling or two, with sixpence postage. These are not pleasant reading, but they show what sort of fiction circulates in Soviet Russia today. Another novel, "Three Pairs of Silk Stockings," by Panteleimon Romanof, published in English translation by Scribners in 1931, serves to show the breakdown of the morale of the members of the old intelligentsia.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

A Parable for Japan

The ineptitude of the League in the face of the Sino-Japanese dispute prompts the *New Statesman and Nation* to withering satire :

May 1. Night attack on Stockholm by 500 large Eskimo bombers. Stockholm destroyed. M. Avenol summons Council of League.

May 3. Meeting of Council, M. Benes proposes vote of a million gold francs for relief of Stockholm refugees. (Markets shaken.) British Delegation approves in principle, but insists on reduction of sum to £5. Eskimo Delegation, on point of order, claims that Swedes have no right to attend the Council since Sweden, having no capital, is no longer a nation. On motion of Sir J. Simon the point referred to Committee of Jurists, and Council adjourned.

May 6. Paris press urges necessity of clear thinking. Since Sweden is no longer a nation there is no question before the League. Will not the League's precipitate generosity perhaps galvanize into life an embarrassing corpse ?

May 8. *The Times* in a reassuring leader explains that, owing to difficulties of transfer, the whole £5 is to lie in the vaults of the Bank of England earmarked for use of Stockholm refugees. It is hoped by operation of Aliens Act none of them will be able to get at it. Relief in Paris and London.

May 9. Mass demonstration in Hyde Park against extravagance of League.

May 14. Jurists recommend that Swedish delegates, if still alive, should sit provisionally, while question referred to International Court. The rest of Sweden, factories, towns, etc., destroyed.

May 15. At the Council the Grand Eskimo makes formal complaint against Sweden. Impossible for Eskimos to live at peace with a neighbouring country in which disorder reigns, the towns are in ruins, the sanitation shocking, the so-called inhabitants mostly dead, and the newspapers full of anti-Eskimo feeling. Eskimo intervention an absolute necessity. Sir J. Simon deprecates precipitate action ; Commission appointed to inquire into facts. Council adjourned.

May 16—June 1. Renewed demonstrations in Hyde Park. Grand banquet of 1,000 persons in Albert Hall to protest against extravagance of League. Lord Cecil burnt in effigy.

June 7. *The Observer* denounces the 'disastrous precipitancy' of the Council. *Times* defends the League and observes that, after all, the Commission of Inquiry may never report, so that no harm will have been done.

June 8. Deputation of all religions to Prime Minister, who replies : 'Ah, my friends ! If only I and my old friend, the Grand Eskimo, could smoke a quiet pipe together in the chimney corner !' (Markets recover).

June 9. Commission reports : Eskimos have 'resorted to war' in breach of Covenant ; have 'used force for the settlement of a dispute' contrary to Kellogg Pact ; used poision gas contrary to Gas Convention.

June 10. Disappointment and indignation in Paris and London. *Observer* considers Commission's report maniacal. *Times* proposes that report, while treated with all respect, should be taken as read and not discussed further.

June 11. Meeting of Council. M. Madariaga proposes Eskimos be expelled from League and subjected to economic blockade under Article XVI. Sir J. Simon urges circumspection. The Eskimo air force is extremely powerful. It cannot strictly be said that Eskimos have 'resorted to war' in breach of Covenant, since they have scrupulously refrained from declaring war. Neither have they 'used force for the settlement of a dispute' for it seems clear that there was no dispute at all between them and Sweden. It seems also inaccurate to say that they used 'poison gas,' since the gas they used was an ordinary industrial product, perfectly harmless to those who were provided with the proper masks. It was also most difficult to obtain first-hand information since those Swedes who were present during the alleged bombardment are all dead. He proposed a resolution :

The Council expresses sympathy with the relatives of the deceased and regrets that the improvidence of the Swedish Government in not supplying their subjects with gas masks has led to such unfortunate results.

The Grand Eskimo said he was most anxious for conciliation, but if any such one-sided resolution were passed the Eskimos would have to leave the League. The words 'sympathy', 'regrets', and 'unfortunate' were particularly painful to Eskimo feelings. He proposed—

The Council censures the improvidence of the Swedish Government, but could make no further concession.

In a conciliatory speech M. Paul-Boncour observed that France was the soldier of humanity and marched head erect, toward the ideal. (Applause).

Danish delegate referred to order circulated through the Eskimo army : 'Copenhagen next,' and asked what exactly was meant.

Sir J. Simon said the phrase was evidently used in a purely geographical sense. An expert committee of geographers appointed to study and report.

The Grand Eskimo said he expected his resolution to be accepted unanimously. Unanimity at last attained by omitting from the resolution all words except 'The Council censures improvidence.'

June 12. Copenhagen destroyed by Eskimo bombers. Danes demand League intervention.

June 13. Sir J. Simon says events have shown the wisdom of a patient and conciliatory attitude. He points out that the Stockholm Commission has not yet sent in its final report ; it would be obviously improper to form conclusions about the second incident until the first was settled.

So it goes on to a suitable climax.

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Freud on Bolshevism

The Living Age has the following note on Freud's opinion on Bolshevism:

Because Sigmund Freud has revealed certain unconscious motives that animate the individual just as Karl Marx discovered similar unsuspected motives in society as a whole, the work of the two men has often been compared and sociologists have regretted that Freud did not devote himself to their field. But Freud's latest book, *Neue Folge der Vorlesungen zur Einfuhrung in die Psychoanalyse*, contains the following analysis of Bolshevism, which helps to fil the gap:

"As incorporated in Russian Bolshevism, theoretic Marxism has achieved the energy, determination, and single-mindedness of a world philosophy, but it has also developed a strange similarity to the very thing that it is attacking. Originally a form of science and built upon an extension of science and technique, it has nevertheless prohibited free thought just as relentlessly as religion once did. Critical study of Marx's theory is forbidden. Doubt of its accuracy is persecuted just as the Catholic Church used to persecute heresy. The works of Marx have become a source of revelation and hold a position corresponding to that of the Bible and the Koran, although they are no less free from contradictions and obscurities than these older religious books.

"Although practical Marxism has relentlessly rejected all idealistic systems and delusions, it has encouraged illusions of its own that are no less dubious and incapable of proof than more ancient illusions. It hopes in the course of a few generations to alter human nature to such an extent that men will live together in the new social order almost without friction and will work without compunction. Meanwhile, it is shifting into other channels the instinctual restrictions that are inevitable in any form of society and it is turning outward the aggressive tendencies that threaten the existence of every human society, Practical Marxism is based on the hostility of the poor to the rich of the previously powerless to the previous controllers of power. But such a transformation of human nature is very difficult. The enthusiasm with which the masses follow the stimulation of Bolshevism while the new order is still immature and threatened from abroad does not promise security for the time when the new order is completely established and no longer in danger. Like religion, Bolshevism must recompense its believers for their tribulations and sufferings in this life by promising them a better future in which all needs will be satisfied. This paradise shall be here in this world and shall come to pass in the not distant future. But remember that the Jewish religion is not concerned with a future life but promises the arrival of the Messiah here on earth; and that mediæval Christians also believed that the kingdom of God was at hand.

There is no doubt what answer Bolshevism would make to these reproaches. It would say that as the nature of man has not yet been transformed one must use the methods that are effective to-day. The use of compulsion in education, the prohibition of free thought, and the application of force even up to the point of bloodshed cannot be dispensed with, and, if illusions were not aroused in people, they could not be brought to accept this compulsion. Bolshevism might also politely inquire what other methods we had to suggest, whereupon we should find ourselves in a difficult situation. I should have no advice to give. I should have to admit that the requirements of this experiment had kept me and people like me from undertaking it, but we are not the only people on whom it depends. There are also men of action who are firm in their convictions, untouched by doubts, and insensitive to the sufferings of those who stand in the way of their ambitions, and it is such men who are making the tremendous attempt to establish a new order in Russia

"At a time when the great nations are proclaiming that they expect salvation only by remaining true to Christian piety, the upheaval in Russia, in spite of all its unpleasant details, stands out as the promise of a better future. Nevertheless, neither our own doubt nor the fanatical belief of others gives us any idea of how the experiment is going to turn out. That remains to be seen, and the future may perhaps prove that the attempt was undertaken too soon, that a far-reaching transformation of the social order has but slight chance of success as long as the new discoveries that give us control over the forces of nature have not advanced further."

—

An Incident of the New Sino-Japanese War

The defence of Chapei was a military episode of which the Chinese people might well be proud. An article in *The People's Tribune* shows that the Jehol campaign, which ended in the defeat of the Chinese forces was not without heroic episodes of the same kind:

The continuous artillery and aerial bombardment by the crack units of the Imperial Japanese Army, has, so far, been unable to dislodge the gallant soldiers under General Sung Chih-Yuan, a former subordinate of General Feng Yu-Hsiang, from their stronghold at Hsifengkow. To be sure, the Japanese invaders, letting loose the fury and hell of modern scientific weapons of war, must have inflicted tremendous casualties upon these ill-equipped and poorly clad Chinese troops who have not only managed to hold their own position, but also carried out successful counter-attacks and on occasion put the enemy to flight. But even conceding that the casualties have been 10 to 1 in favour of the Japanese, which is unlikely, the latter must have by now ample cause to regret the tremendous losses in consequence of the furious but unsuccessful attack upon this important strategic point near the Great Wall. The dogged determination of General Sung's men to hold their position at all costs and their readiness to make the supreme sacrifice in the face of a vastly superior force have baffled the Japanese military and driven them to resort to the threat of extending hostilities inside the Wall in the hope of forcing a tactical withdrawal. This latter measure the Imperial Japanese General Staff has so far failed to carry out and latest reports from the North seem to indicate a change of tactics on the part of the invaders.

There seems no other explanation for the success of General Sung's men in entrenching themselves in their present position than sheer bravery—the type of superb bravery which President Wang Ching-Wei refers to in his article as pitting flesh and blood against the world's most deadly weapons of war. For this reason, critics have compared the battle of Hsifengkow to the battle of Verdun. General Sung

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probably has never heard of the historic order of General Petain. "*They shall not apass* !"—and the Japanese invaders did not pass, even over the dead bodies of the gallant heroes.

—

A Paradox of Modern Education

The Catholic World quotes the following from Aldous Huxley about one of the effects of the modern accumulation of knowledge :

Science advances from discovery to discovery, political and economic changes follow one another with a bewildering rapidity. The educated have to "keep up." They are so busy keeping up that they seldom have time to read any author who thinks and feels and writes with style. In a rapidly changing age, there is a real danger that being well-informed may prove incompatible with being cultivated. To be well-informed one must read quickly a great number of merely instructive books. To be cultivated one must read slowly and with a lingering appreciation the comparatively few books that have been written by men who lived, thought and felt with style.

—

The Population Problem of Europe

Robert R. Kuczynski is the author of a monumental work in two volumes, on the population problems of Europe. A review of the second volume of this book in *Political Science Quarterly* summarizes its conclusions :

In Volume I of this series (The Macmillan Company, 1928), familiarity with which is recommended as essential to an understanding of this study, Kuczynski demonstrated through the statistical device of the net reproduction rate that in northern and western European countries 100 mothers bore only 93 future mothers in 1926. The well-founded conclusion was that the continuation of the fertility and mortality of 1926 would lead eventually to the extinction of the population of that region.

The volume under review examines the reproductivity of the populations of eastern and southern European countries in so far as the availability of birth statistics permits. The trends of fertility and mortality are shown to have followed a course quite similar to the tendencies manifest in northern and western Europe. During the last few decades both have fallen but the extent of the decline has not been the same in all countries nor has the decrease in mortality corresponded equally, in all instances, with the drop in fertility rates. The result is that the populations of the various countries studied reveal marked differences in their prospects of maintaining an increase in the future. Of all the populations considered that of Russia may be expected to increase for years to come. The net reproduction rate of Russia's population in 1929 was 1. 7, that is, 100 mothers bore nearly 170 future mothers. Of the populations of south-western Europe statistics for Bulgaria alone are adequate to allow the computation of net reproduction rates before and since the war. From 1906-1910, the net reproduction rate of Bulgaria's population was 1. 75. By 1929 it had fallen to 1. 29. Fertility and net reproduction have declined in central Europe also. The net reproduction rate in Poland, in Lithuania and in the eastern provinces of Czechoslovakia compares with that of Bulgaria. In Hungary it was 1.2 in 1929 while in Austria, in the western provinces of Czechoslovakia, in Esthonia and in Latvia population is not reproducing itself. The populations of South-western Europe, notably those of Italy, Portugal and Spain, are shown to be reproducing themselves only moderately. In fact, it appears, as the author points out (p. 63) that except for Russia "there seems no country left in Europe with more than an average of four children to a woman passing through child-bearing age; in some countries the average is as low as two." In spite of the vigorous campaign that has been carried out under the Fascist regime for a higher birth rate, the decline of fertility in Italy has been sufficient to warrant the assumption (p. 59) that "if fertility and mortality should continue to develop for another decade as they have in the last decade, the population will no longer hold its own." Even more interesting is the author's significant observation relating to the theory not infrequently encountered, that there is a high correlation between illiteracy and fertility. The case of Portugal is cited in contrast with this view. According to the census of 1921, 56 per cent of the male population of Portugal and 73 per cent of the female population could not read, "and yet fertility is far from being high" (p. 59).

—

Human Nature in Soviet Russia

In *The New Republic* Mr. E. C. Lindeman discusses the question: Is human nature changing in Russia ? His main conclusions are:

In the first place, there is stability in contemporary Russia and there is solidarity. Revolutionary vigilance tends to relax in all spheres because there is no longer any real danger of counter-revolutionary movements from within. Besides, there exist an enthusiasm, particularly among the youth, which implies more than passive adjustment. The primary hungers are not satisfied ; food is scarce and its quality is poor ; housing and sanitation are deplorably inadequate and clothing is generally deficient. One may explain the extraordinary patience and incredible enthusiasm of the people on the basis of three facts; (a) economic security within the present standard exists for all workers, including a job, insurance against sickness, accidents and old age ; (b) the technological programme and a systematic scheme of distribution to raise the standard of living have already proved successful enough to hold forth a real promise for the future ; and (c) failure to satisfy the primary hungers does not produce a negative reaction because there are other goals which have thus far served to release energies and to promote faith.

The last-mentioned point calls for further elaboration. Ordinary hardships are not difficult to bear so long as people are imbued with belief in a distant ideal. And contemporary Russians certainly have faith—both in the goal which they have set for themselves and in their world mission. During Cultural Olimpics last year some fifty thousand Russian youths chanted over and over ; "We are changing the world, we are changing the world, we are changing the world." This fervour which makes the present hardships endurable cannot, patently, last for long. It will flag when a rising standard

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...ring brings contentment, or when the non-...unist world demonstrates an effective resistance ...Russian formula of social change. What is ...more likely to happen, it seems to me, is ...Soviet Russia will win partial success for its ...alistic programme by moving gradually to the ...while many of the capitalist nations of the ...may adjust by moving toward the Left.

...found in Russia many evidences of the latter ...but perhaps one illustration will suffice to ...my meaning clear. In conversation with two ...inists in a Russian factory, one an American ...one British, I finally asked this question : "If ...could be sure of a good job back home, would ...prefer to be there ?" Both were show to respond, ...finally the American workman began : "I don't ...how Jack feels about it, but if I had only ...to consider and if I could be sure of getting ...a job as I have here, I'd go back home. ...I had to give up all the securities and the ...and educational advantages which go with my ...here, I'd rather stay."

...must be remembered that this man lived in a ...in which he could not own private property ; ...jects for which he might expend his earnings ...consumption goods and cultural enjoyments. ...reminding him of this cirumstance I asked ...he meant by "securities and social and educa-...al advantages." He thereupon explained the ...ation which he received through the factory and ...ch his trade union, the social life of his work-...club, and concluded by saying : "Two years ago ...was seriously ill with pneumonia. I received ...care for six months. At the close of this ...I returned to the factory and reported for ...My factory physician suggested that I ought ...are a further period of rest and recuperation ...I was then sent to a rest home in the southern ...ains for three more months. When I finally ...back my job was awaiting me, I had accumu-...no hospital or doctor's bills, and in fact I ...suffered no economic setback of any kind. ...where else could I find that sort of security ?"

...it not obvious in this case that this worker's ...called human nature had changed ? Why should ...develop the habits of acquisitiveness when he ...already found greater security through collec-...tion than he would be likely to find in a ...which provides at best a precarious security ...to those who own property ?

...institution, homosexuality and suicide were ...manifestations in pre-revolutionary Russia ...the observer would have been correct in assum-...that these were elements of that part of ...nature which the Russian folk embodied. ...these aspects of civilization are now disappearing. ...? Because the principles of mental hygiene ...been applied to social, economic and legal ...sses. Enthusiastic promoters of this programme ...proclaim that their goal is to eliminate neuroses ...ly. When the inquirer recovers from the shock ...this bold announcement and asks how this ...ious goal is to be achieved, he receives a simple ...ver. The Russian mental-hygiene programme ...ts of three parts ; namely, (*i*) the elimination ...anized religion with its accompanying fears, ...ation of guilt feelings and psychologically ...ed procedures of atonement, (*ii*) the legalizing ...forms of sex conduct except those involving ...ns between adults and children, and (*iii*) the ...ation of psychology to labour for the purpose of furnishing every worker with emotional satisfaction in his work.

There can be little doubt, it seems to me, that such a programme, if carried out as a broad-scaled social policy, would result in marked changes in human behaviour. Suicide, prevalent even so late as 1926 in Russia, has already all but disappeared. In other words, the incidence of suicide diminished in Soviet Russia during the period when it rose in the United States.

—

Conversations with Mussolini

Emil Ludwig has embodied his talks with Mussolini in a new book. The substance of these conversations is given in a review in *The New Republic* :

Mussolini, in his conversations with Ludwig admits his will to power and indicates frankly enough his romantic self-dramatization as the successor of the Caesars. When questioned as to whether from his point of view his "fellow human beings deserve sympathy rather than contempt," he answers : "more sympathy, more compassion ; much more compassion." But when asked whether he still feels that "the masses ought not to know, but to believe," he replies : "It is faith that moves mountains, not reason. Reason is a tool, but it can never be the motive force of the crowd. Today less than ever. Today people have not so much time as they used to have. The capacity of the modern man for faith is illimitable. When the masses are like wax in my hands, when I stir their faith, or when I mingle with them and am almost crushed by them, I feel myself to be a part of them. All the same, there persists in me a certain feeling of aversion, like that which the modeller feels for the clay he is moulding. Does not the sculptor sometimes smash his block of marble into fragments because he cannot shape it to represent the vision he has conceived ? Now and then this crude matter rebels against the creator !" "Of course, every anarchist," he assures Ludwig, "is a dictator who has missed fire."

On the subject of Marxism he is coy. He tells Ludwig that in his early days he used to carrry a medallion of Marx as a talisman ; but when asked what he thinks of Marx now, he answers merely, "That he had a profound critical intelligence and was in some sense even a prophet"—and quickly slips away from the subject : "But at that time, in Switzerland, I had little chance of discussing such matters," etc. Yet the sometime Marxist still remembers what he has learned. Ludwig remarks that an important public personage, evidently President Hoover, has assured him that the present crisis is a mere temporary depression like the preceding ones. "To my mind," says Mussolini, "It is something more momentous than that, a crisis of the capitalist system. The whole system is at stake." And to Ludwig's query as to why the United States should display so little interest in politics, he answers that it only goes to show "how capitalism destroys the political instinct. The country in which capitalism has reached its climax is the most unpolitical in the world. Every four years the inhabitants arise from their slumbers to get excited about some such question as whether more liquor shall be drunk or less. Then the defeated candidate wires congratulations to the elected President. Fairplay, perhaps ; but it is not political warfare...Capitalism has

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swallowed political interest. Now the world is only interested in money. People think of nothing but their own money and that of others."—"I asked him whether it were true that in the Carta del Lavoro he had himself inserted a clause to the effect that private initiative was the most effective stimulus to production. 'That is so,' he answered...'But I also insisted that when private initiative fails, the State must intervene. The Carta del Lavoro lies outside the range of capitalism.' " But though he admits that this state intervention is increasing, he refuses to call it State Socialism.

Yet one realizes in reading these interviews that it is not absolutely impossible that, if Musssolini finds the times pressing him, he may, as certain observers of Fascism have suggested, attempt to work around from Fascism to Socialism. Ludwig asks him why he doesn't "found Europe." "You seem more ready to accept the heritage than you were five years ago You might become the leading figure of the twentieth century !"—"True," he replies, "I am nearer to this idea than I was five years ago. But the time is not yet ripe. The crisis has first to be intensified. New revolutions will come and it is as their sequel that the type of the European of tomorrow will be established."—"Will the capitalists continue to obey ?" asks Ludwig.—"The capitalists will go on doing as they are told, down to the very end. They have no option and cannot put up any fight. Capital is not God ; it is only a means to an end."

But suppose the capitalists don't obey. And in any case the capitalists outside Italy have no Mussolini to command them. He does not seem sanguine about the prospects of Fascism in any country other than Italy. And since these conversations occurred, the emergence of the Charlie Chaplin moustache and the Harry K. Thaw gabblings of Hitler must have caused him some moments of uneasiness.

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Pacifism at Oxford

The recent pacifistic resolution of the Oxford Union is discussed by *The World Tomorrow* :

The vote was 275 for and 153 against the motion that "this House will in no circumstances fight for its King and Country," and the place was the famous Oxford Union. And even more striking was the vote of 750 to 136 against the subsequent motion of Randolph Churchill to expunge the resolution from the minutes.

In commenting upon the journalistic response to the first pacifist vote, the *New Statesman and Nation* says: "Seldom have we seen anything more diverting than the rage and astonishment caused by the Oxford Union resolution. The pages of the *Telegraph* and *Morning Post* are wet with the tears of sexagenarian Oxonians lamenting over the decadence of their *alma mater*." The former periodical also publishes an illuminating article by Mr. F. M. Hardie, president of the Oxford-Union, from which the following words are taken.

In the last year or two the swing to the Left among students of politics at Oxford has been very striking... In October, 1931, the Oxford University Labour Club did not hesitate to ask Mr. MacDonald to resign his position as President of the Club, and appointed Mr. G. D. H. Cole in his place... The Labour Club now has a membership of nearly five hundred, and that it holds a well-attended [illegible] every week is, in view of the innumerable [illegible] the time of an Oxford undergraduate, a very [illegible] able achievement... The Thursday Club, a [illegible] club for Labour dons, has a membership of [illegible] thirty and forty, mostly men under the [illegible] thirty, most of them definite Socialists: it [illegible] (though here I am open to correction) that no [illegible] economist can be found to support the [illegible] Government...

The October Club, a definitely Co[illegible] organization, held its first meeting in January [illegible] When it was founded it was in most Oxford [illegible] regarded as a joke and not a particularly [illegible] and it was confidently prophesied that [illegible] founder went down the club would collapse. [illegible] it now has a membership of between two and [illegible] hundred ..

In October, 1931...the House [Oxford U[illegible]] voted by a majority of sixty-seven that [illegible] Socialism lies the only solution to the [illegible] facing this country." No such motion had [illegible] before been carried. The process of the [illegible] the Left has been continued this term.

The Manchester University Union likewise a[illegible] by a vote of 371 to 196, a motion "that this [illegible] will under no circumstances fight for its Ki[illegible] Country.

With enthusiasm we direct the attenti[illegible] American college students and professors to [illegible] leftward swing in British universities.

—

Vitamins and Industry

Scientific American has the following note [illegible] the role of vitamins in industrial production:

It is estimated that the 36,000,000 wage ea[illegible] in the United States are absent from their [illegible] because of illness at least 250,000,000 working [illegible] per year. The Metropolitan Life Insurance Co[illegible] found that common colds are among the [illegible] sources of lost time (6700 employees) amounti[illegible] 420,7 per 1000 employees for the year.

In view of recognized anti-infective valu[illegible] vitamin A, it seemed logical to consider the possi[illegible] of decreasing the lost time of those dependent [illegible] industrial employment for a livelihood by supp[illegible] ing the dietary with material rich in vitam[illegible] Accordingly, an investigation has been co[illegible] to determine whether using cod-liver oil [illegible] supplement to the usual home diet would [illegible] definite economic value for decreasing lost [illegible] caused by colds and similar infections. The re[illegible] the experiment are reported in a recent iss[illegible] *Industrial and Engineering Chemistry.*

One hundred and eighty-five persons serv[illegible] subjects of the experiment (115 women and 70 [illegible] The control group of 128 persons contained 88 w[illegible] and 40 men. The members of the experim[illegible] group were given one tablespoonful of cod-liv[illegible] daily, during the morning or afternoon rest p[illegible] as a supplement to their usual home dietary.

A daily record was made of all instances of [illegible] or absence of subjects. From these data a com[illegible] was made of the number of subjects who de[illegible] colds during the experiment. It is interesti[illegible] note that 102 members of the cod-liver oil gro[illegible] 42 members of the control group did not [illegible] colds during the experiment. For the purp[illegible]

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...arison, however, these data have been reduced ...percentage basis. A consideration of the values ...1 per cent for the cod-liver oil group and ...per cent for the control group reveals a decided ...ence in the occurrence of colds, for 67.2 per cent ...controls developed colds during the experiment ...only 44.9 per cent of the cod-liver oil group ...ped colds during the same period.

The number of hours of absence per person during the experiment was 12.8 for the cod-liver oil group and 25.1 for the control group. In other words, the subjects of the cod-liver oil group were absent during the period of experiment only half as many hours as the subjects of the control group.

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR INDIA

On the 24th March 1933, a private ...ing of the International Committee for ...was held, and it was decided to send two ...tions to the British Prime Minister and Secretary of State for India. One of ...resolutions relate to the Meerut trial and ...ther is on the White Paper. The texts of ...resolutions are given below.

LETTER SENT TO :

Right Honourable J. Ramsay MacDonald ...Prime Minister, London, 11 Downing Street.

...Right Honourable Sir Samuel Hoare, ...ary of State for India, London, India Office.

I enclose a resolution passed by the Spring ...rence of our International Committee on ...n Affairs. The peace between Great ...in and India, both members of the League ...Nations, is considered by our Conference to ...international object concerning all nations ...involving the future relations between ...e and Asia. Therefore we beg to submit ...this resolution.

For the Committee
(Sd.) Ellen Horup
Hon. Secretary.

...eva, March 28, 1933.

RESOLUTIONS

Passed by the Conference on India on March 23rd, 1933

This Conference of the International Committee on Indian affairs having considered the White Paper and having noted the overwhelming nature of the safeguards for Imperial rule that are therein provided expresses the hope that in the coming discussions on the Bill to be laid before Parliament provision will be made for a real measure of self government for India.

It urges the release of all political prisoners so that all the real leaders of the Indian masses can take part in the discussion on terms of complete equality.

The International Committee on Indian affairs has learned with profound regret the heavy sentences passed on the Meerut prisoners, after an unduly protracted trial, for the organizing of trade unions among Indian workers.

It urges the British Government, for the sake of the good name of Britain among the nations, to secure their immediate release.

BOULEVARD DES TRANCHEES 46 I

GENEVA

For the Committee
(Sd.) Ellen Horup
Hon. Secretary
Comité International Pour l'Inde

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INDIAN WOMANHOOD

MRS. NELLIE SEN-GUPTA, wife of Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta, has been elected Alderman to the Corporation of Calcutta. It is for the first time that a woman has been elected to this office in the Corporation.

Mrs. Nellie Sen-Gupta

Mrs. Kumudini Bose

MISS JYOTIRMOYI GANGULI, M. A. and KUMUDINI BOSE, B. A. have been Councillors to the Corporation of Calcutta are the first among women in Bengal to municipal elections successfully. An account of her experiences of the election by MISS GANGULI appears on page 34 issue.

Miss Jyotirmoyi Ganguli

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NOTES

When Will India Be Free ?

Many Indians hope that India will be free. Many have even the firm faith that she will be free. But perhaps no one can say when and how she will be free. There are those who doubt if India will ever be free. There may be some who think that she will never be free. And, lastly, there are the people who are too backward, too ignorant, too indifferent to politics, or too non-politically minded to think of the country's dependence or freedom. It is not possible to estimate the numerical strength of these different sections of the population. But there is no doubt that political consciousness has been growing very fast even among the illiterate masses, who form 92 per cent of the people of India.

Though it is impossible to say definitely when and how India will be free, it is not difficult to discover the obstacles standing in the way of her freedom. When these are removed or weakened, India may be free.

Whatever stands in the way of Indian unity is an obstacle to India's freedom.

There are among Indians many divisions and sub-divisions of many kinds. They are so well known that it is unnecessary to mention all of them. Only some comparatively new kinds of divisions will be referred to here.

The people of India have been divided into martial and non-martial classes, and the country into martial and non-martial provinces. But neither in India, nor in any other country, are whole classes of people martial or non-martial. Even among those who may be called non-martial, there have been individuals quite as brave and martial as the bravest among those who have been styled "warlike," and among the latter there have been individuals noted for their timidity and faint-heartedness. There is no province of India which has not produced warlike fighters and military leaders.

Those provinces and classes which are considered non-martial resent such discrimination for various reasons. It is based on untruth. It is a reflection on their character because of the implication that they do not possess courage. It deprives them of the right and frees them from the duty of defending their country and to that extent degrades them and makes them inferior to and dependent on those who are classed as martial. And, lastly, though they pay taxes just like, and perhaps more than, the warlike, they are deprived of the economic advantage of being connected with the army.

The resentment, referred to above, felt by those who have been classified as non-martial, is natural. But pan-Indian patriotism requires that the provinces and classes called martial should also condemn this sort of grouping and demand that the army should be recruited solely on the basis of physical fitness and other requisite qualifications, irrespective of provinces and classes. When the provinces and classes called martial have risen to this height of pan-Indian patriotism, overcoming economic selfishness and provincial and class vanity, then one obstacle to India's freedom will disappear. But up till now the provinces and classes receiving preferential treatment have not raised their voice against the division of the provinces and their inhabitants into martial and non-martial.

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The rulers of the Indian States, and some States' people also, want more seats in the Central Legislature than their population would entitle them to. When they will see the injustice of such desire and will demand only equal treatment with the Provinces, then another obstacle to Indian freedom will disappear.

Some provinces are given preferential treatment in the matter of the allotment of seats in the Central Legislature, on the ground of their alleged exclusive importance, the implication being that the other provinces are unimportant. This sort of preferential treatment of some provinces and the consequent discrimination against some other provinces, are a feature of the present Montagu-Chelmsford constitution of India, and they are also a feature of the constitution proposed in the White Paper. When the provinces which have received this favour and most probably will receive it in the coming constitution, will themselves condemn this sort of discriminatory arrangement and scorn to receive such favours at the hands of imperialistic masters, valuing real equality and fraternity with Indians of all provinces more than any such favours, then, and not till then, will disappear yet another obstacle to India's freedom. But as yet, not even the most eminent patriots of the favoured provinces have advised their fellow-provincials to repudiate such favours.

In the present Montagu-Chelmsford constitution some classes and religious communities have received weightage at the expense of other classes and religious communities. It has been proposed to perpetuate and extend this kind of injustice. This sort of discriminatory treatment has been resented by those who have suffered. But it is not enough that they should resent. Pan-Indian patriotism demands that those who have been the recipients of favours should scorn to receive them. When they not only cease to "demand" (which means pray for) favours but actually spurn them, then, but not till then, will disappear yet another obstacle to India's freedom.

When favours cease to be a temptation to States, provinces, communities and classes and when they are rejected by those who have hitherto craved and received them, then India will surely be on the way to freedom.

"The New Statesman and Nation" on the White Paper

The New Statesman and Nation attaches the greatest importance to the establishment of a democratic federal government in India. It says :

> "Taking a long view, the setting up of a democratic Federal Government for three hundred and fifty million people may well be the most important event of this decade. The future of Asia and of Western civilization depend upon the success or failure of this scheme. The new constitution will not be an experiment, like the Morley-Minto or the Montagu reforms. One a Federal Government has come into being, it will begin, if it is any good at all, to develop a vitality of its own. Its connections with England will be modified by precedents and by the force of circumstances. However unsatisfactory may be the surroundings of its birth, nothing can alter the basic fact that a new and immensely important entity is to be brought into being. The Indian Federal Government may be a stable and powerful factor in world politics when the whole structure of European society has been altered out of recognition."

All this might be true on the assumption that a genuinely democratic federal government was going to be set up in India.

But our British contemporary itself has noted that such an assumption would be unwarranted, as its following observations show :

> "Nothing could be less inspiring than the bald announcement of this event in the official White Paper. It is a typical production of the India Office, written by people ignorant of India and out of sympathy with her people. Here is a document of overwhelming importance to every inhabitant of India, yet it was obviously drawn up without the faintest regard to its effect upon the millions in that country, but only with an eye to a handful of disgruntled Conservative politicians and a few retired and senile Officials. The most powerful factor in present-day Indian politics is distrust of British intentions, the fear—well justified by many incidents in the past—that the Government of India will, in Lord Lytton's phrase of fifty years ago, 'take every means to their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear.' In order to placate a few Englishmen nothing has been done to dispel this fear. The date of inauguration of the new constitution is always held to be a vital point, but it is left dependent upon such uncertain factors as the 'successful' working of a reserve bank which has still to be founded, and the restoration of 'India's normal export surplus.' The insistence upon half the States joining the Federation also suggests to Indian minds the possibility of delay and intrigue.

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"The drafting of the White Paper with the primary object of satisfying Conservative elements in England has led to an absurd over-emphasis upon the question of 'safeguards' and to an ambiguity which can only be intentional."

The British weekly then proceeds to make adverse comments on the safe-guards dealing with finance and with defence and on the manner in which the White Paper has stressed the emergency powers of the Viceroy and the Governors. It supports the non-exclusion of "Law and Order" from the authority of the Provincial Ministers, but proceeds to observe:

"In order, however, to meet Conservative criticism the White Paper states that in the Instrument of Instructions for Provincial Governors a direction will be inserted 'that he should bear in mind the close connection between his special responsibility for peace and tranquillity and the internal administration and discipline of the Police.' One has only to imagine a future Governor with the mentality of a Lord Lloyd, or even of a Lord Curzon, to foresee endless friction with the Minister in charge of Home affairs."

The proposals dealing with the future of the Indian Civil Service, etc., have also been criticized. In conclusion, however, the British paper desires that Indians should make the best of a bad bargain by working or working under the constitution proposed to be given to them.

"Glaring as these defects are, we should not be blind to the immense potentialities of the new scheme. Although Federal India has, alas, only Mrs. Gamp for a midwife, there is no reason to despair of her future if she can survive the first few years. Safe-guards and emergency powers are defects of the transitional period only, even if Sir Samuel Hoare has not the courage to say so in public. If, in every provincial capital and in Delhi, Indians will only enter their Legislatures, will use their powers boldly and with a full recognition of certain special difficulties which democracy must face in India, they will find that the English, fully occupied with their own political and economic difficulties, will increasingly leave them to their own devices. The few hundred British Officials, brought up under the old regime, will be either assimilated or will retire. After a few years the Governors and the Viceroy will be as powerless to act unconstitutionally as any Governor in the Dominions, for the simple reason that they will have no cadre of Officials through which to carry on an alternative administration. The real danger lies in the mentality of those now engaged in public life, both in India and in England. The dozen years following Amritsar have been marked by the exacerbation of Indian opinion, by a bitter and terrible repression, engendering in its turn an increasing exacerbation and much unwise leadership on the nationalist side. The result is a kind of political defeatism which can only play into the hands of those mischievous and irresponsible old men in this country who are trying to wreck the new constitution. If India could produce men with the patience and commonsense of Cavour the future would indeed be hopeful. The greatest danger is that a half-hearted and unimaginative Government in London may drive Indians to think that only a Garibaldi can save them."

True, "safeguards and emergency powers are defects of the transitional period only." But as the duration of the transitional period has nowhere been fixed in the White Paper, it would not be unfair to assume that the safe-guards and emergency powers are deliberately meant to last as long as the British connection with India lasts.

The British weekly expects that, if only Indians will enter the Legislatures and will use their powers boldly, and so forth, "they will find that the English, fully occupied with their own political and economic difficulties, will increasingly leave them to their own devices." Even at present the English are directly concerned and occupied only with their own political and economic difficulties, which are not insignificant. They do not care to face and overcome India's political and economic difficulties. What they do is so to deal with Indian affairs as to be able to overcome or tide over their own political and economic difficulties. For instance, take the Ottawa agreement, take the tying of the rupee to the tail of the pound sterling, take the stimulus given to the exportation of gold from India when many other countries have placed an embargo upon the exportation of gold from their countries. Indians have not been left to their own devices. If it be argued that at present the Indians in the Legislatures do not use their powers boldy and hence the English are not obliged to leave them to their own devices, the reply is that when the Swarajists were in the Legislatures in their full strength and used their powers boldly, even then the English were not compelled to leave Indians to their own devices. It must be borne in mind that at that time the present Montagu-Chelmsford constitution was in operation, and that it gives in practice greater powers to the representatives of the people than the White Paper constitution proposes to do. So if under the present constitution

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and with "the English fully occupied with their own political and economic difficulties," Indian representatives in the Legislatures have not been left to their own devices, there is no justification for hoping that under the White Paper constitution Englishmen will leave Indians to their own devices, when the Indian representatives will be more powerless than they are at present. In fact, the White Paper proposals appear to have been deliberately drafted in such a way as to deprive the Legislatures of even the little power which they at present possess.

Hence, if Indians enter the Legislatures to be set up according to the Constitution Act, they should not do so with the prospect held out by the British weekly. Indians can enter the future Legislatures with the object of opposing the bureaucracy in the same way as their co-workers outside the Legislatures would try to thwart the Tory plans of destroying Indian self-government.

As for the British Officials brought up under the old regime retiring and leaving no cadre of officials to help the Governor-General and Governors to act "unconstitutionally," why, the British successors of the old officials will imbibe and carry on the traditions of their sun-dried predecessors. For, the White Paper nowhere says definitely that at the end of any fixed period recruitment of officers for the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service *shall* cease in Britain.

The New Statesman and Nation builds its hopes on India possibly producing men of the type of Cavour, and apprehends the danger of Indians being led to think that only a Garibaldi can save them.

Cavours and Garibaldis

In no age and no country has the world-order produced a plentiful crop of Cavours and Garibaldis. Italy, which stood in need of them, produced only one of each type.

A Garibaldi must not be thought of only as embodying qualities opposite to those of a Cavour. The qualities of both worked towards the accomplishment of the same object. As Chambers's *Encyclopaedia* has it,

> "The ambition of Napoleon, the military gallantry of the king (Victor Emmanuel) the enthusiasm of Garibaldi, were all made to co-operate towards his (Cavour's) plan for satisfying the national aspirations of Italy under a lasting constitutional rule."

The same work of reference, with its rather unenthusiastic estimate of Garibaldi's personality, writes of him :

> "On 2nd June 1882 he died, and was sincerely mourned, not only by his fellow-countrymen, but by the lovers of liberty throughout Europe. For though as a soldier he was perhaps nothing more than a good commander of irregulars, and though his ignorance of political considerations sometimes did actual harm to the cause he advocated, yet it would be impossible to overrate the importance to Italian unity of his whole souled devotion to his country, a devotion which he communicated to all with whom he came in contact."

In our first note in this issue we have suggested how some of the obstacles to Indian unity and freedom may cease to exist. We are not unaware that the prospect of their disappearance is somewhat remote and utopian. But there is no harm and there would be some gain in cherishing such a prospect and working towards its realization.

There is no inherent improbability in India producing a statesman of the calibre of Cavour or a soldier like Garibaldi, or both. It would not be proper to institute a comparison between Cavour and any Indian statesman. But supposing we had an Indian Cavour who could defeat the English in the game of politics, he would find greater scope for his talents under the present constitution than under the one outlined in the White Paper. Surely the British "National" Ministry are not such fools as to deliberately or through oversight provide greater scope for the talents of an Indian Cavour under the coming regime than in the existing one. Englishmen have taken some trouble and put India to greater trouble and considerable expense in order to prevent any possible future Indian Cavours and Garibaldis from having any opportunities.

Italy of the fifties of the last century was differently situated from India of today. And Great Britain, too, at present occupies a place among civilized nations different from that occupied by Austria in the fifties of the last century. The Italians were a Christian European and white people, with whom other such peoples might naturally feel more sympathy than with a dark-skinned, non-

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Christian, Asiatic people. Moreover, India is a market for the manufactured goods of all Western industrialized nations (and of Japan) and would continue to be so, so long as she is not free. Italy was never such a market. Why should the industrialized nations of the world support the cause of Indian freedom even indirectly and thus deprive themselves of a market?

There is no Piedmont in India to form the nucleus of a free India and the lever as it were to raise the remaining parts of the country. There is no ambitious Napoleon III to try to humiliate Great Britain as he humiliated Austria. England helped the cause of Italian unity and freedom. Is that her attitude towards India?

For these and other reasons we need not look forward to and wait for the advent of Cavours as our saviours.

If some such men come, well and good. But in the meantime let all of us, humble though we are, try to do our duty and be our own liberators. One of these duties undoubtedly is to cultivate world opinion and world sympathy. But the main thing is that which we can do ourselves.

By all that we have written above we do not at all mean that the unification and independence of Italy has no lessons for us. We certainly can and ought to learn valuable lessons from the freedom movements of Italy and other countries, always bearing in mind the differences in time, place and circumstance. Dr. Taraknath Das's article on Cavour in the present issue shows, as is well known, that many Indian patriots have learnt lessons from Italy. So far as the Italian freedom movement is concerned, several books in English are available. Thayer's book on Cavour (1915) may serve the busy reader's purpose quite well.

Bengal Government's "Provisional" List of "Scheduled" Castes

On the 19th January last the Bengal Government published a list of the Depressed Classes of Bengal. In the Census of 1931, they have been called "Exterior Castes." They are also called "scheduled castes." The Bengal Government published the provisional list, with the following observations:

"Before making the list final, however, the Local Government have decided to publish it for criticism."

"It excludes some castes like the Telis and Kalus, from which definite objections have been received against inclusion in any list of 'depressed classes'."

Publication for criticism implies that action will be taken on such criticism. And the exclusion of Telis and Kalus from the list on the ground that they objected to be included implies that, if other castes objected, they, too, would be excluded from the list.

The Bengal Government's provisional list contained the names of 86 castes. The Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha has been informed that since the publication of the official list of depressed castes or classes for criticism, representations from the following castes have been submitted to the Government of Bengal for exclusion from the list of scheduled castes as prepared by the Government:

Castes	*Numerical Strength*
Bagdi	9,87,570
Bhuimali	72,804
Dhoba	2,29,672
Jalia-Kaibarta	3,52,072
Jhalo-Malo	1,98,099
Kapali	1,65,589
Nagar	16,164
Nath	3,84,634
Pod	6,67,731
Pundari	31,255
Rajbangshi	18,06,390
Raju	56,778
Sukli	3,860
Sunri	76,920
Total	50,19,536

In his pamphlet on *Bengal Under Communal Award and Poona Pact* Sir N. N. Sircar, Advocate-General of Bengal, writes that "Eighty-six castes have been scheduled by the Bengal Government. The total of these will be 9,336,624." If the castes from which objections to inclusion in the official list have been submitted, are excluded from it, the total number of those included will be 43,17,088.

From this total the number of Namasudras also ought to be deducted. Their number is 20,86,192. Subtracting this number from 43,17,088 we get 22,30,896 as the numerical strength of the depressed castes in Bengal.

The reason for holding that the Namasudras should be excluded from the list of the depressed classes is that in the Census

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Report prepared by Government they are called Namasudra, Nama-Brahman, Nama-Brahmo. Those who claim to be Brahmans, Ksbatriyas, or Vaishyas, *i. e.*, members of the "twice-born" castes, cannot consistently also claim that they are socially backward or depressed. It is not true, too, that the Namasudras are politically backward. There are hundreds of Namasudra graduates and lawyers and physicians. Many members of the provincial executive and judicial services, not to speak of lower services, are Namasudras. Several Namasudras have hitherto become *elected* members of the Bengal Legislative Council by open contest with candidates of other Hindu castes.

Though the present writer does not observe *any* distinction of caste, it may be argued that his Brahmin parentage makes him biassed. Let us, therefore, quote some opinions of European officials of Government on the Namasudra caste, as given in Sir N. N. Sircar's pamphlet named above :

(1) Paras. 828 and 832 of the Census Report of Bengal show that in 1911 they claimed to be Brahmins. The *District Gazetteer* shows that they still claim descent from Brahmins.

(2) "It is a progressive caste in more than one way. It has grown steadily and largely, while other Hindu castes had only slight increases.... For some generations they have shown sturdy independence....They have also taken up education as a means of advance with real earnestness. and are steadily progressing in that respect."

(*District Gazetteer* of Faridpur by O'Malley).

"The Namasudra is in fact proud of his Caste. No Namasudra would be likely to conceal his caste from the enumerator.....The awakening of political consciousness among the Namasudras is a recent phenomenon which is likely to have a considerable political importance in the future. Already Namasudra members have been returned to Bengal Council. and the Namasudra candidate has been in evidence at the elections in this District."

Mr. FAWCUS—*Settlement Report of Khulna*—(1908).

"It should be stated, as a Community, the Namasudras show considerable aptitude for organization, and that the ideals pursued by the better classes among them seem praiseworthy. As an instance of this may be mentioned a Conference recently held (March 1908), which was attended by Namasudras from Khulna, the adjoining districts and some districts of Eastern Bengal. From the published reports it appears that its objects were the spread of education, the establishment of a permanent fund and the removal of social evils."

O'MALLEY'S *District Gazetteer of Khulna*—(1908).

"The Namasudras are very particular as regards caste prejudices. They never allow a European to stand or walk over their cooking place, on board a boat, and if any one inadvertently does so while food is being prepared, it is at once thrown aw

O'MALLEY'S *District Gazetteer of Jessore*—(1912).

"In Jessore and Khulna the Namasudras claim Brahman descent." (*Ibid*).

"The Namasudras are not only the numerous, but also one of the most interes castes in Jessore, owing to their independ and self-reliance and their efforts to rise in so state." (*Ibid*).

Social Uplift Thrown Into the Background

The thirty seats reserved for the Beng depressed classes—nobody knows w exactly they are, have proved to be such bribe that some of those who formerly claim to belong to the high castes of Brahm Kshatriya or Vaishya, now foreswear the selves and demand promotion (!) to the li of scheduled castes. Mahatma Gandhi has made himself a Harijan by adoption fro entirely disinterested, philanthropic and hig motives. But such is not the case with those who now foreswear themselves. It practically amounts to their declaring that the would agree to be considered base-born i (*we* do not consider them base-born), thereb they could gain some worldly advantage. Their behaviour, however deplorable, can be understood.

But it is difficult to appreciate the attitude of those followers of Mahatma Gandhi who insist on proving that half or more than half the Hindu population of Bengal are depressed, thus degrading them in spite of what many castes themselves say, in order to show that the Poona Pact has given the Bengal depressed castes less seats or not more seats than they ought to have. Mahatmaji did not make the Poona Pact he simply assented to it. But even if he had been its author, it would not be sacrosanct. It ought to be altered, if it be found to have been based on wrong data or if it be found undesirable for any reason. That we presume is Mahatmaji's own attitude. For he has agreed to consider Dr. Ambedkar's proposal to modify the panel system of primary election of the depressed class candidates in favour of a different kind of arrangement.

"What's in a Name ?..."

Untouchable, unapproachable, unshadow able, depressed, backward, exterior, schedule

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—we do not like any of these names. What we want is that their connotations should disappear.

Next to the Prophet of Islam, what name is held in greater veneration in the Islamic world than *Khalifah* or Caliph, which means a successor of Muhammad, the Muhammadan chief civil and religious ruler? But in some parts of India, Mussalman tailors are often called Khalifahs. Probably they were at first so called in order merely to humour them.

Take again the word *Mehtar*. It is a Persian word meaning *prince*. Outside India it is still used in that sense in some countries. For example, the ruling prince of Chitral is called the Mehtar of Chitral. In Persia it was originally a title or a part of the title of certain great officers of the royal household. There it now means a groom, a stable boy. In some parts of India it means a scavenger. What an irony of fate! We do not know what fate is in store for the word *Harijan*.

Indirect Unintended Congress Support to Premier's Communal Decision, etc.

Whatever agitation Mahatma Gandhi carries on through the post office by writing in *Harijan* and to friends must be of a non-political character. So his entire pre-occupation is with securing temple-entry for the so-called untouchables and other human rights. This has led his followers also to devote almost exclusive attention to similar questions concerning these "depressed" classes. We say "almost exclusive attention," because of interludes like the holding of the last Congress session in Calcutta and the consequent repressive activities of the Government.

When Mahatma Gandhi accepted the Poona Pact and broke his fast, he took care to point out that this did not imply acceptance of the British Prime Minister's communal decision, commonly known as the Communal Award. But as, being a prisoner, he cannot pronounce any opinions on political questions without the permission of the Government, as he has not repeated again and again his non-acceptance of the Communal Award, and as, as a prisoner, he has by permission of the Government been writing exclusively on matters relating to untouchability and occasionally, directly or indirectly, signifying his continued adherence to the Poona Pact, that pact has become sacred in the eyes of his followers.

They appear to have forgotten that adhering to and defending the Poona Pact implies indirect adherence to and defence of the Communal Award. In order to prevent any such inference being drawn, they ought to repeat every day, or at least as often as they defend the Poona Pact, that they do not at all accept the Communal Award and that they will adhere to the Poona Pact only if the Communal Award stands and cannot be upset. But they are doing nothing of the kind.

So far as we are concerned, we have condemned the Communal Award, and we have also condemned the Poona Pact to the extent that it is as harmful to national interests as or more harmful than the Communal Award. We have not yet seen any reason to change our attitude. We are as much opposed as ever to all the proposed divisions and sub-divisions of the nation in which the White Paper abounds.

Our position is and has throughout consistently been nationalistic and democratic on the question of constitutional reform. As Hindus we have insisted only on the ordinary equal citizens' rights for Hindus. We have not claimed any special rights or privileges for them. We have been and still are opposed to separate electorates and reservation of seats with or without weightage for any community or class.

The League of Nations treaties for the protection of minority rights represent and embody the collective wisdom of the majority of the civilized nations of the world, including the British. These treaties seek to protect the Right to Nationality, the Right to life, personal liberty and freedom of worship, the Right to equal treatment, Rights with regard to the use of the minority language, and the Right to obtain a share of public funds devoted to educational, religious or charitable purposes. The only minorities recognized are those of race, language and

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religion. These treaties do not provide for separate representation of minorities in legislatures by separate electorates or reservation of seats, nor do they contain any of the other anti-national and anti-democratic abominations which prevent the growth of national unity and solidarity or tend to destroy them where they exist to any extent.

Ever since the days when we were students we have in practice worked against untouchability and caste. So we welcome all efforts to destroy caste exclusiveness in all directions. But as democracy in social matters is not antagonistic to democracy in politics but the two are interdependent and strengthen each other, we desire that the country as a whole should make simultaneous progress in all directions. Hence we are opposed to the communal award and its amendment in part, the Poona Pact.

Western Colour Bar and Indian Untouchability

Mahatma Gandhi has said that in fighting the battle of the Harijans he is fighting for the rights of all those in every country who have been deprived of the enjoyment of their human heritage. In East and West alike there are large numbers of these disinherited brothers and sisters. If India can restore to them their heritage, that would be a lesson to those in and of the West whose mental vision is warped by colour prejudice. The following passage, reproduced in *The Month* of London for April, 1933, published by Messrs. Longmans Green and Co., shows to what extent colour prejudice exists even in civilized America :

> "Now, therefore, if the Negro is man, just as truly as the white man, it follows that whatever rights or prerogatives belong to man as man, must not be denied to the Negro.
>
> "And yet in certain parts of our country [U. S. A.] disabilities are heaped upon him because he is a Negro. In many localities he is denied the vote, even though that denial involves fraud or force on the part of the white man. In some sections he receives lower wages than the white man for the same work. In other sections he is charged higher rent than the white man for the same housing. His natural ambition to rise to something better than menial occupation and to fit himself for it, is frustrated by local law, by custom or even by physical violence; he is refused admittance to certain trade unions ; in many States he is denied membership in white churches ; he dare not attempt to take communion with the w[illegible] likewise, except in the North, he cannot [illegible] schools, public or private, with the whites, [illegible] the public schools into which he is segre[illegible] are inferior in architecture, in location a[illegible] scholastic standing to the others, although [illegible] black man pays his school-tax like any other [illegible] He is kept out of select hotels, restaurants, [illegible] places of public entertainment, not only in [illegible] South but in the North."—REV. JAMES M. G[illegible] C. S. P., quoted in *Catholic Missions*, March, 1[illegible]

Counteracting Lies about India

That many Britishers and their Ameri[illegible] hirelings tell lies about India is perh[illegible] mostly due to eagerness to safe-guard Bri[illegible] monopoly, domination and self-interest; b[illegible] possibly colour prejudice has also somet[illegible] to do with it.

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore has issued [illegible] statement in which he observes that he fi[illegible] agrees with what Mr. V. J. Patel has rece[illegible] said in London about the need of counte[illegible] acting anti-Indian propaganda in the Wa[illegible] "not by display of our injured feelings, b[illegible] by sober presentation abroad of facts a[illegible] figures about the present situation in o[illegible] country."

It is not this year that Tagore, or so[illegible] other persons too, have felt this need for th[illegible] first time. When the present writer w[illegible] travelling with him from Dresden to Berl[illegible] in October 1926, the Poet spoke to h[illegible] about the urgent necessity of sending to so[illegible] newspaper in England accurate informati[illegible] relating to India at short regular interva[illegible] for some Europeans believed in anti-Ind[illegible] propaganda merely because of their ignora[illegible] though others might do so because [illegible] malice and self-interest. When we had [illegible] conversation in a railway train in Germ[illegible] the Poet said that the *Manch[illegible] Guardian* would be willing to pu[illegible] contributions containing such accurate fa[illegible] and figures. Dr. Scott of the *Manch[illegible] Guardian*, who had high regard for Ta[illegible] was then alive. We are not sure whe[illegible] the present conductors of the Manches[illegible] paper would care for such contribu[illegible] from Indian writers.

In the Poet's statement referred to ab[illegible] he cites some examples of lying propagand[illegible]

> In "Tribune de Geneve" is published [illegible] interview, supposed to have been given [illegible] to the late Mr. Londres, trying to [illegible]

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Mahatmaji's reputation, and thus insult my own character, using language utterly incongruous to me.

"This fictitious interview is supposed to have been waiting long years amongst the posthumous papers of the journalist, and published by his friend when the writer can no longer be challenged.

"Next comes a letter from Koenigsberg from the great Indologist Glasnapp, who asks my authority for contradicting the libellous remarks attributed to Mahatmaji and myself in a book called "India" by the Italian author—Mr. Luciano Magrini. I am also made to express my approval of the author's statements.

"I have never heard of the author or his book. I have been able to contradict these lies, because they were brought before me by my friends.

"During my visit in South America, I was surprised to find twice within a few weeks information startlingly calumnious exploiting the ignorance of the readers in a well-known Argentinian paper.

"The 'authentic fact' was given with circumstantial details about a slave market in Calcutta, where Bengali girls are bought and sold.

"A few days later a photograph of a Parsee Tower of Silence was printed with a note below explaining that in these towers living bodies of heretics are offered by Hindus to kites and vultures, and that the British Government is trying to suppress this practice.

"These news significantly coincided with my visit to that country, where I was welcomed as representing India.

The statement concludes with the following apt and correct observations in felicitous language.

"The great English poet referred to the loss of one's reputation as a greater tragedy than that of having one's purse stolen. The minor tragedy has, as it is too late in the day to need special reference, happened abundantly in India. But the greater one must be averted in time.

"We are apt to forget that all politics today in all countries have their common background in world politics. No government in the world, however powerful, can do without the moral support of the wider humanity and that is why politicians include it in their diplomatic dealing to cultivate world opinion often with the manure of lies. We do not know the forces that are at the back of the propaganda against India, but that it is efficient, and has a sound financial power to support it, is evident.

"For fighting such a grave menace some mere sporadic oratorical displays or casual visits in foreign lands by gifted individuals can never have any lasting effect. What is needed is to establish fully equipped Information Centres in the West, from where the organized voice of India may have the opportunity to send abroad her judgment and her appeal."

It is no doubt true that we do not definitely know the forces that are at the back of lying anti-Indian propaganda, but guesses are sometimes not wide of the mark.

Fully equipped Information Centres are certainly required. They presuppose the supply of money and men. Men can be found. It would be difficult but not impossible to get money also.

Mr. Polak on the Indian Situation

A *Free Press* special cable from London, dated April 21 last, tells us that Mr. Polak, who recently returned from a tour in India, speaking at the Indian Conciliation Group luncheon, gave some of his impressions of India.

> He said that there was now probably less contact between the administration and the people than ever before, and expressed astonishment at the deterioration of the situation in India during the last five years. He found in almost all circles a disbelief in British goodwill, honour and fairplay.
>
> Referring to a certain prevailing opinion that the day of civil disobedience has passed, he said that many of the younger people were beginning to ask themselves whether Gandhiji's policy of non-violence was the right one. This would be an ugly development, if it spread on a large scale. The older people are unwilling to check the younger generation, because they thought them right in resenting the present situation.
>
> "If you ask the young people," Mr. Polak declared, they will say, "we are biding our time. We know what we want and it is only a matter of expediency as to which method shall be used."
>
> Explaining objections to the White Paper, Mr. Polak warned that even if the new constitution was accepted, India would not be satisfied, because she would not be satisfied until she obtained Dominion status.

What Mr. Polak said about less contact in India between the administration and the people than ever before and about disbelief in this country in British goodwill, honour and fair play in many circles is correct. But all this should not have caused astonishment. People are not astonished at natural and explicable consequences.

Mr. Polak has friends in various parts of the country—more perhaps in Upper India than elsewhere. We are not aware that his recent tour included Bengal, which some people wrongly represent as the exclusive home and nursery of the cult of violence. Did Mr. Polak, then, find the older people in provinces other than Bengal "unwilling to check the younger generation"? In what parts of the country did he place himself in contact with both the older and the younger people?

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We ask these questions, because they relate to vital issues. Some of our previous notes in this number relate to the how and when of India's attainment of freedom. Mr. Polak's speech in London indirectly raises the question whether Indians would adopt violent or non-violent means to win freedom. Such a question cannot, of course, be openly discussed. Neither can it be done in private; as the older people cannot easily establish contact with the younger ones, and perhaps the latter do not trust the former. Even if the most experienced and wisest leaders want openly to dissuade the young advocates of the cult of violence from practising what they believe in, the act of dissuasion cannot be performed effectively. For to convince them, one must argue and give reasons. Such a process implies that the arguments of the advocates of violence must be stated and then refuted. As the law stands, these arguments cannot be safely stated even for the purpose of refuting them. But assuming that the Executive allowed them to be stated for the purpose of refutation, if the arguments brought forward to refute those of the physical force school were not exhaustively or forcibly or convincingly stated, the dissuader would lay himself open to the charge that he had intentionally understated the case for non-violence in order indirectly to incite people to violence.

Mr. Polak was fortunate in obtaining the confidence of both the older people and the younger generation. Many of us are not so fortunate. Evidently it must be presumed that some old and young Indians trust some foreigners more than their own countrymen.

As for Dominion status, nothing short of it can satisfy any important group. But there are influential people whom even Dominion status will not please.

Congress and Government

It has been officially stated that Congress has not been considered and declared an unlawful body. Yet the Reception Committee which was formed in Calcutta for making preparations for holding its 47th session in this city was declared an unlawful body and successive Chairmen of this Committee were thrown into jail and its members, so far as known to the police, received the same treatment. So it comes to this that those who form themselves into a committee for making preparations for the holding of a session of a lawful body may be considered an unlawful body and punished, at the discretion of the Executive!

Local Governments all over India made the utmost efforts for preventing the holding of the session of the lawful body yclept the Indian National Congress. Those who were suspected of proceeding to Calcutta from outside to attend the session of this lawful body as delegates were arrested and thrown into jail. At some mofussil railway stations the sale of tickets to Calcutta was stopped for a few days. In Calcutta itself the public parks, squares, street corners and other places of public resort which the police could think of as likely places for the Congress to meet were closed to the public and strongly guarded by the police. Yet the resourcefulness of the Congress management proved superior to the conjectural genius of the police. At 3 P. M. sharp on the first April last the delegates assembled at one of the busiest centres of the city—at the tramway passengers' waiting pavilion at the Dharumtala-Esplanade crossing. Mrs. J. M. Sen Gupta was elected president. She began to read her epeech, but was arrested and prevented from finishing it. But the delegates, many of whom were arrested batch by batch as they approached or reached the pavilion, managed somehow to adopt the following resolutions:

1. GOAL OF INDEPENDENCE.

This Congress re-affirms the resolution passed at its 44th Session at Lahore in 1929 declaring Complete Independence as its goal.

2. CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE: A LEGITIMATE WEAPON.

This Congress holds Civil Disobedience to be a perfectly legitimate means for the protection of the rights of the people, for the vindication of national self-respect, and for the attainment of the national goal.

3. ADHERENCE TO THE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE PROGRAMME.

This Congress re-affirms the decision of the Working Committee arrived at on the 1st January 1932.

4. BOYCOTT.

This Congress calls upon all classes and sections of the people in this country to completely ...

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foreign cloth, to give preference to *khaddar* and to boycott British goods.

5. WHITE PAPER.

This Congress holds that no constitution framed by the British Government while it is engaged in conducting a campaign of ruthless repression, involving the imprisonment and internment of the most trusted leaders of the nation and thousands of their followers, suppression of the fundamental rights of free speech and association, stringent restraint on the liberty of the press and replacement of the normal civil law by virtual martial law, deliberately initiated by it on the eve of Mahatma Gandhi's return from England with a view to crush the national spirit, can be worthy of consideration by or acceptable to the people of India.

The Congress is confident that the public will not be duped by the scheme outlined in the recently published White Paper which is inimical to the vital interests of India and is devised to perpetuate foreign domination in this country.

6. GANDHIJI'S FAST.

This Congress offers its congratulations to the country on the successful termination of Mahatma Gandhi's fast of September 1932 and hopes that untouchability will before long become a thing of the past.

7. FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS.

This Congress is of opinion that to enable the masses to appreciate what "Swaraj," as conceived by the Congress, will mean to them, it is desirable to state the position of the Congress in a manner easily understood by them. With this object in view it reiterates Resolution No. 14 of the Karachi Sessions of the Congress of 1931.

After the Esplanade tramway pavilion meeting had been dispersed by *lathi* charges and other means, a large number of delegates assembled at 4 P. M. the same day in an open plot of land at the crossing of Vivekananda Road and Chitpur Road to continue the deliberations of the Congress. It is reported that some resolutions were moved there, but soon after the police arrived there and dispersed the ladies and gentlemen assembled by *lathi* charges.

Everywhere the proportion of lady delegates was considerable.

The *lathi* charges were probably not all of the variety officially described and defended as "mild," for many of the injured persons, it was reported, had to seek medical and surgical aid in the Medical College Hospital.

It has been estimated that altogether some 2,500 delegates attended or attempted to attend the 47th session of the Congress held in Calcutta, running the risk of *lathi* charges and imprisonment. Thus it has been proved, *pace* Sir Samuel Hoare and Co., that Congress has not been crushed, nor has it lost its hold on the people.

But *cui bono* ?

Swaraj has not been won, nor are Indians apparently on the way to win it. Rigorous repression has been going on, repressive laws of increasing elasticity and severity are being passed, and allegations continue to be made by responsible persons with a reputation to lose that the police and the executive in some places and on some occasions, definitely mentioned by these gentlemen, have exceeded the bounds of even the very drastic ordinances and laws which have armed them with extraordinary powers. The latest of these allegations, to which very wide publicity has been given in the press, are contained in a statement circulated by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya relating to violence on non-violent Congress delegates.

It is always easy to be wise after the event and say, "I told you so !" It is not in that spirit that we write, nor do we think that the movement started by Mahatma Gandhi has been entirely fruitless. An eminent Liberal like the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, who does not belong to the Congress school and has not taken part in the civil disobedience movement, said in the course of his speech in moving the White Paper resolution at the recent session of the National Liberal Federation in Calcutta, that "the momentum which the political agitation had gathered today was mostly of the making of those who were responsible for the present movement."

What we want is that all schools of political thought in India should earnestly try to device some method or methods of action which would lead India early to a stable and beneficial form of Swaraj. Joint action would be preferable. But if that be not possible, different political groups may pursue such policies as would not antagonize one another.

Allegations in Mr. Malaviya's Statement

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's statement as to "what happened at Calcutta" has been reproduced wholly or substantially in the dailies. Some members of the Legis-

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lative Assembly have drawn the attention of the Home Member of the Government of India to this document. As he has forwarded it to the Bengal Government, we hope a proper inquiry will be made into all the allegations. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has said in the course of his statement :

> "I have referred to the manner in which they (the delegates) were beaten and assaulted not in order to complain of the violence and provocation of the police but to give an idea to the public of the ordeal through which the Congress session had to pass."

It is alleged first of all that, at the Esplanade tramway pavilion,

> "Eventually the police made a *lathi* charge, dispersed the huge crowd which had gathered and arrested the delegates. They bore the assault calmly. Delegate after delegate as he stood up to move resolutions was violently attacked by sergeants wielding *lathis* with all their might. Care was taken by the sergeants not to aim at the head, but serious injuries were sustained by the delegates in other parts of the body. One delegate, a Vakil from Arrah, who kept persistently reading a resolution in spite of a shower of blows had his spectacles broken and one of his eyes severely injured. He may have to lose the eye. The *lathi* blows were supplemented by kicking. Women delegates were not beaten, though some of them who tenaciously stuck to the National Flag, were roughly handled in an attempt to snatch the flag from them. All honour to these delegates who conducted themselves as worthy soldiers of the peaceful army of the Congress and stood a most severe test of their creed of non-violence."

Panditji next narrates what is alleged to have taken place at the Lalbazar Thana in Calcutta before the Congress session was held.

> "It relates to the behaviour of the police on the evening of the 30th March. Eighty-nine delegates from the U. P. after having been taken into custody in the course of a police raid, were assaulted by European or Anglo-Indian police sergeant in the Lal Bazar Thana."

We omit the harrowing details.

We pass on to what is alleged to have happened at the Bhowanipur Thana.

> "On the 30th March about 180 delegates were arrested at Kalighat. They were marched to the Bhowanipore Police Station on foot under Police escort. A sergeant whose name is known to the delegates distinguished himself by wantonly assaulting several delegates while putting them under arrest, as also after arrest."

Here again we omit the details.

The other incident, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya alleges, relates to the arrest of delegates of U. P. It is alleged that

> "This batch was arrested on the 1st of April at Kalighat at about 11 A. M. They were taken to the Bhowanipore Thana in a bus. At the Thana they were given chairs and benches to sit on. While the names and other particulars were being taken down the same stout sergeant mentioned above appearing on the scene, suddenly pounced on Thakur Munshi Singh of Hardoi by the ear and shouting "You cried 'down with the British Government', eh"? punched him several times heavily on the temples. The sergeant was interrupted in his brutal attack on Thakur Munshi Singh by a telephone call. But he returned from the telephone and began to belabour his victim again. When Mr. Rustom Satin, a delegate from Jhansi, tried to remonstrate on behalf of his companion, the sergeant struck a heavy blow with his stick on his head causing a big swelling. The sergeant then kept growling and brandishing his encased revolver at the delegates. He retired eventually only on the arrival of a Magistrate who had been summoned in view of this important arrests of these men. Later, Mr. A. G. Kher, a leadidg Congressman and Vakil of Jhansi, who was one of the delegates, refused to supply any more particulars as regards the names and addresses of his group unless the incident of the wanton attack on Thakur Munshi Singh and Mr. Rustom was duly noted by the Police. Eventually their demand was complied with and the fact of the assault recorded in the Police diary."

Panditji begins the concluding paragraph of the statement by observing that "Ten beating during the actual Congress session might have been expected. But one could hardly believe that prisoners in custody would be treated in the atrocious manner described above."

We should be glad if the allegations made were proved to be unfounded by open inquiry.

Other Allegations of Illegal Treatment

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's statement reminds us of certain allegations contained in the speech made by Mr. Satyendra Chandra Mitra, M. L. A., in the Legislative Assembly on December 3 last in the course of the debate on the Criminal Law Amendment Bill. We urge and hope that the Bengal Government will cause an open enquiry to be made into these allegations, as we are sure aware that such an enquiry has been made. We shall not reproduce or refer to details but extract a short passage below from Mr. Mitra's speech, as officially reported in

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the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly published by the Government of India, pp. 2851-52, just to give an idea of the allegations.

"I am speaking of two thanas, in the Tamluk Sub-division of the District of Midnapore. This gentleman is a well-known man. He personally visited 16 villages, *viz.*, Kashipur, Dandipur, Dwaik Bari, etc. For the realization of punitive taxes in the villages recourse was taken to kicking and other physical inflictions and sometimes they went so far as to give villagers a good ducking in the village ponds. The boys were beaten in the presence of their fathers and the parents were tortured in the presence of their sons and daughters. The furniture of the houses were broken. Paddy and rice were looted from the granaries known as *golas*. The wooden house doors and windows and even the ploughs were used as fuel by the police stationed in villages. Houses were razed to the ground and, in several places, burnt to ashes. He also refers to oppression on women. He gives instances of two women on whom rape was committed. I have here their photos together with their statements and thumb impressions which I place on the table* of the House for the inspection of Honourable Members as well as of the Government."

We should be pleased if the allegations proved to be unfounded on open enquiry.

The National Liberal Federation of India

The 14th session of the National Liberal Federation of India was held in Calcutta during the third week of April last. Mr. J. N. Basu was the Chairman of the Reception Committee and Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao was elected its President. In the course of his dispassionate speech Mr. J. N. Basu characterized the Communal Award of the Prime Minister partly thus :

> It sought to create mutual jealousies and differences amongst the people and to divide them into contending factions and served to deprive them of a common platform and of a common patriotism. The Communal Award not only seeks to build up stone walls between the Hindus and the Mahomedans but it also seeks to divide the Hindus into contending factions.

Of the White Paper he spoke thus in part :

> I do not refer to the details of the scheme as outlined in the White Paper. The uncertainty about the establishment of central responsibility, the legislative powers given to the head of the executive administration, the placing of the All-India services under the control of the Secretary of State, some of the commercial and financial safe-guards and various other details are matters about which there is grave anxiety and concern.

Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao's elaborate presidential address contains, among other things, an able and convincing criticism of the White Paper. With many other leading publicists of our country, he does not perhaps expect that the Joint Parliamentary Committee will produce anything better than the White Paper or that the Constitution Bill will be better. Hence one might have expected to find in his address some clue to the attitude of the Liberals towards the question of further co-operation with the Government in constitution-making. But it furnishes no such clue. The resolutions also of the Federation are silent on the point. But what one does not find in all these has been practically supplied by the action of prominent Liberals like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in agreeing to act as witnesses or assessors in relation to the Joint Parliamentary Committee. Whoever else may non-co-operate, these prominent Indian Liberals will not and cannot.

Mr. Ramachandra Rao concluded his address in the following words :

> One tries to pierce the darkness and uncertainty that hides the future of this country from our eyes. Will the future be a dreary resemblance of the past, or will it be anything better? I am not a pessimist. I see before me a long period of struggle and strife. In his speech in the recent debate, Mr. Baldwin referred to the Irish parallel and appealed to the Parliament that if the Indian problem is not satisfactorily solved in time it would end in the same way as Ireland. We are already on the highway to the creation of another Ireland in this country, and the present scheme is not, I venture to say, of a kind that will divert the course of events. Unless the present proposals are very substantially improved, there is no chance of any political peace in this country. We may be driven to accept an imperfect constitution, but even a poor constitution may work and yield results, if a strong and united party in this country with its roots among the masses is bent upon extracting from it the utmost that it would yield. The essential need, therefore, is united action among the political parties and leaders at this supreme crisis in the affairs of the country. Many of those who have preceded us in this national struggle have been gathered to their fathers, while some of us who are still in the field belong to a fast vanishing generation. My last words are, therefore, addressed to the younger men whom I see before me and who have to carry on the fight for our national freedom till our emancipation is fully assured. Difficult as your task is, do not despair, for despair is a keynote of failure. The pendulum

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may be swinging forward and backward, but the hand of invisible time is perpetually marking its progress on the dial of the destiny of our country. There is no royal road to freedom. Reverses there must be; but reverses should only stiffen your backs. I exhort you, therefore, to carry on the fight for the evolutionary progress of our country and for the attainment of our freedom till the goal is reached.

Mr. Ramachandra Rao may or may not be in favour of further co-operation with the British Government in constitution-making, but in the above extract he appears to suggest that it is worth our while to make the utmost effort to extract from even the most retrograde constitution "the utmost that it would yield." We are not against trying to extract the utmost from even the worst constitution, if there be no better use for our energies. But we are constrained to ask: Is it the *role* of the British people to go on assigning to the political cultivator of India the poorest and most barren political soil and is it also the *role* of the political cultivator of India to extract from such soil whatever political harvest it may yield? Can the Indian political cultivator make no better use of his energy and talents? One would have been grateful to the Liberal leaders if they had indicated some means whereby better political soil to cultivate could be secured.

We have no quarrel with the ideal of evolutionary progress. We would welcome such progress. According to one definition, revolution is only rapid evolution. Therefore, if only the pace of evolution be sufficiently accelerated, evolutionary progress may satisfy even professed revolutionaries. But if it be very very slow, or if it amounts to retrogression or almost to the negation of progress, as hitherto ordained by British imperialists, they may unintentionally manage to teach the Indian people the fourth "*R*" of Revolution in addition to those of Reading, (w)Riting and (a)Rithmetic which they have declared it to be their object to teach their Indian subjects.

British imperialists seem to forget that even Indians have begun to prefer the aeroplane to the bullock cart.

Resolutions of the National Liberal Federation

The principal resolution passed by the National Liberal Federation related to the White Paper. It criticizes that document in detail and makes suggestions for its improvement. General condemnation of the White Paper is contained in sections (A), (B) and (T) of the resolutions, which are quoted below:

(A) The National Liberal Federation of India records its sense of profound disappointment at the "Proposals of Indian Constitutional Reforms" embodied in the White Paper of March 15, 1933. The proposals do not advance India to the status of a Dominion and nowhere is there even a mention of this as the objective. They are over-weighted by safe-guards which are informed by distrust of Indians and which are not only not "demonstrably in the interests of India during a transitional period," but are much more in the interests of the United Kingdom. These proposals make no real and substantial transference of power to responsible Indian Governments.

(B) The Federation desires to make it clear once again that no scheme of reforms can meet India's requirements or satisfy Indian national aspirations or allay political discontent which does not confer the full status and powers of a dominion on India within a short period fixed by statute.

(T) In conclusion, the National Liberal Federation of India deems it its duty to record its strong conviction that the White Paper Proposals as they stand cannot possibly satisfy even the most moderate section of progressive opinion and will, far from appeasing unrest and allaying discontent, aggravate the present unhappy conditions, further alienate opinion from the Government and greatly intensify the present acute and widespread discontent. A generous and far-reaching measure of real reform on the line of Dominion Constitutions which will make India an equal member of the British Commonwealth of Nations will alone meet India's requirements and satisfy the national self-respect of the people of India.

The third resolution, while disapproving of the Civil Disobedience Movement, protested against Government's repressive measures and methods, urged the release of Mahatma Gandhi and other Congressmen convicted mostly of technical offences or detained without trial, and made an earnest appeal to the Congress to abandon the Civil Disobedience Movement "in order to avoid further misery and suffering, and in the best interests of the country." The Federation equally appealed to the Government to adopt a policy of wise conciliation.

The fourth resolution reaffirmed strong support to the Swadeshi movement. The fifth accorded full support to the nation-wide movement for the removal of untouchability

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and for the uplift of the backward classes, and accorded approval to the principles underlying the legislative measures in furtherance of that movement now before the Indian Legislative Assembly. The sixth protested against the premature ratification of the Ottawa Agreement, the effect of which was generally considered by the people of India as likely to be more injurious than beneficial.

Speeches at the National Liberal Federation of India

In moving the resolution on the White Paper at the recent Calcutta session of the National Liberal Federation of India the Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri delivered a masterly speech with his usual eloquence. Said he :

> "Let the Government create political appeasement and satisfy the demands of the people. And so far as the demands go, let me repeat a hundred times that Congressmen and we differ very slightly."

The study of the White Paper and debates of the two Houses of the British Parliament had convinced Indians, he added, that the goal of Dominion status, as promised by Lord Irwin on behalf of His Majesty's Government, was not even going to be admitted by the present "National" Government of Great Britain.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald had said in effect in one of his speeches in the House of Commons that what Indians considered Britain's pledges were not exactly pledges but only "declarations of intentions." In the statement made in the recent Indian debate in the House of Commons Sir Samuel Hoare has gone one better, saying that "Britain's pledge to India was not the grant of self-government, as all of us have been thinking, but the bestowal of new instalments of constitutional progress." So, what "all of us (Britishers) have been thinking" is wrong, and that alone is right which Sir Samuel Hoare thinks. One wonders what precious thing constitutional progress means if it does not mean progress towards self-government. If it means progress towards self-government, the instalments, however small, must ultimately lead to self-government. But obviously Sir Samuel means that India should always come nearer to the goal of self-government but never reach it. That becomes thinkable if it be assumed that the more we advanced the further the goal would recede! It may be thinkable also on the supposition that progress means going backwards. In any case, some of the recent pronouncements of British statesmen are further illustrations of the Viceroy Lord Lytton's phrase of half a century ago, that the powers that be "take every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear."

So though Mr. Sastri said, "While an Englishman to his advantage might forget definite promises, made by Lord Irwin, Indians must keep it in the forefront of the political programme and ask of the Englishman, reluctant and unwilling as he might be, to redeem that pledge made to the population of three hundred millions," Englishmen will have the authority of some British statesmen to persuade themselves that no pledges had been given. Royal proclamations and pledges are or ought to be more binding than statesmen's promises. Yet, so distinguished a lawyer as Sir James Stephen said that Queen Victoria's Proclamation, re-affirmed by her successors in substance, was a mere ceremonial document, not a treaty, and therefore it did not impose any responsibility and obligation on the English people. And the historian Freeman has said with regard to proclamations and the like in general: "But when we come to manifestoes, proclamations, ... here we are in the very chosen region of lies." (Freeman's *Methods of Historical Study*, p. 258).

Nations get what they can take, not what they have been promised.

> As regards safe-guards, Mr. Sastri said, several of these were exclusively in the interests of Great Britain, while several others were demonstrably against the interests of India.
>
> Proceeding, Mr. Sastri said, he had borne no great political part in the civil disobedience movement, but statesmen who made the Empire and wished to preserve it could not forget the forces that constituted the very fabric of human nature. They could not forget that a movement of this kind might for the moment be arrested, but if not handled properly and met justly and wisely and in time, it was bound to reappear, and when it did reappear it might carry all before it. "It is perfectly satisfying to me to be a member

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of a self-governing commonwealth on equal terms with Great Britain, Canada, South Africa and other Dominions. Anything else than that, however camouflaged, will be unwelcome and will be the seed of dispute and discord."

Dealing with the question of Federation Mr. Sastri said, if by any chance, owing to prejudice, ignorance or antipathy of the Princes, this movement was frustrated, they and their advisers stood the risk of being regarded as enemies of India's political progress and as those who were willing to be used in order to block the way of India to the achievement of her destiny.

He next referred to the question of Services, and asked if they had ever heard of a responsible Government where a Government of three hundred million people was not able to appoint its own Services. This it seemed to him was the very depth of absurdity. It seemed to him that India, whatever she did, ought not to submit to this indignity.

But if the Liberals agree to work the constitution granted by the British Government, however bad it may be, as most probably they will, at least they, if not other Indians, will have "to submit to this indignity," for the present "National" Government of Britain will not agree to Indians appointing the officers of the covenanted civil service, the police service, and the like, which are the emblems and instruments of British domination in India.

Finally, Mr. Sastri said the momentum which the political agitation had gathered today was mostly of the making of those who were responsible for the present movement. "Can we forget the countless sacrifices they have made? Can we forget the way in which they have been handled by the police in the streets of every town and village? Are all these sufferings going to naught?"

These sufferings can be prevented from going to naught by the Liberals and other political parties putting pressure on the British Government by some well-thought-out means in addition to protests and speeches. They may not necessarily adopt the methods followed by Congress.

Supporting the main resolution regarding the White Paper, Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru confined his remarks to India's defence problem and the proposal on it made in the White Paper.

"We want a national army, consisting of only Indian officers and soldiers drawn from all classes and communities." He wanted a definite scheme for the Indianization of the Army in the higher grade within a definite period. Pandit Kunzru wanted a clear enunciation of the policy by the Government recognizing India's unquestioned right to control her own Army. He protested against the policy of recruiting the Army from one province only.

Concluding, he remarked that the vast majority would reconcile themselves even to the defects of the constitution if they were assured that it was the firm intention of His Majesty's Government to create a National Army within a limited period.

Winding up the debate, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani contested the assertion that the White Paper proposals were based upon the maximum agreement reached at the three Round Table Conferences.

The truth was that the Conferences as a whole were never afforded an opportunity of recording their considered judgment on the reports of the various Sub-Committees which discussed the problems. Speaking for himself without the slightest intention of committing the Federation, Mr. Chintamani said he did not want that the scheme outlined in the White Paper should be translated into an Act of Parliament. They did not want the showy and costly trappings of a constitutional machinery, while the constitution was in every way unconstitutional.

The Liberals are great advocates of constitutional methods. Hence, it is incumbent on them not to countenance an "unconstitutional" constitution. If they at all work under it, it should not be to work it but only or mainly to oppose and obstruct it.

Moving the civil disobedience resolution, Mr. J. N. Basu, Bengal Liberal leader, said that the non-co-operation movement, which was born of despair, had done much more injury to the people themselves than to those against whom it was directed. He advised his countrymen not to give way to the spirit of despair, but go on with the spirit of trust, inasmuch as he felt that the spirit of civil disobedience was practically putting up a fight which was a negation of law and order. He appealed to Britain to so regulate her action and policy that there might be no further spread of exasperation of ill-feeling now existing.

If by injury Mr. J. N. Basu meant material injury, he was right. We can support his advice to his countrymen to go on with the spirit of trust, if he meant trust in some higher power than the powers that be and also trust in themselves. "Law and order" cannot be made a fetish of in all cases. There is a higher law and order with which man-made law and order sometimes comes into conflict. Whatever Mr. J. N. Basu and his colleagues appeal to Britain they ought to make sure whether there is any sanction at the back of the appeal.

Mr. N. M. Joshi (Bombay) in seconding the resolution said that he was not one of those who

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held the view that every form of civil disobedience was unconstitutional, but the Liberals could not approve of civil disobedience in any form as a matter of policy.

Lord Hardinge as Governor-General of India said with reference to the South African Indians' passive resistance movement that it was constitutional. So, we are glad Mr. Joshi did not out-official officials by condemning as unconstitutional every form of civil disobedience. His opinion may perhaps be summarized in Labour parlance, by saying that he was opposed to general strikes as a policy but not opposed to particular strikes for gaining particular objects. Well, the sum total of the parts may be sometimes equal to the whole.

Proceeding, Mr. Joshi observed :

> To the Congress they said, although constitutional means might be long and tedious, still it should be adopted, as it was the right one. To the Government they said, although law and order might be established by extraordinary measures like the Ordianances, these should not be resorted to in the interests of the liberty and freedom of the non-Congressmen. The time has come when both the parties should cry halt. Let the Government remember that the country was much greater than the Congress and any party.

We do not know whether Mr. Joshi has been correctly reported. He said, extraordinary measures like the Ordinances should not be resorted to in the interests of the liberty and freedom *of the non-Congressmen.* Are the interests of the liberty and freedom *of Congressmen* immaterial ? May they be treated as outlaws ? Of course, the country was much greater than the Congress and any party. But non-Congressmen, if they want to be accurate, should admit that the Congress represents the country much more than any other party.

Syed Hasan Imam

In Syed Hasan Imam India has lost a distinguished lawyer, judge, patriot, and national leader. Mr. Hasan Imam was a younger brother of the late Sir Ali Imam. He was about 62 years of age at the time of his death. He was called to the bar from the Middle Temple in 1892. Practising at first in Patna and then till 1911 in Calcutta, he became a Judge of the Calcutta High Court in 1912, retiring in 1916. After the creation of the High Court at Patna he resumed practice there and continued to be an active and brilliant member of the bar there till his death. As a politician he belonged to the Congress school. He presided over the special session of the Indian National Congress held in Bombay in September, 1918. He was president of the All-India Home Rule League. He attended the London Conference on the Turkish Peace Treaty as a delegate, and in 1923 was a delegate of the Government of India to the League of Nations at Geneva. He took a prominent part with his wife and daughter in the Congress movement in 1930. Communalism in any form did not receive any encouragement from him. He was a nationalist in theory and practice.

Lady Councillors of the Calcutta Corporation

We congratulate Mrs. Kumudini Bose, B. A. and Miss Jyotirmayi Ganguli, M. A., on their election as councillors of the Calcutta Corporation. They are the first successful women candidates to enter the Corporation by election. It is significant that both of them headed the poll in their respective wards. Both have a long record of useful public work to their credit.

Annual Meeting of Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry

Sheth Walchand Hirachand presided over the sixth annual meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry held on the 15th April last at Delhi. In his presidential address, which was lucid and brief, his observations were to the point on all the topics dealt with by him. In the opening section devoted to "Repression" occurs the following passage :

> I might, however, quote the opinion of an impartial Englishman who was a member of the deputation sent out to this country by the India League to study the Indian situation on the spot and whose opinion will, I am confident, be considered fair and unprejudiced. That gentleman, referring to one aspect of the policy of repression, has said :
>
> "When I know that the Commissioner of Police in Bombay can send merchants to jail because their refusal to trade with the other merchants constitutes an offence and can release those whom he terms as "law-breakers" when he is informed that trading has started in a certain market—this is something new in law and commerce."

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The Sheth thinks that the Congress "can and will never be crushed permanently. At the most, it might be driven underground for a time, . . ."

In connection with India's declining trade he observed :

> As you all know, Great Britain witnesses the unique phenomenon of the "Buy British" campaign supported by everybody, from the prince to the porter and receiving whole-hearted support at the hands of the administrators of the country and as a result of this propaganda, the inrush of foreign exports to that country was very soon checked. In contrast with this attitude we have in India responsible ministers in the provinces, carrying on a campaign for giving preference to goods manufactured in other parts of the Empire even at the cost of Indian-manufactured goods.

He referred with appreciation to the work that is being carried on by a number of "Buy Indian" Leagues or Swadeshi Leagues to propagate the cult of swadeshism.

As was reasonable and natural, he was against the export of gold from India.

> Whilst the United States of America with more than 7,000 million dollars worth of gold in their vaults think it wise to put an embargo on the export of gold, India's non-Indian Finance Minister characterizes this distressing feature of gold exported from India as a "pleasing phenomenon."

This passage was followed by the speaker's refutation of the Finance Member's ingenious arguments in defence of his inaction.

The other topics dealt with by Sheth Walchand Hirachand were British Industrial Policy, Imperial Preference, War Debts and the World Economic Conference, the White Paper, Adjustment of Military Burdens, the Domination of the Services, Commercial Discrimination, and the Proposed Railway Board.

Mr. N. R. Sarker's Election to Presidentship of Federation

We congratulate Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker on his election to the presidentship of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. *The People* of Lahore calls it "a happy choice" and says :

> Mr. Sarker fully deserves the honour, as he has shown himself an acute student of economic and financial problems in his several speeches and brochures on these subjects, and has, besides, to the credit of his organizing talent as a practical business man the proud record of the very successful and sound life office, the Hindustan Co-operative, of which Mr. Sarker is the Chairman.

White Paper Proposals Determined Upon Long Ago

The Burma R. T. C. met in Nov 1931 ; and the general lines of the pro Constitution for Burma (proposed b Majesty's "National" Government in E was published in Command Paper 4 1932 early in that year.

In a Statement made in reply to que in the House of Commons on the constit problem in Burma, circulated by Sir S Hoare, Secretary of State for India following passage occurs :

> "If honourable members will compare the tents of the Government's statement in the with the proposals for a Constitution f contained in the White Paper, they will se if allowance is made for the fact that the proposals are for a Federal Constitution, w a separated Burma would require a unitary of government, the *two sets of proposals* c *very closely*. (Italics are ours.) To pu summarily : the same range of opportu function that it is proposed to devolve in either upon the Federal Legislature or Provincial Legislatures is in the case of to be devolved upon the Burma Legislatu same subjects that in India are propos reserved to the Governor-General would in be reserved to the Governor; and the special responsibilities that in India are to imposed on the Governor-General or the Pr cial Governors, as the case may be, wi Burma, be imposed on the Governor."

So the proposals contained in the W Paper (published in March 1933) w decided long long ago, even before packed sittings of the Third Round T Conference. The only reason for the d in publishing the White Paper that can guess is to make it appear to world at large that the communal differe between the Hindus and the Muhamm are responsible for the retrogade and illi proposals made therein. *It now appears the communal differences were not resp for the delay.* Nay, the communal differe had nothing to do with the most imp retrograde proposals. They are copied the proposals for Burma, where there no such communal differences, as exis India.

J. M

"Bengal Under Communal Award and Poona Pact"

Sir N. N. Sircar, Advocate-Gener Bengal, has prepared and published a p

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amed *Bengal Under Communal Award* *Poona Pact*, and has thereby earned the of the public. In it he has shown by alling facts and figures, compiled with and industry, that "as the result of the munal Award and the Poona Pact, Bengal dus have been successfully squeezed out proposed Legislature in Bengal." He observes in the preface :

Not from the point of view of Caste Hindus but from the point of view of the Depressed sses, it is worthy of serious consideration ther the attempt to inflate their number, and clamour of well-organized politically advanced numerically strong castes for reverting to pressed Classes" will not inevitably end in nding that levelling up, which has been steadily on for over thirty years at least.

His appeal to the Mussalmans and the essed Classes are worthy of serious deration.

I appeal to the great Mahomedan community, well as to the Depressed Classes, to consider representations made here, to enable them to what offers they should be prepared to for a settlement, which will do justice to interests involved. Nothing but an agreed lement can satisfactorily solve the difficult em facing us.

Are any Reforms worth having if mutual distrust compel incessant application of "Safeguards," protecting us from one another ?

The acknowledged leader of a very large section Hindus, Mahatma Gandhi, has repeatedly said, we cannot solve the Communal problem, let not talk of responsible Government." Will his owers practise what this precept involves ?

Sir N. N. Sircar has demonstrated that, if Communal Award and the Poona Pact d as they are, the most public-spirited, most self-sacrificing, the ablest and "the influential community in Bengal will little or no voice in the new constitu- This community pays at least 80 per of the revenues of Bengal. This unity has founded and maintains most schools, colleges and charitable insti- ns of Bengal. Almost all the endowments the University have been made by this unity. 64·2 per cent of the literates, of the literates in English, 79.6 per cent students in high schools, 83.6 per cent students in Intermediate Colleges, 82.8 cent of the students in Degree Classes, per cent of post-graduate and research dents, 86.2 per cent of medical students, per cent of students in technical and strial schools, 85.5 per cent in engineering and survey schools, 86 per cent in commercial schools, 83 per cent. of the officers and employees in Banks Exchange Insurance offices etc., 79.7 per cent of the members of the medical profession, 87.6 per cent of the members of the legal profession belong to this community—the Hindu community. The Muhammadans preponderate in numbers in the whole population of Bengal (Muhammadans 54.8 per cent, Hindus 43.1 per cent, Christians about 0.4 per cent, others 1.7 per cent), and among the peasantry (Muhammadans 62.7 per cent), among beggars and vagrants (52.7 per cent), and in the jail population (53.1 per cent Muhammadans, in spite of the large number of civil disobedience prisoners most of whom are Hindus.)

This community, including the depressed classes, is going to be made definitely *by force of law* a permanent hopeless minority.

Changes in the Calcutta Municipal Act

The bill amending the Calcutta Municipal Act of 1923, which is to come up for discussion in the next session of the Bengal Legislative Council, is a measure of far-reaching import. If it becomes law, there will be a very serious curtailing of the autonomous powers of the Calcutta Corporation and a corresponding increase of the powers of the Government over it.

The avowed objects of this bill, according to a ministerial *communique*, are :

(i) "to prevent the misuse of civic power for political ends;
(ii) and "to ensure that members of the Corporation should face their responsibility for the proper administration of the Calcutta Municipal Act."

It is further explained in this same ministerial *communique* that

"There have been in certain quarters suggestions that the object of the Government is to attack the Corporation and to bring under their control the details of municipal administration. This is not at all correct; a perusal of the Bill will prove that the Government have no ulterior designs."

The obvious comment on this advance assertion of innocence is that, if the benevolent aims of the Government are evident in the Provisions of the bill, why this protestation about freedom from ulterior motives which may defeat its own end by suggesting

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thoughts which would not have arisen at all in the natural course of things? But the fact of the matter is, this bill is not so simple as it looks. It certainly has at the back of it as much backstairs negotiations and talks behind scenes as every important and controversial legislative measure has. We, however, pretend neither to share nor to let out any secrets. But judging from published and well-known facts, it seems that the proposed law has a fairly long history of disputes and bickerings for power behind it. It is this history one must look into in order to understand the scope and intention of the bill.

The dispute between the Government and the Corporation is both political and economic. Judging from the ministerial statement quoted above regarding the "misuse of civic power for political ends" it might be thought that the British power in Calcutta is in imminent danger of collapse from the encroachments of the Swarajist Corporation. Nothing so serious is, however, the case. The political part of the quarrel only centres round the employment of some twenty-five low-paid teachers in the Education Department of the Calcutta Corporation, who have been convicted in connection with the Civil Disobedience movement and of other political offences. The Primary Education Department of the Corporation is one of those new ventures of the Nationalist Corporation, which however commendable from a disinterested point of view, has not been looked upon with particular favour by the Government. It was the target of a recent and memorable attack by Sir Charles Tegart in London, who said, it provided terrorists with jobs. The charges of the Government of Bengal are, however, not so explicit. The statement of objects and reasons attached to the bill says:

> In the beginning of July, 1932, Goverment addressed a letter to the Corporation of Calcutta asking whether teachers employed by them in their Primary Schools had participated in the Civil Disobedience movement or been convicted of political offences, and enquiring what disciplinary action the Corporation had taken or proposed to take. To this enquiry the Corporation replied that they were not responsible for the political activities of their employees outside their office hours. This was a position in which Government could not acquiesce, and the Legislative Council were, therefore, informed on the 16th December 1932, that legislation would be introduced to deal with the matter during this session.

In order to appreciate the sense of proportion displayed in this solemn paragraph, it should be borne in mind that the number of teachers in the Education Department of the Corporation is about 1,000, and the number of person convicted for political offences is something like twenty-five.

But, however disproportionate this resolve of the Government to deprive political offenders of their livlihood may seem, it is at least clear and intelligible. The stated aims of the Government regarding proper financial administration of the Corporation have not got even this merit. The passages of the ministerial *communique* and the statement of the objects and reasons of the bill are a string of rigmarole neither making nor proving definite charges, but suggesting grave financial irregularities and perhaps gigantic embezzlements in defiance of an all-seeing but impotent Government. What are the "illegal" items of expenditure to which the Government refer? What are the so-called evasions of the provisions of the Municipal Act which confront Government with the "difficulty that they must either condone the irregularities or take action so drastic as seriously to affect the interests of the rate-payers?" It is rather strange that only the Government should be aware of irregularities of the magnitude suggested and neither the Municipal Commissioners, nor the rate-payers. If even this were possible, details of these grave irregularities should have been published long ago. Or do the Government believe that the rate-payers of Calcutta are in collusion with the "Nationalist" Corporation that they do not think it necessary to confide in them?

The truth, however, is that even here the language of the Government is in absurd disproportion to the facts adduced.

The ministerial statement makes only one definite charge of the evasion of the provisions of the Municipal Act of 1923, and that in connection with the various electrical schemes of the Corporation. Whether the provisions of section 14 have been contravened in this matter is a question of fact, which is not settled one way or the other by the *ex parte*

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ment of the Government. After all it may be no more than a technical question of accounting methods. But a more important consideration regarding the electrical schemes is that they form part of engineering plans elaborated by an Indian engineer of the Corporation towards whom and all whose schemes the Government has shown unmistakable and pronounced dislike. In *The Modern Review* for December last there was a note (p. 721ff.) in which an attempt was made to show the negligence and the dilatoriness of the Government in connection with the drainage of Calcutta, which is a problem of greater moment for the inhabitants of Calcutta at present than any of the alleged political and financial "misdeeds" of the Corporation. But while the Government withholds their sanction from practicable and economical schemes for the solution of the drainage problem formulated by the Special Officer, and pursue their leisurely routine of correspondence, they are trying to label the expenditure incurred on measures designed to keep Calcutta in a sanitary condition as meanwhile as financial irregularities.

The electrical schemes, too, like the employment of political offenders, have been a subject of lengthy previous correspondence between the Government and the Corporation. On July 11th, 1932 the Government wrote on this subject to the Corporation and the Corporation's reply was despatched in September. This correspondence is too lengthy and too technical for us to quote here. But a careful study of it will fully convince the reader about the following points :

(a) that the subsidiary electrical schemes are no part of the main scheme for generation of electricity (submitted to Government for approval under sec. 14 in early 1931 but still awaiting their approval) and thus there is no evasion of section 14.

(b) that the electrical plant installed under these subsidiary schemes has proved to be a great boon to the ratepayers in relieving drainage congestion of the city and cheapening the cost of pumping both for water supply and drainage, effecting considerable saving in money.

(c) That some of these subsidiary schemes costing under Rs. 2½ lakhs in value did not require Government approval under sec. 14.

(d) That one of these schemes, *viz.*, Sch. VIII and VIIIa—although originally once approved by Government—was again sent up to Government for approval under the strict reading of sec. 14, as the scheme was partly modified, thus proving that the Corporation far from evading sec. 14, had actually complied with the letter of the law very punctiliously.

(e) That the Government, misled by their advisers (who were more mindful of the interests of a monopoly concern, *viz.*, Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation, than of the ratepayers), had acted unconstitutionally in interfering with the working of the Corporation and tried to prevent the Corporation for looking after the interests of the ratepayers.

(f) that Government has persisted in their arbitrary attitude in withholding approval of Scheme VIII and VIIIa (modified) till today, thereby preventing essential drainage improvement works in important new areas of the City opened up years ago by the Calcutta Improvement Trust and endangering the health of the rate-payers.

(g) that by withholding approval from the main electric scheme for two years the Government is delaying the realization of the estimated saving (in annual electric bills) of about Rs. 5 lakhs yearly, representing a borrowing capacity of about one crore of rupees.

The solicitude which the Government show regarding the proper administration of the Corporation's finances makes one curious about their past record in connection with economy in the Corporation and husbandingthe rate-payer's money. This is likely to be both a vast and edifying subject. We shall confine ourselves to only one instance which is directly concerned with the Corporation's electrical schemes.

The blunders and extravagance of the old Corporation (pre-1924) culminated in the hurried launching of a Rs. 3 crore water supply extension scheme (the Moore Scheme). This forced the new Corporation (based on popular franchise) to look around and probe into the detailed workings of the spending departments with a view to effecting economy

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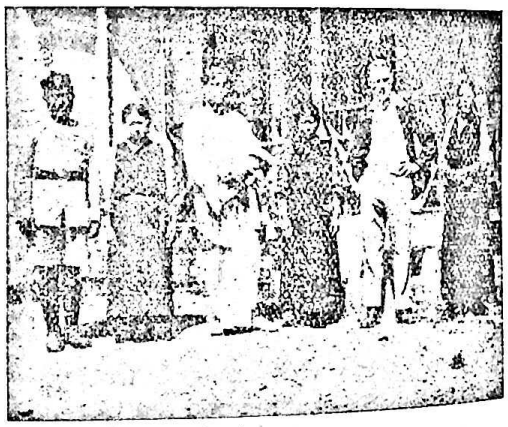
in running costs, and thus giving relief to the ratepayers burdened with a huge annual interest (reserve) charge on account of the Rs. 3 crores borrowed to carry out the Moore Scheme. One of the first things done by the Swarajist Corporation was to appoint a Special Committee to investigate the possibilities of the Corporation generating their own electricity. For five years, however, nothing was allowed to be done by the influence of the vested interests and by the obstructions of the alien expert officers of the Corporation. An attempt was made in 1928 (when the Government group of councillors held a coalition majority) to scotch the "electricity idea" by renewing a long-term agreement with the Calcutta Electric Supply Corp. Simultaneously a similar long-term agreement with the Oriental Gas Co. at rates unfavourable to ratepayers was attempted. Both the attempts were frustrated by the adroitness of the strong opposition, and the ratepayers were almost miraculously spared. With the advent of an Indian expert at the head of the technical affairs of the Corporation in 1929, the situation steadily improved, culminating in the sanction by the Corporation of a fully formulated and practical scheme for generating electricity in 1930. This scheme assures an annual saving of Rs. 6 lakhs in electric bills. The one-pice unit boldly put forward to the world was at first challenged by the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation but later admitted by them (however indirectly it might be) when it offered a rate nearer the one-pice unit to the Corporation and reduced the flat domestic rate by about 8½ per cent. Since then, not only in electricity, but in every money-saving measure (*e.g.*, drainage schemes, manufacture of wagons, lamp posts, fans, iron pipes, repair of boats, gas costs, purchase of machinery by international competition) the Corporation had to fight incessantly not only the alien experts of the Government and the alien vested interests outside but their creatures and sympathizers inside the Corporation.

This is, however, only one of many such instances. We shall return to them and to the specific provisions of this mischievous bill on a later occasion.

The Rescue of Three Bhutia Girls

The hilly country round about Darjeeling is one of the centres of the revolting traffic in women and girls. The simple hill-folk of this region are often enticed away from their homes by promises of employment and money. Last January a Muhammadan merchant who had gone to Sikkim to trade in fruits kidnapped three young Bhutia girls and brought them down to Calcutta. The Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha accidentally got the news and rescued the girls from a house in Burrabazar, and sent them back in charge of their representative to the Sikkim Darbar. The Hindu Sabha has shown considerable energy in fighting social vice, and this is another example of their praiseworthy activities.



The three rescued girls with the representative of the Hindu Sabha and the General Secretary of Sikkim

G. B. Shaw Warns Japan

Mr. George Bernard Shaw gave collective serio-humorous interviews to Japanese pressmen in Japan, just as he did to Indian pressmen at Bombay. The following extracts from *The Japan Weekly Chronicle* give some idea of what would happen in his opinion, if the Chinese could give as much trouble to the conquering Japanese as the Irish gave to the English.

ALL WARS SELF DEFENCE.

"You say it is all in self defence, you are fighting in self-defence. All wars are fought in self defence! You have behaved perfectly correctly because you haven't declared war."

"But if the League is going to be stopped by a mere form, if you are going to be allowed the power to kill, and destroy and murder, as long as

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you don't declare war, then what's the use of the League ?"

"Yet as an outsider I wonder if you have stopped to think what this really means to you. Now, I am an Irishman. Ireland is a little cabbage garden of a country, it has about four million people, and England has forty milllons. But England could not succeed in preventing Irishmen from vindicating their nationality. Blood and iron (Mr. Shaw pronounced it eye-run) and fire and murder was let loose in an attempt to put down Irishmen. The Irish leader, Michael Collins, said that for every cream shop destroyed, he would burn down two country villas. Have you considered that ? There are twenty-eight million Chinese in Manchukuo, how are you going to keep them quiet ? You can't do it with policemen. A policeman is of no use whatever. He is perfectly ineffective, unless the people call him in. The Chinese people won't do that and so you must face the question whether you are prepared to coerce them for the next hundred years."

Mr. Shaw reminded his interviewers that he was seventy years old. In his younger days there was horse traffic in England, and sometimes a horse would slip on the road.

"What happened then ? Why everyone rushed to sit on its head, for if it struggled to get up, it was sure to entangle itself with the harness and shafts."

"Keeping down nationalism is like sitting on the horse's head. There is no time to do anything else. The Irish showed this when for over thirty years they gave the English Parliament no time to do anything else but discuss the Irish question."

"What is going to happen to you if you have to spend the next century sitting on the horse's head ? Who's going to do the work, or isn't it going to be done at all ? The nationalists and patriots won't do it, they'll be too busy talking."

THE NATIONALIST FOOLS

Here Mr. Shaw made a slight digression on nationalism.

"Any fool can make nationalist speeches. Any fool can talk about freedom and the glories of history. Nationalism is easy, and can be a great nuisance. When you finally get your nationality, you generally find it desirable to shoot the nationalists as quickly as you can. But in the meantime no work is being done. Are you really taking a long view of all this ? In subjugating China have you thought of what is going to become of Japan ? There are going to be continual risings and threats, and you will eventually find it impossible to keep peace unless you have one policeman for every Chinese."

Demands of States' People

In his excellent presidential address at the Panjab States' Peoples Conference Mr. A. V. Patwardhan summarized the demands of the States' people as follows :

They must above all secure (1) popular election in the federal legislature ; (2) a Declaration of Rights available for the people in the States and enforceable through the agency of the federal court ; (3) federalization of civil and criminal law ; (4) lodgement of residuary powers in the federal government : (5) continuance of the present practice in the matter of exercise of paramountcy, but a greater alertness in fulfilling the Crown's pledge of good government in the States of the people.

Haskell Lectures

We are glad to learn that Mr. K. Natarajan has been selected to deliver the next series of Haskell lectures in America. It is an excellent selection. He will speak on Social Movements in Modern India.

Britain and Soviet Justice

The Russian Government brought to trial some English employees of an engineering firm at Moscow which has a large contract for constructional work with that Government. They were accused of espionage and sabotage. The British Government or Foreign Office tried different kinds of intimidation to prevent the accused Englishmen from being tried and punished. They even passed a law to end trade relations with Russia. But to no purpose. The trial was proceeded with and some of the English accused punished. The remarkable thing about it is that the English offenders have got much lighter sentences than their Russian co-accused. This is contrary to what we are familiar with in India. The Moscow trial was not long drawn out like the Meerut trial, nor did the Soviet court pass such thundering sentences as the Meerut court, though the offences at Moscow were really very serious.

As regards the British Act meant to end trade relations with Russia, the latter has passed a similar Act. England has caught a Tartar !

Calcutta's New Elected Councillors, Mayor and Deputy Mayor

It is a pleasure to note that the majority of the new elected Councillors and aldermen of the Calcutta Corporation are nationalists. We congratulate them on their election and hope they will all be true to their trust.

We also congratulate Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu and Haji M. A. Rezzak on their election to the chairs of the Mayor and the Deputy Mayor of the city. They are fortunate in having splendid opportunities for doing good to their fellow-citizens.

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The Nazis and German Jews

In these days of misleading propaganda, it would not be right to condemn Herr Hitler and the Nazis without having full information. But if they have treated the Jews in Germany in the way they are reported to have done, they have punished the Jews in Germany for propaganda carried on abroad against the Nazis by Jews outside Germany. The principle of vicarious punishment is vicious.

Depressed Class Gain (!) from Minority Pact

The professed leaders of the Depressed Classes in the R. T. C. entered into the Minority Pact with the Moslem delegates in that body. That the Depressed Classes were made cat's-paws of will appear from the following figures:

In British India, minus Burma, according to the Government Census Report, Moslems number 6,64,78,669 and the Depressed Classes number 4,02,54,576. In the Lower Chamber of the Federal Legislature Moslems are to get 82 seats, and the Depressed Classes only 19. In proportion to the Moslem seats they ought to have got 49 seats! The number of seats to be given to the Depressed Classes in the Upper Chamber is not even mentioned. Perhaps no seat is to be reserved for them.

Majority Reduced to Minority

The provinces of Madras, U. P., Bihar and Bengal contain a population of more than 17 crores and 65 lakhs. This is more than half the population of India minus Burma.

In the Federal Legislature, this majority is to get 72 seats in the Upper Chamber and 141 seats in the Lower. The population of the rest of India, forming the minority, is to get 178 seats in the Upper Chamber and 234 seats in the Lower!

In British India minus Burma the "general" constituency consists of 18,42,21,834 Hindus and others, out of a total population of 25,66,27,138. *They are more than two-thirds of the population.* They are to get 124 seats in a Lower House of 375, *i. e.*, less than half the seats!

Injustice to Hindus In Provincial Legislatures As A Whole

The total number of seats in the provincial Legislative Assemblies is 1585. In Provinces, *minus* Burma, Hindus number 17,63,59,738 out of a total population of 25,66,27,138. In proportion to their number they ought to get 1088 seats out of 1585. But they are to get only 839 (on the assumption that they will get all the "General" seats), *i. e.*, 249 less than their due!

Japan and India

A Free Press cable from Shanghai, dated April 2, runs thus:

> *Shanghai, April 2.*
>
> In a statement to the press Mr. Eugen Chen, Chinese ex-Foreign Minister, urged the nationalists to boycott of Japanese goods "even if it is relaxation of boycott of British goods, which is longer necessary as a measure to obtain independence." It was pointed out that Japan recouping through the Indian market the loss sustained by her through Chinese boycott. Chen further predicted that the Indian market was likely to become so important in Japanese industrial economy that Japan would most claim India as a life-line similar to Manchuria that the day of British withdrawal from India not far distant, after which India would be at mercy of Japanese fleet.

This reminds us that when Lord Carmichael was Governor of Bengal and Mr. P. C. Lyon an Executive Councillor we published a document relating to Japanese designs on India, unknown or little known in India.

Safety of Indian Students in Germany

The following communication is published at the request of India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie:

> Members of the Labour Party have been maintaining in the House of Commons that the safety of the Indians pursuing their studies in Germany was compromised by recent political events. This news has also been divulged in the foreign press. India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie, which looks after the interests of a considerable portion of such Indians as study in Germany, assures the public at large that the safety of the Indian students pursuing their scientific work and research ing from interfering with politics is guaranteed present and in future. Indian students who come to this country in order to acquaint themselves with German things and to promote cultural relations between Germany and India can safely be assured of being now as before welcomed in German Universities. News to the contrary propagated by the foreign press have no foundation whatever in actual facts.

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LAKSHMAN AND SURPANAKHA
By Ramgopal Vijayavargiya

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WORLD-WIDE BROTHERHOOD

By JABEZ T. SUNDERLAND

OUR world has many needs, many that are great and urgent. But among them all has it any other that is so vital as the need of brotherhood? And the brotherhood must not be limited. It must be universal, it must be world-wide, it must take in the entire human race.

I

Perhaps the one thing that has done more than anything else in human history to make this possible—to prepare the way for human brotherhood on the scale of an entire humanity, has been the recent unifying of the physical world, that is, the bringing of the scattered parts of the earth's surface for the first time, into actual relations with one another, so as to form a whole. Strange as it may seem, only within our own time has the earth been really one. Previously, there were fragments of a world, parts of a world, some near to one another and some remote, some known to one another and some unknown; but not an entire and unbroken world. There was no unity among the parts: therefore there was no basis for a unity of mankind. Although the spiritual world transcends the physical, yet in a very real sense it rests upon it. Therefore, not until the physical world became a unity was it possible for humanity to become a unity.

How isolated and unconnected have been the different parts of the world is easily seen. The world as we know it today contains five main land-areas which we call continents. But until very recent times only three of these—Asia, Europe, and Africa—even knew of the existence of the others: and in these three only relatively small parts which were contiguous, ever had much intercourse. The vastly larger outlying portions were almost as much strangers as if they had been in different universes. Until four centuries ago, so great and important a country as China was a mysterious land, practically unknown beyond limited parts of Asia. Even India, with her conspicuous place in Asiatic civilization, was hardly more than a name to a large part of mankind. Her silks and tapestries and other rich products of her looms, and the exquisite work of her jewellers and lapidaries, had made their way to the chief cities of Western Asia and the countries around the Mediterranean Sea, and her Buddhist monks seem to have carried their gospel of brotherhood nearly as far; yet it was not until a sea-route was discovered connecting Europe with the Orient, that India began to be at all adequately known to the Western world.

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Until sixty or seventy years ago, Japan now so conspicuous among the nations—was merely a group of obscure, far-away islands, of which the majority of mankind had never heard. Until four hundred years ago the great continents of North and South America were hidden away beyond the broad and stormy Atlantic, undreamed of by any nation of the Eastern world. Until later still, Australia—larger in area than all of Europe outside of Russia—was undiscovered by the rest of mankind. The immense interior of Africa was a *terra incognita* until almost our own generation. The same was true of vast regions in the extreme north and the extreme south, in the vicinity of the north and south poles. Not until the modern age of exploration and discovery, consequent upon man's mastery of the sea, were the thousands of islands—some of them large and populous—scattered among the oceans of the world, known to Europe or Asia, or even to one another.

But at last a very great change has come, a change beginning in the fifteenth century with such great voyagers and explorers as Columbus and Vasco da Gama, but not completed until our own generation. Now all important parts are discovered; the fragments are brought into touch; the scattered pieces, no matter how far apart, are joined; for the first time the world is really one.

And it is one not only in the sense that all parts are known to one another, but also in the deeper sense that relationships undreamed of before have been established between them, and common interests of a hundred kinds have been discovered or created, which are certain to be permanent. Trade and commerce by land and sea, railways, steamships, airships, telegraphs, cables under oceans, wireless and radio over both oceans and continents, postal systems extending to all countries, travel to remotest regions, world-wide finance, newspapers and literature circulating everywhere—these things, the creations of our modern science and modern knowledge—are shuttles which have woven all parts of the earth together and made them a unity,—one world in the fullest and deepest sense, no portion of which can separate its fortunes from the fortunes of all the rest—no part of which can prosper without all other parts being advanced, or injured without all other parts of suffering. The isolation and self-sufficiency of people and of nations is gone, never to return.

St. Paul says of the human body: "The eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee, or the head to the feet, I have no need of you. If one member suffers, all the members suffer with it; and if one member is honoured, all the members are honoured." We are beginning to see that exactly the same is true of the world, now that it has become one. Asia cannot say to Europe, "I have no need of you;" nor Europe to Asia, "I have no need of you." No nation, without folly, and loss, can be indifferent to the welfare of any other nation. No people can harm another people without, sooner or later, finding a lash falling upon their own back.

The consequences flowing from the unification of the world are necessarily very great and far-reaching. Since we have now one world and one human family, with interests that cannot be separated, we must have harmony, we must have brotherhood. Every thing possible must be done to prevent ill-feelings, misunderstandings, contentions, injustices, suspicions, fears, hates, whatever tends to produce antagonisms and wars. The family, the whole family of humanity, must learn to live together in peace and goodwill. This is absolutely vital. This means that the most imperative, the most pressing question now before the entire world is how to promote human brotherhood, how to enable the great newly-created world-family of individuals, nations and races, to live together without destroying one another.

It is said by doubting, fearing, faithless men, that thoughts of human brotherhood are pleasant, exhilarating, delightful, but are not practical, and are mere dreams. The answer, clear as the sun, is that nothing else but brotherhood is practical; everything to the contrary is insanity, anarchy, ruin.

"Dreams are they—our dreams of
human brotherhood?
Yes, they are dreams, but dreams
from God.

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Shall we despise and scorn them—
That men shall love one another,
That all, whate'er their station, colour,
Rank or name, shall call each other brother,
That hate 'twixt land and land shall cease,
That war, red-handed, shall give place to peace,
That greed shall grow less in the market-place,
That lust shall yield to love for the race,
That men shall meet God face to face?
Dreams are they all? Yes, *God's* dreams, and
Because they are God's dreams.
As God lives *they shall come true.*"

Human brotherhood is important in whatever form it appears: it is particularly necessary, however, that it be promoted in four different directions, namely, between *Nations*, between *Races*, between *Individuals* and *Classes* (social and industrial brotherhood) and between *Religions*.

II

First, brotherhood between *Races*. One of the greatest obstacles in the way of inter-racial brotherhood has been the lack of acquaintance with, and of knowledge of, one another.

"Herein lies the tragedy of the world:
Not that men are poor—
All men know something of poverty.
Not that men are wicked—
Who is good?
Not that men are ignorant of a thousand things—
Truth is infinite.
Nay, but that men and peoples *know so little of one another.*"

For the most part, the different races of the world have had habitats widely separated; and men are likely to be prejudiced against those at a distance whom they do not know. People who are strange to us are apt to repel us. Charles Lamb in talking with a friend referred to a certain man as one whom he hated. "But why do you hate him?" inquired the friend, "do you know him?" "Oh no," replied Lamb, "that is why I hate him; if I knew him, I couldn't hate him." The fact that races have usually been so widely separated, and therefore strangers to one another, has been an important cause in the rise of race antipathies. Happily, as we have seen, *this* cause of race hatred and antagonism has now largely passed away under modern conditions, since the physical world has become one and people of all races are being brought into closer contact.

Another cause of antagonism between races is difference of colour, hair, and physical characteristics, difference of language, of dress and of customs. But why should difference create alienation, or hatred, or repulsion? Would mankind be more attractive if all men were exactly alike? Would we regard a flower-garden as more beautiful, if it contained only one kind of flower? Would a forest made up of a single species of trees be thought superior to one containing many species? In the world of physical nature variety is considered an element of attraction, beauty, wealth. Why should it not be so in the world of humanity? Rightly looked at the fact that there are different races of men, with different appearances, customs, characterstics, means advantage; means a more interesting and wonderful world. The world would be far poorer and far less desirable as a place to live in if there were in it only one race and one civilization, even if that race and civilization were our own. Intimate acquaintance with different races shows that they all possess qualities which in their different ways are interesting and admirable, and which form a solid basis for mutual regard and fraternal relations. Friendships should not be confined to persons of one's own class, one's own station in life, or one's own race. Some of the warmest and truest friendships ever known have been between men of widely different races. Lives are widened and enriched by international and inter-racial contacts and sympathies. To know another civilization with sympathy and appreciation, is a valuable education. We should learn to care for human beings as human beings, without reference to the accidents that differentiate them from one another or from us. Brotherhood should be as wide as humanity.

Perhaps nothing in the past has done so much to create antagonism between races, perhaps nothing is doing so much to create and foster such antagonism at the present time, as the disposition on the part of the stronger and more advanced races to tyrannize over oppress and wrong the weaker—to subjugate

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them and exploit their lands, and in many cases virtually to make slaves of them. Under such conditions, of course, brotherhood is impossible. Brotherhood can be based only on kindness and justice.

Whenever races more advanced in civilization come into contact with those less advanced, their aim should not be to subjugate and exploit, but to befriend and lift up. We are ashamed to take advantage of the weakness and ignorance of children to abuse and oppress them—because we are wiser and stronger than they : we recognize it to be our duty to protect them. It should be the same with advanced races in their dealings with races of inferior culture. The attitude of the superior should always be that of friend, guardian, teacher never that of despoiler. Thus it is that the promotion of brotherhood between races must always rest mainly with the higher.

What have we in America done to promote or to hinder the spirit of brotherhood between races ? Let us see.

I recall with shame that some years ago we, as a nation, forgot for the time being, our own past history and the very foundation principle of our democracy—that "all just government derives its power from the consent of the governed"—and following the evil example of the nations of Europe, we obtained a colony, or rather a dependency, in the Far East. Finding the people of the Philippine Islands struggling to free themselves from a tyrannical foreign power, instead of aiding them, we committed the crime of seizing their country, carrying on a cruel war to subdue them, and have held them ever since as our subjects, undoubtedly feeling ourselves more at liberty to do this because they were of a race different from our own.

True, we have probably treated these Filipino subjects of ours better than any other nation has ever treated a subject people. We have done much to establish and maintain schools and education among them everywhere, and to promote sanitation in all parts of the Islands. We have allowed a majority of the offices of the country—the higher as well as the lower—to be filled by Filipinos. We have left municipal and local government almost wholly in the hands of the people. We have even gone so far as to grant to the Filipinos themselves nearly full power in national legislation and in control of their national finances. In other words, our "benevolent despotism" has been extraordinarily benevolent,—benevolent to a degree hitherto unknown. Yet what of all this ? Nonetheless our rule has been a despotism, unpardonable and unendurable, because it has robbed nine or ten millions of people of something for the loss of which nothing can compensate, something dearer to them than life itself—their freedom, their independence ; it has kept them in subjection to a foreign power whose only right to rule them was the right of the sword ; it has humiliated and degraded them by depriving them of a place among the nations of the world.

Will we persist in our national sin ? I am happy to answer that I do not think so. We have promised the Filipinos their independence, and I believe we shall keep our promise. Our militarists, imperialists, and capitalists, to whom human freedom means little (as it means little to those classes the world over) want to retain these rich Islands permanently for purposes of exploitation, and are doing and will do all in their power to render our promise of no effect by causing interminable delays in its fulfilment. Their power is great but, I do not believe they will succeed. The American people as a whole are honourable and just. To them the nation's promises are not camouflage, and not scraps of paper to be trampled under foot at will. They are sacred things. I am confident that we shall defeat our capitalists and militarists, and at no distant day grant to the Filipinos the freedom we have too long withheld from them.

We, Americans, have a very serious race problem here at home. It has to do with our negro population. How can ninety or a hundred millions of white people and ten or twelve millions of another race and colour live together in the same nation ? Unfortunately, we have tried the way of antagonism as seen in our shameful lynchings. But antagonism only creates further antagonism, and our difficulties deepen. Slowly but surely, as I believe, our better minds are beginning to see that because

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we, the white people, have always been free while the negroes have been slaves, because we have enjoyed advantages of education and self-development of which the negroes have been deprived, and because our civilization has been higher than theirs, therefore the chief responsibility for mending things rests upon us. *Noblesse oblige.* Our business is not to sneer or criticize or blame, but to help. To these people who are with us, not because they wanted to come, but because we brought them for our own advantage, we must now give the advantages that are their right—facilities for education that will lift them out of their ignorance and dependence, and make them intelligent, self-supporting, self-respecting members of civilized communities. In other words, we are beginning to discover that the key to our American negro problem is brotherhood and that there is no other, as there is no other to any of the race problems of the world.

There is serious antagonism, largely racial, between the peoples of Asia and those of Europe. Because European nations belong to the so-called 'White' race, they have long been disposed to look down upon Asiatic peoples, and to regard themselves as at liberty to domineer over them, to exploit them and rob them of their territory. Today, Europe holds political control over three quarters of Asia. This injustice, of course, is felt deeply by the Asiatic peoples. They love freedom and independence as much as do the people of Europe. They like no better to be robbed of their soil and be ruled by aliens. If antagonism between Asiatic and European nations is to be removed, Europe must treat the older continent with more of justice than too often she has done in the past or is doing today.

Great Britain's past treatment of China in twice waging war against her for the purpose of forcing the opium trade upon her people, thus to gain revenue by their degradation and ruin, forms one of the darkest records of modern history. Indeed the treatment which nearly all the leading powers of Europe have accorded to China has been overbearing and unjust in the extreme.

Great Britain's treatment of India, her persistence in holding in subjection a highly intellectual people, with a civilization far older than her own, exploiting their country for her own enrichment, and granting them no effective voice whatever in their own government, is a great and long continued wrong which the whole civilized world should condemn.

It is especially unfortunate that there should be injustice and antagonism between the races of Europe and Asia, because of the fact that they are so closely related. Europeans call themselves 'white' and the peoples of Asia 'brown' and 'yellow.' But how very little do these colours really signify! Some Asiatics are whiter than some Europeans. When light-skinned Europeans migrate to tropical lands they grow darker in colour, and when dark-skinned Asiatics move to colder climates, they grow lighter.

If anywhere in either continent any race is disposed to lift itself up in pride above others as a purer race and therefore as superior, it may well be reminded that neither continent contains any such thing as a pure race. All the races of Asia and Europe are mixed: this is particularly true of Europe. It seems to be the verdict of the highest scientific authorities that there is probably not a single so-called 'European' person living who does not have Asiatic blood in his veins, while large numbers of the inhabitants of Southern Europe possess more or less African blood. Considering these facts, how little ground is there among the peoples of either continent for race pride or race antagonisms and how much for race brotherhood.

Europe is disposed to be proud and domineering over Asia because she (Europe) claims to be at the front in the world's civilization. Her claim is open to dispute—the decision depending upon what we are to regard as highest in civilization, things material or things spiritual. And it may be well for Europe to remember that even if she is at the front today, she was not always so, and the time may come again when she will not be. At one time Egypt, in despised Africa, led the civilization of the world. At another, Babylon in Asia was the leader; at another, India; at another, China.

If Europe has produced great nations, so has Asia. If Europe has given birth to great

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men, Asia has given birth to men quite as great. Indeed, has Europe had any sons in the past who may justly be ranked as the equal of Asia's Confucius, Buddha, Moses, Mahomet, and Jesus? Has she any today as truly great as Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore? Europe should not forget that she did not originate her own civilization, but received it from Asia. More than that, she did not originate her moral laws, or her religion. Both of these inestimable treasures are Asia's gifts to her.

During the past century, Europe has been conferring upon Asia the valuable boon of her science. For this Asia may well be grateful. But there is little cause for boasting on Europe's part. Surely, it is time for her to be making some return to the older continent for the priceless boons of her own civilization and especially for the most valuable part of her civilization, her moral laws, and her religious faith.

What is needed is for Europe and Asia to lay aside their antagonisms, to join hands in carrying forward civilization—civilization on both its sides, material and spiritual, and to co-operate in every way possible in the work of practically uplifting the world.

(To be concluded)

HOW AMERICA TRAINS YOUNG CITIZENS AS SOLDIERS

By Dr. SUDHINDRA BOSE

PACIFISTS there are in the United States; but passionate pacifism is far from becoming a cult among the sturdy American youths. The general trend of thought in America is that in periods of peace, appropriate action must be taken to insure the proper organization and maintenance of the means of providing for the country's defence. Then when the nation is confronted with a war, it will be ready to face the enemy with minimum loss of life and treasure. Means of preparedness taken in peace time are as economical of manhood and money as they are guarantees of national security.

The professional standing army of the United States is smaller than that of other great nations. Moreover, this country does not require compulsory military service of its citizens. In order to remedy this partially, the National Defence Acts provide for the constitution of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (R. O. T. C.) in educational institutions throughout the country. It is true that except in a number of colleges and universities aided by the federal government, the establishment of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps is voluntary with the authorities of the educational institutions. But the Corps is a vitally important element of American national defence.

Officers' Training Corps

The primary object of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps is to provide systematic training at schools and colleges for the purpose of qualifying students for commission as reserve officers in the Army of the United States. Its purpose is to educate the future civilian leaders of the nation to their military obligations of citizenship while they are in the formative period of their lives. The leadership developed as a result of this training is to be utilized in time of national emergency. The system takes the place in the United States of universal military service demanded by practically all other Western countries.

The complete military course of instruction comprises four years: a basic course of two years and an advanced course

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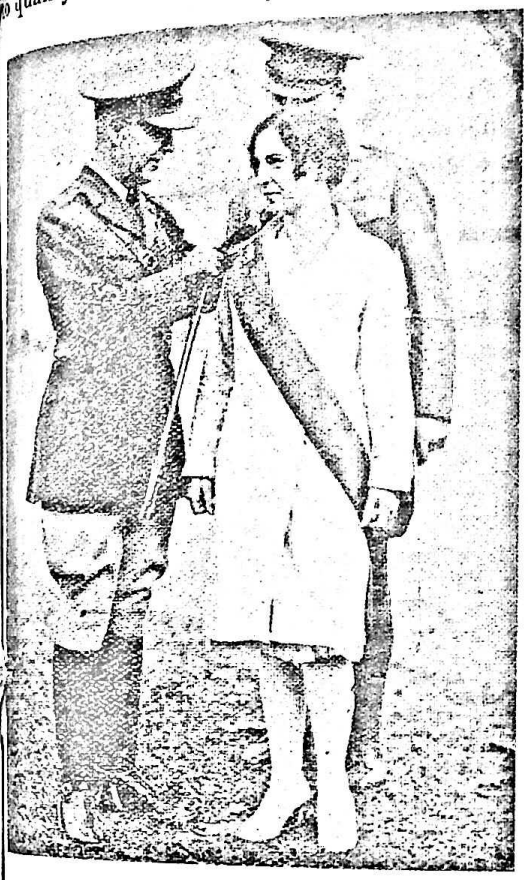
of another two years. The basic course deals mostly with military fundamentals and includes those subjects which are necessary to qualify the student to perform the duties



Miss Mary O'Reilly receiving her captain's bars

of a non-commissioned officer of the United States Army in the lowest grade.

The object of the advanced course is to present in detail the information necessary to qualify for a commission a limited number of students who have completed the basic course and have demonstrated exceptional qualities of leadership. Such students are enrolled in the advanced course by signing a contract to complete the two years of training at a college or university. It is expected that graduates of the four-year Reserve Officers' Training Corps course will be qualified to perform the duties of commissioned officers of the lowest grade.

Let it be understood that the Reserve Officers' Training Corps consists of "units" of the different arms, such as infantry, cavalry, artillery, aviation, engineer, medical. The courses of instruction for the various arms are prescribed by the War Department at Washington; but they are not in conflict with the general policy of the educational institution concerned. The State University of Ohio recently offered fifty different courses in R. O. T. C. subjects.

The opinion is generally held by a large number of American educators that the Reserve Officers' Training Corps is not warlike in purpose. Its primary functions are citizenship training, character building and physical development. "A prepared America will never seek war, nor will war seek a prepared America," I was recently told by Colonel C. R. Lewis, Professor of

The Lady Colonel
Miss Evelyn Hoskins, chosen as the most popular co-ed of the University of Tennessee, the award carrying with it the title of colonel in the R. O. T. C. regiment

Military Science and Tactics at the State University of Iowa. "Apart from tactical benefits which the University students get from military training, they are because of

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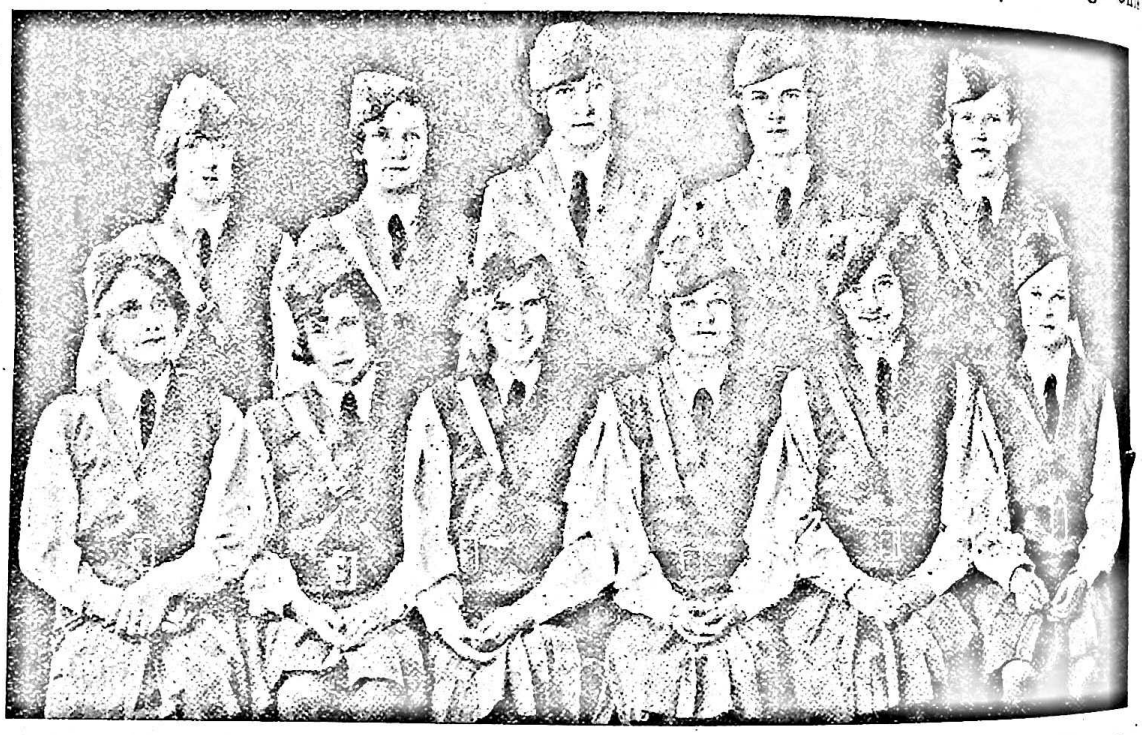
this training better fitted for their industrial and professional careers. It is eminently worth while." It must be so, for I find that in the past ten years the United States government has spent for its Reserve Officers' Training Corps 318 million rupees to teach military science to a million students.

Last year the R. O. T. C. units were conducted in 313 schools, colleges and universities, with 147,000 students receiving training. In 159 of these institutions military training was completely compulsory for the first two years of attendance, and took in 95,000 students. Over 1,700 instructors from the United States Army were used to teach the Reserve Officers' Training Corps units.

The federal government furnishes officers, enlisted men, materials and money to carry on the military instruction. At the University of Illinois, which is attended by about 10,000 students, three million rupees' worth of military equipment is at the disposal of the R. O. T. C. students.

The R. O. T. C. courses are, as a rule, popular with the students. Nevertheless there are many prizes, honours and awards established exclusively to encourage the R. O. T. C. students. In the co-educational institutions, girls often interest themselves in college military activities, and act as sponsors and honorary colonels. Some of them even take the R. O. T. C. courses. Rifle markmanship, military tactics, and army ethics are included in their training. Girls can be moulded into good citizens as well as boys.



ALWAYS FILLED are the ranks of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps at Ogden High School, Ogden, Utah. These girls are sponsors of the organization who have been equipped with special uniforms to help them to carry out their duties.

No matter what the pacifists may say, the R. O. T. C. is firmly rooted in American national life. A student enrolled in the Reserve Officers' Training Corps is a guardian, not only of the safety of the nation, but also of its honour and dignity.

Citizens' Military Training Camps

Another agency for training young men for military leadership is the Citizens' Military Training Camps, known as the C. M. T. C. There are 53 Camps distributed

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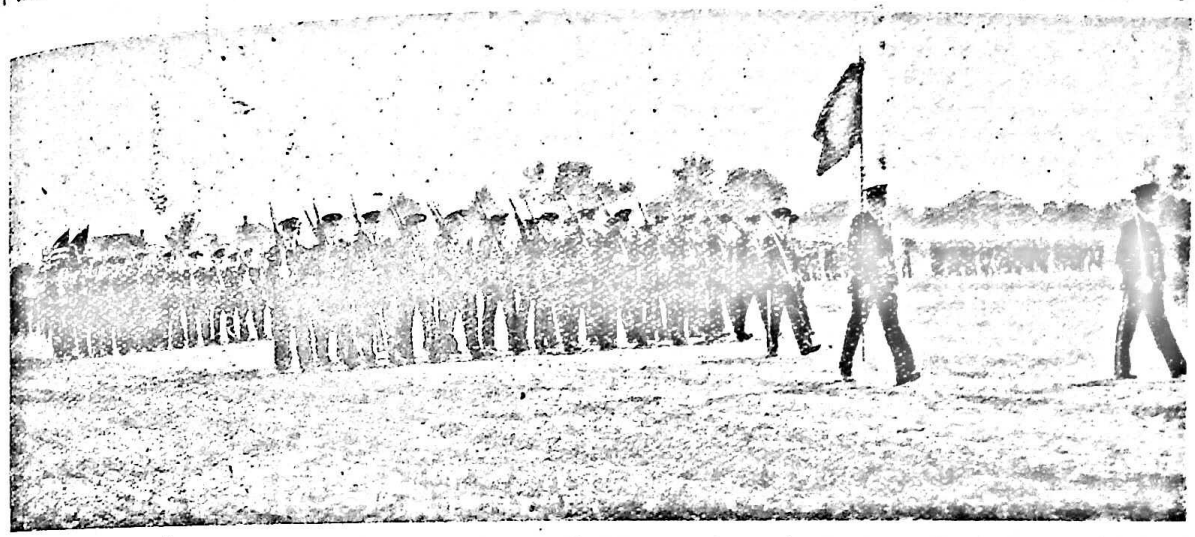
throughout the country and practically all are at army posts.

Applicants must be between the ages of 17 and 31. The Camps have between 35,000



A Review of the R. O. T. C.

and 40,000 students, at an annual cost of 8 to 9 million rupees. General Pershing, Commander of the American Expeditionary Force in the Great War, said that these Camps are modest in comparison with the grand manoeuvres which are held annually by most of the great nations of the world. The American Camps are purely voluntary. The young men go there because they wish to know the fundamentals of American citizenship and the military art.

The entire course consists of training during one month (July) for four years, although there is no compulsion to return for the following year's course. The students are called "basics" (first year), "reds" (second year), "whites" (third year), and "blues" (fourth year).

In the first year—remember that first year means only one month—all the "basics" take identical work, which includes infantry drill, scouting and patrolling, first aid and personal hygiene, military ceremonies, practice march with tents, rifle practice, and the writing of a paper on "What Constitutes Good Citizenship."

After the first year the work is differentiated. When a student decides to go into the cavalry some of his specimen courses are combat exercises, saddling, musketry, and mounted drill.

The third year's work for an artilleryman

The Captain of the Women's Rifle Team, George Washington University

includes care of animals, stable management, signal communications, customs and courtesies of the military service, care of personal

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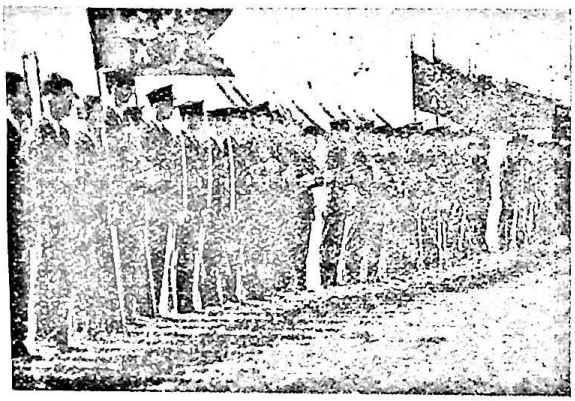
equipment, map and aerial photograph reading.

Some specimen studies in the fourth year work of an infantryman are "Great Americans"—which is an advanced course in citizenship, military topography, military discipline, close order drill, pistol marksmanship, and training with the automatic rifle.



R. O. T. C. Students
Receiving Special Awards

No splatterdash in all that. It is rigorous, earnest work for man or boy—and it makes boys men.

The students in Citizens' Military Training Camps receive, of course, no remuneration, no pay for learning how to be useful to their country in peace and in war. Only their travelling expenses from their homes to the camps are paid by the federal government.

The course of study, as already intimated, continues during one month of each of the four successive years. At the end of the fourth year's month in camp, students take correspondence courses in (1) army organization, (2) army administration, (3) aerial photograph reading, and (4) military law. If they pass an examination in these courses, they are given a second lieutenant's commission in the reserve corps of the United States Army.

The first purpose of the Citizens' Military Training Camps is to train the members in the rudiments of military existence and tactics, so that they may be readily assimilable into the first line of defence in an emergency. Even if the military value of the camp training were nothing, which is not true, the nation would be healthier because of the healthy influence of camp life upon those citizens who were admitted to it. The opportunity to spend a summer month in the open, with supervised sports, drill, and recreation at the government's expense, is a unique privilege for young Americans who enjoy that experience. For men jealous of their health and for those who enjoy the exhilaration of physical exertion, and for those who seek outdoor comradeship, the life at the Training Camps is incomparable.

GANDHI

By ELSA TUDOR

O shining soul !
Within a thin brown body,
Holding an empire
In your weaving hands.
The Lion's roars,
The Lion's claws,
Leave you unshaken.
We are driven,
We are driven
By the winds of desire,
Hither and thither.
But you sit quiet in prison,
In the prison we made for you ;
Weaving, weaving,
Dreaming, dreaming,
Praying, praying,
Loving, loving,
Fasting to death for us ;
We who are torn from the Tree,
Shrivelled and hopeless,
Dying the death.
One by one,
Two by two,
Multitudinous
We are driven back to you,
O Gandhiji,
For you are the sap of life.
O shining soul !
Within a thin brown body
That holds a world
In your patient hands.

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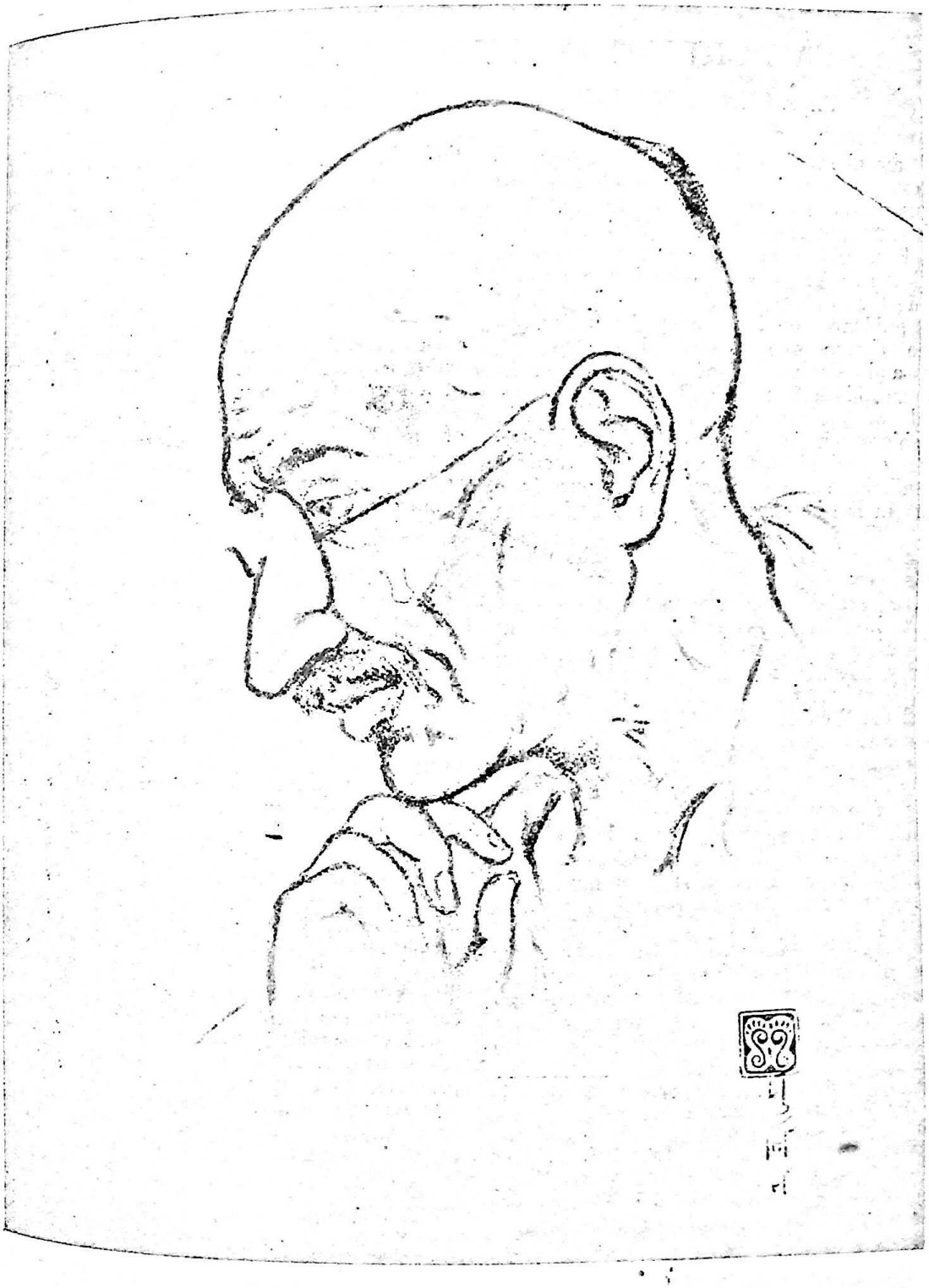

MAHATMA GANDHI
After a charcoal drawing by Pulinbehari Dutt.

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A PORTRAIT OF MAHATMA GANDHI*

PROF. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI, M. A., D. Litt. (London)

WE are all more or less hero-worshippers—except the very superior people amongst us, who are their own heroes. The hero whether he succeeds or fails is always a hero, and he is sure to come before mankind at the time of a great crisis,—he is the *avatara* in whom the Spirit of God manifests itself for the guidance of bewildered humanity. A hero, the chosen one of God, has above all sincerity and singleness of purpose, and he takes upon himself the burden of his fellows' sins and weaknesses willingly. The divine in a hero shines out in spite of himself, and he is instantly recognized by people. His sacrifice and his suffering are a measure to judge ourselves, and even in life he becomes to most of us an ideal.

Such a hero is Mahatma Gandhi. The whole country is now in an agony of anxiety and sympathetic suffering for his fast, not the least significant in a long series in its intention of self-purification and expiation for the moral delinquency of his followers. May the ordeal be over happily, for the sake of both Mother India and the World.

It is a rare fortune to see such a great man face to face, to hear him talk and to receive inspiration from him through personal touch. For those who are not so happily situated, and yet would like to contemplate a little on the great personality, to have a *darshan* of him through a picture, the next most fortunate thing would be to possess a real portrait, a portrait which gives us something of the character of the man—a sympathetic and a true rendering of one of his moods, characteristic, and ennobling. I am not talking of a photograph, which, valuable in its own way as an objective document, cannot usually do justice to that elusive thing called personality which only an artist can see and evoke, and make permanent in line and form and colour. The great men and celebrities of the present day, thanks to the spirit of the times, are being made immortal in the physical aspect for posterity, which is to be congratulated on the remarkable portraits it will have of the great leaders of those times. And thrice happy is the artist who can serve his fellows by giving a good and a living picture of a hero of his day.

Mahatma Gandhi has not had a plethora of good sketches and portraits but we can congratulate ourselves on the fact that some really good sketches of him have been made by some of our own artists. We can mention those by Mukul Dey and Kanu Desai, for instance. The present sketch is a masterly one by a young Indian artist, Mr. Pulin Dutt, to which competent authorities have already given high praise. It shows the power of the artist as well as the power of his subject. In a few fundamental strokes Mr. Dutt has given us a telling portrait of the Mahatma in a mood which brings out his personality remarkably well—he is here a pensive thinker, his brow furrowed with his deep thought, with that touch of melancholy detachment which is the mark of both *pravi* and *yogi*—the lover of man and the striver after God. Mr. Dutt is a well-known artist from Bengal who has spent a good many years in Bombay and Ahmedabad and has had plentiful occasion to see and study the personality of Mahatmaji. With such a portrait before us, we seem to understand the character of this great-souled man better, and to love and reverence him and his ideal all the better for that, and feel ourselves chastened and ennobled for that.

May he quickly get over the effects of his fast of self-purification and of atonement for his brothers and sisters, in India and elsewhere. and may he be long spared to us—May our hero be long amidst us, to lead us on in spite of all our weaknesses and frailties.

Calcutta
20-5-33

* Mahatma Gandhi: A portrait study in charcoal, by Pulinbehari Dutt: printed on special thick paper by a special process of reproduction and enclosed in an artistic folder. Size 15″ × 12″. Limited edition, published by the Hon. Secretary, Rasa-Mandal, Post Box No. 923, Bombay: Price Rs. 7-8 each copy.

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IRRIGATION IN ANCIENT CEYLON

By MANINDRA BHUSAN GUPTA

(Illustrated with drawings by the writer.)

THE ancient Sinhalese people were remarkable for their achievements in the science of irrigation. A traveller in the ruined cities of ylon will be amazed at the stupendous gineering skill displayed in this line. e *wewas*, (Sans. वापी) or the large tanks, e *pokunas* (Sans. पुष्करिणी, Beng. पुकुर), the ths of the kings will bear witness not only the engineering skill but to a highly istic sense as well.

So-called tanks are mostly situated in tral Ceylon. It is not correct to call em tanks, for they are almost like lakes in tent. The important ones are :—"Tissa wa," "Wasawak Kulam," "Nilwera Wewa," Minerí Wewa," "Topa Wewa," "Kala Wewa," , most of which I have seen. There was extensive irrigation system throughout e country, which drew its supply from these nks.

The history of irrigation perhaps starts m Dewanampiya Tissa, the great Sinhalese ng, who was contemporary and a friend of r Asoka. He was a great builder and igator. He founded the ancient city of uradhapura and made the large tank Tissa Wewa," with a network of canals, which not exist now in unimpaired condition.

Once I happened to enjoy the hospitality Isurmuni temple at Anuradhapura. This ple is very old and hallowed with the mory of Mahinda, who is said to have sided here. In the temple compound there a small tank or pokuna (fig. 1), the four sides d the bed of which are of stone masonry. ater is drained into it from "Tissa Wewas" rough a narrow canal, which runs by the de of the public road. The lock-gate is opened ice daily in the morning and evening and e water rushes into the city by different annels for the use of the people. Even two thousand years ago, there was such a watering system in Anuradhapura.

A beautiful carving of elephants in high relief on the rock at Isurmuni temple enhances the beauty of the small tank. The

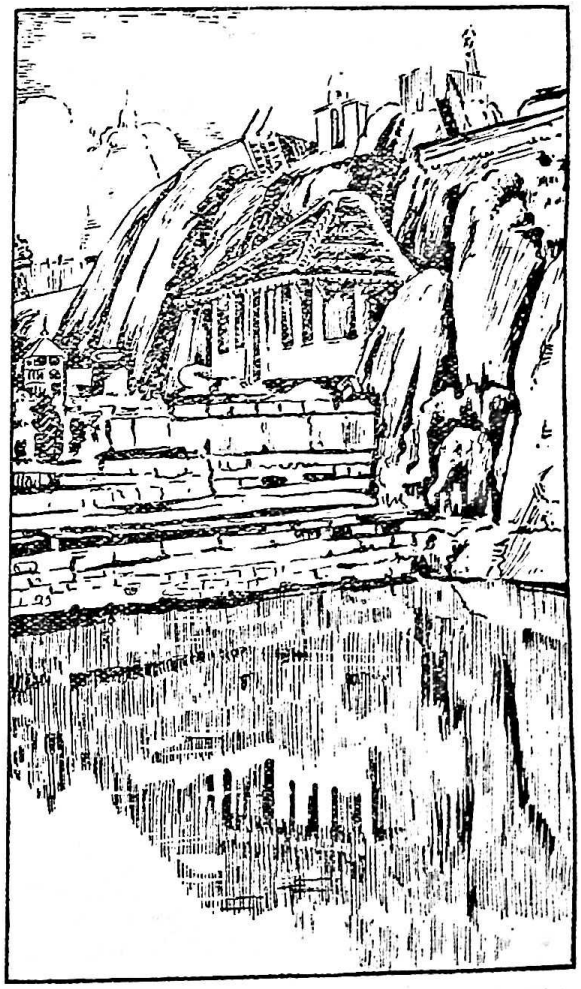

Fig. 1.—The Isuramuni Temple

lower portion of the body of the elephants is immersed in water, and they seem to play with water (fig. 2).

The *viharas* on Mihintale, a small hill,

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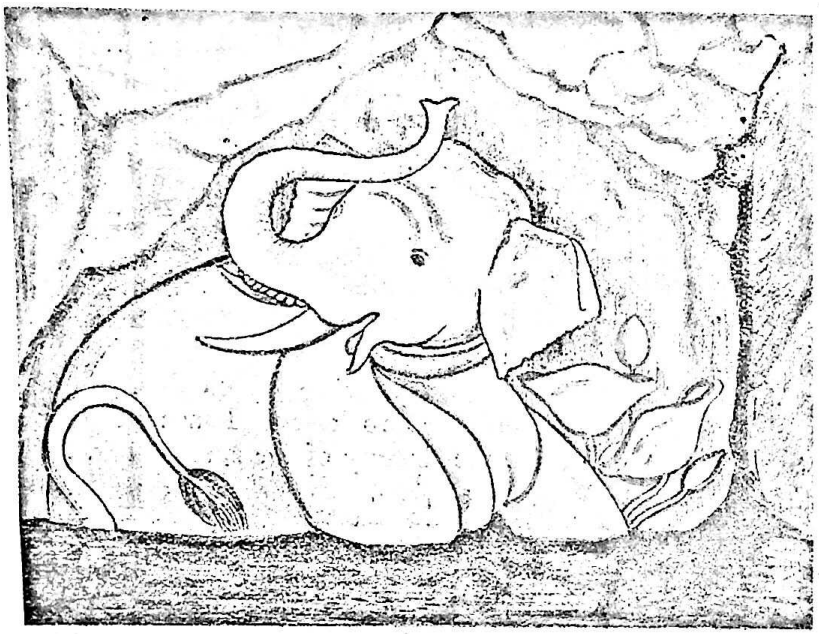

Fig. 2.—Carving of an Elephant in Isurmuni Temple

and converted him to Buddh
Mihintale also contains
sacred bones of the g
missionary, who died
259 B. C.

A little further away f
the *viharas* will be found
natural reservoir, known
Naga Pokuna, which is supp
to have been made by k
Aggabodhi I (A. D. 564). T
name Naga Pokuna is deri
from the five-headed co
which is carved on the rock
the reservoir. Only the h
rise above water and seem
hiss and exhale poison (fig.
The place is very lonely a
surrounded by green tre
The constant chirping
crickets, the desolateness a

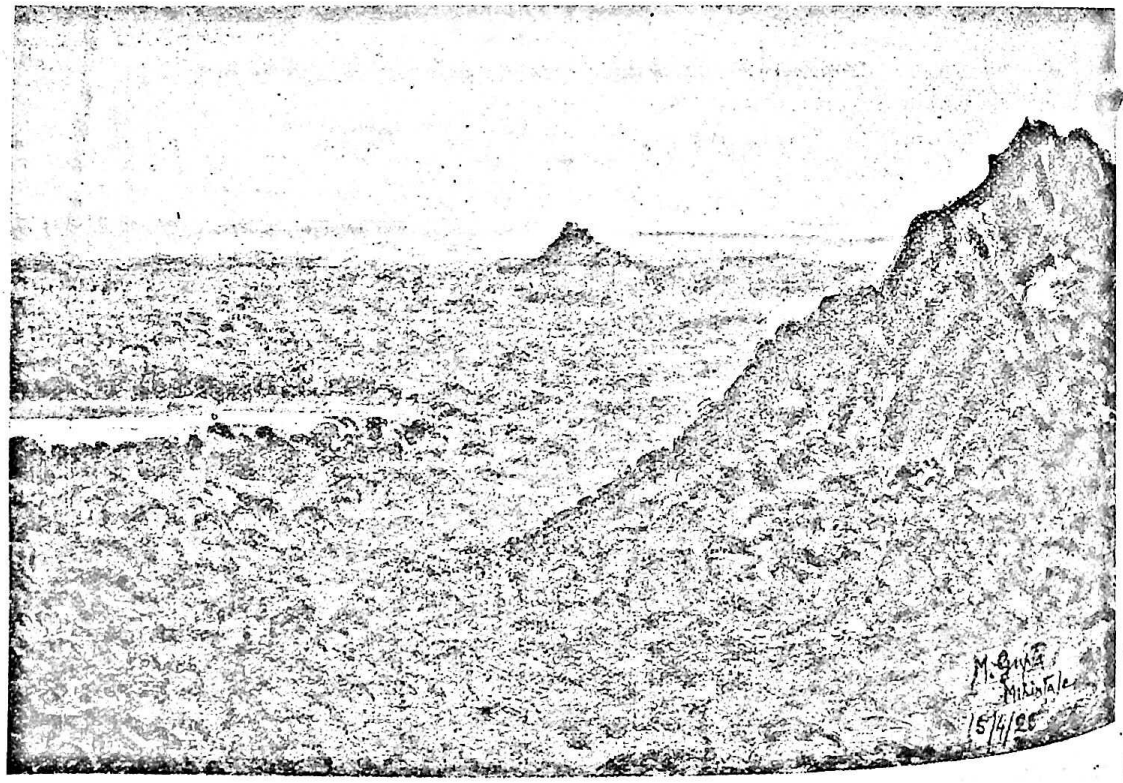

Fig. 3.—View from the top of Mihintale

which is eight miles away from Anuradhapura, will bear witness to the old water-system. Here on this hill Mahinda first met King Tissa who was out for hunting deer, the carved snake give this place a to of mystery.

From Naga Pokuna the water was car to a tank through stone pipes. The anc

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people had artistic ingenuity to add to utility. A roaring lion in standing position, 7 ft. 4 inches high is carved in high relief by the side of the stone tank or cistern (fig. 5.) The sculpture of the lion is indeed a marvellous conception of the king of the beasts in stone. A pipe from the tank is connected with its head in order that water might come through it and flow from its mouth. It was for the use of the pilgrims, who could get a constant supply of spring

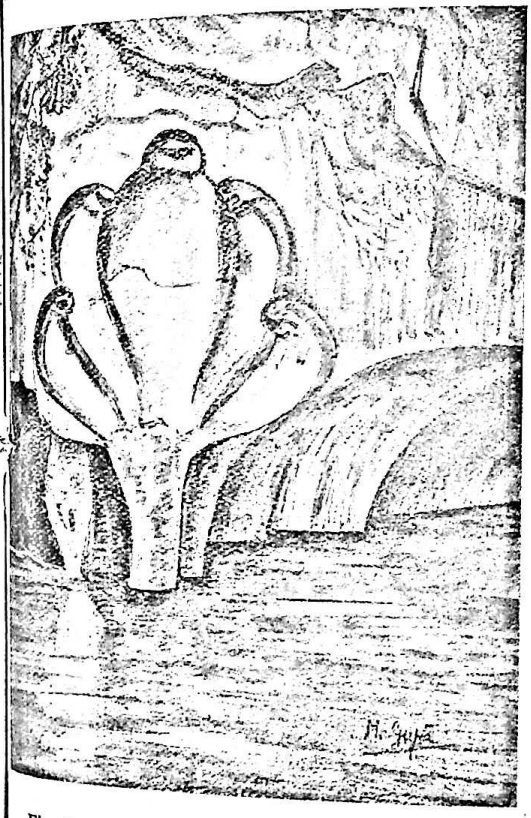

Fig. 4.—Carved Snake of Naga Pokuna

water. Now-a-days this water-system does not work as the pipe is broken and disconnected in many places.

Milton says in his *Lost Cities of Ceylon*:

"Perhaps of all that we know of ancient Ceylon, the variety of architectural design bestowed on open air bathing-places is the most attractive. The large pokunas with their massive hewn blocks and curved steps and their charming little pillared dressing chambers; the deep cut rock-hewn pools; and the most original single bath as this (the Gal pokuna) and the famous lotus bath at Polonnaruwa, all show care and design in this type of work which no people have ever surpassed."

The largest tank in Ceylon is Mineri Wewa made by king Mahasen in A.D. 275. It is twenty square miles in circumference. The traveller will be refreshed by its sight while travelling from Havarana to Polonnaruwa. The blue sheet of water seen through green trees is indeed very pleasant and soothing. Various kinds of birds with multi-coloured plumage add to the romance of this place. At night wild animals, such as elephants, leopards, buffaloes, deer, bears, come from the dense jungle all around to its shore to drink water.

Next to Mineri Wewa the name of Kala Wewa may be mentioned, its area being seven square miles. It was made by King Dhatusena in A.D. 459. He also made a canal about 60 miles long named Yoda-ela (giants canal) which connects Kala Wewa with Tissa Wewa in Anuradhapura.

Parakramabahu the great who reigned in the twelfth century from the capital of Polonnaruwa was a great statesman, builder and irrigator. He is a great national hero

Fig. 5.—The Lion Rampant of Naga Pokun

and may be styled the Vikramaditya of Ceylon. As Vikramaditya defeated the Sakas, so Parakramabahu freed Ceylon from the clutches

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of Tamil intruders, who had been pouring into Ceylon from South India from time to time. The age of Parakramabahu may be called the golden age of Ceylon, as Ceylon rose to its zenith in all its activities in his time.

Owing to incessant internal strife and the Tamil invasion the canals and tanks were uncared for. Parakrama renovated them. It is needless to say the work was done by forced labour, mostly that of Tamil prisoners of war, whom Prakrama brought from South India, where he sent an expedition. The royal work in Sinhalese political code is known as *Raja-karya*.

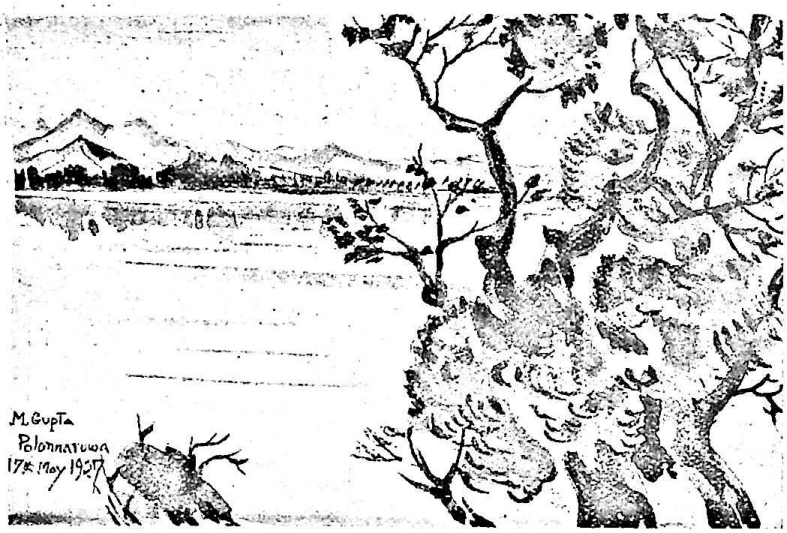

Fig. 6.—Topa Wewa

Topa Wewa the beautiful large tank in Polonnaruwa was made by Parakrama (fig. 6).

Parakrama was a great lover of baths as most eastern monarchs are. The *hammams* of Mogul monarchs at Delhi and Agra and the tanks of the ruined palaces of the old city of Mandu are ample proof of it. Not only for himself, but for the priests and the public he made bathing places, so that they might find relief in the great summer heat.

The royal bath was in the pleasure garden. Nothing of the luxurious bath now remains. Only the place is indicated by brick masonry. The description of the bath given in the *Mahavamsa*, the old chronicle, is very fascinating. According to the *Mahavamsa* the pleasure garden of the k was ". . . ornamented with a bathing-hall dazzled the eyes of the beholder, which issued forth sprays of water that conducted through pipes by means machines, making the place look as if clouds poured down rain without ceas a bathing-hall, large and splendid and bea as it were to the likeness to the knot braided hair that adorned the head of beautiful park nymphs. It also glitte with a mansion of great splendour brightness such as is not to be compared displayed ; the beauty of many pillars sandal wood, carved grace and was like an ornament the face of the earth." T *Mahavamsa* contains the des tion of a few more baths this.

After the death Parakramabahu the great Cey began to degenerate, as the kin who came after him were strong enough to quell internal troubles. With national degeneration the irrigation system with i network in the country gradu decayed. The irrigation syste was indeed like veins of th body, which watered the whol country.

If Ceylon wants to regenerate it must b through the renovation of the old irrigati system, the source of her greatest natio wealth.

Anuradhapura district is now cover with dense forest. The old city Anuradhapura was once a populous city as big as London. According to Mil at the time of Dutugemuna who reigned the second century B. C.,

"the city covered an area of 256 square m The distance between opposite gates, North South was sixteen miles. In one street are e thousand houses, many of them being storeys in height; the smaller streets innumerable."

This description now sounds like dream.

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SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF RELIGION

By UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE, M.A., B.L.

It is well known that for long centuries of human history Religion in all climes and in different shapes tried to throttle Philosophy and stifle Science. We cannot say even now that this quarrel between Religion on the one hand and free thought on the other has come to an end. Evidence of this struggle is still detectable. But now perhaps the table has been turned and Religion itself is under a cross-fire from two directions—a flank attack by Philosophy and frontal attack by Science. Will Religion survive this attack? If so, in what shape will it emerge out of this struggle?

When Science was in its nascent condition and was just trying to raise its head, some of its conclusions were found contrary to the accepted tenets of Religion, especially the Religion of Christ. Religion thereupon attempted to suppress these heresies of Science with a firm hand and regardless of the sufferings and loss to mankind. Many a Galileo prepared the way to truth with their blood. But the ruthlessness of Religion was fruitless and many of its own ancient theories had to be given up as a result of the tussle with Science. The theory of creation of the world and of the animal species which the Bible taught, was one of the very first to go. Religion has since revised its own teachings and amended them so as to fall in line with Science.

When it was found that Science could no longer be ignored—not to say, suppressed—Religion took to a new device and began to utilize the researches of Science itself in its own support. It was claimed, for instance, in the first place, that, because of its own inherent inconsistencies, Science could not be regarded as an adequate interpretation of the world of experience; in the second place, it was thought that—as far as Science has unfolded the mysteries of nature,—enough evidence was forthcoming to support man's belief in Religion. This attitude towards Science was the beginning of what is ordinarily called Natural Theology. It was after all an attempt at reconciliation with Science. But, frankly speaking, the Natural Theology that has grown up in the West is only Christianity in disguise; with this difference, however, that it draws a distinction between the essential and unessential in Religion and shows a preparedness to give up whatever is grossly unscientific, though, at the same time, it conceals a desire to retain as much of the old faith as possible, on the pretext that Science has not yet said the last word and that even within the discoveries of Science, room can be found to accommodate many of the beliefs of the older Theology. Without denying the truths of Science, even miracles were not considered impossible. In other words, instead of continuing the struggle against Science, which was manifestly useless, Religion endeavoured to secure the service of Science as an ally, with as little loss of territory to itself as was practicable. But has this attempt succeeded? Has Natural Theology been successful in bringing about the intended reconciliation between Science and Religion?

With Philosophy the relation of Religion has been perhaps a little less inimical than with Science. Philosophy also has suffered at the hands of Religion but seems to have suffered a little less than Science. And it has generally been easier for Philosophy than for Science to come to the aid of Religion. And those who are willing to accept the fundamentals of Religion, are perhaps more numerous among philosophers than among scientists. Religion has always needed the support of philosophical reasoning. And we find that within the fold of each historical Religion, a philosophical speculation for its support has always grown, though its development has not been uniform in each case. And when a Philosophy has grown outside the fold of Religion, there has been, to begin

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with, little or no friction between the two; not only this, but it has often been possible for a Religion to adopt and press into its service a philosophy which grew entirely outside of the range of its influence. Thus it was easier for Christianity to adopt the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle, who were not Christians, than the Science of Galileo or Darwin, who were born within Christendom.

But this affability of Religion towards Philosophy, is true only within limits. Whenever, however, Philosophy has claimed the right of free thinking, it has had clashes with Religion. Philosophy, too, has had to oppose many of the doctrines of Religion. It, too, has found that there are things in the Religions of the world which cannot be accepted by reason, at least in their literal meaning. And whenever Philosophy has spoken out its mind, Religion has not spared it any more than it has spared Science. And in the history of mankind the number of philosophers who have suffered for their views and opinions which were considered inimical to itself by Religion, is not inconsiderable. Yet, on the whole, Philosophy has perhaps been more accommodating towards Religion than Science. It has often tried to overcome its inherent opposition towards Religion by spiritualizing the crudities of religious faith. Thus we have even in Hegel an attempt to spiritualize the Christian doctrine of Trinity.

But in spite of Natural Theology and philosophical rationalization of Religion, Religion is hardly free from danger. Philosophy no doubt is still favourably inclined towards Religion, but Science is very much less obsequious. Science is—perhaps unconsciously and unintentionally but nevertheless quite vigorously—paying back with compound interest, what she received from Religion in the shape of obloquy and oppression. Today we have the spectacle, not of Science and Philosophy being scrutinized by Religion, but Religion itself being subjected to the searching analysis and examination of Philosophy and,—what is still more momentous, of Science. There was a time when a scientific doctrine could not regard itself as sound and safe, until it had received the benedictions of the Church. But now religious experiences, religious phe-mena and the facts of religious history are all being subjected to the scrutiny of Science. Some of the doctrines of Religion such as miracles, had long been strenuously opposed and denounced by physical sciences. But a more subtle and a more sinister attack is now being made on Religion, specially by some of the younger sciences. This is sure to have more far-reaching consequences than before and may even undermine the very foundation of Religion, unless in the meantime Religion can set her house in order and meet her enemy in the open field. This sinister attack comes mainly from Psychology and partly also from the latest political theories.

In Russia of today, we have the sight of a vast political experiment being made,—an experiment of a character and dimension hitherto unprecedented in history. But underlying this political experiment there is a political theory which seems to be radically opposed to all Religion. It seems to look upon the historical Religions of the world—if not Religion in any shape or form, as an enemy to human progress and the emancipation of the down-trodden classes in society. We hear of churches being converted into factories and mosques into museums and Religion being banned as perpetuating the differences between man and man. We may recall in this connection the fact that during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, Religion had to meet a similar onslaught in France. But it appears to have survived the devastating influences of the French Revolution: it has outlived the gibes of Voltaire and its transmutation in the hands of Auguste Comte. Will it also survive its present plight or melt away into thin nothingness before the fire of Soviet zeal? Religion

Even if political Philosophy of the past or of the present many not totally exterminate Religion, the danger from Science is much more serious for it. A demolished church may be rebuilt; a dilapidated mosque may be repaired; a dissolved or destroyed religious order may be re-established. The danger from political fury, therefore, is not so great for Religion. But if a psychological study of it gives adverse results, the danger is much greater. For, such results will

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the very foundations of Religion instead of only attacking its outward expression.

William James was perhaps the first to attempt a systematic psychology of religious consciousness. But the findings at which he arrived, were not quite complimentary to Religion. Religion was a neurosis—and a religious man was a neurotic, said James; and what was health according to Medical Science was not possessed by the man of Religion; his was generally, a sick soul and a sick body; *Mens sana in corpore sano* might also have a Religion of its own,—the Religion of healthy-mindedness; but it was not the Religion which the world at large adored.

Religion was after all a view of the world, and as such, it varied with varying physical and mental constitution of individuals. But the deeper religious experiences, such as trances and mystic communions, were not a sign of robust health; and the fact that these might be produced by drugs and were more common to hysterical persons was evidence enough for holding that they were not necessarily of supra-mundane origin.

But consistently with his position in Metaphysics, James was willing to concede that even these neurotic experiences might reveal truths which were otherwise inaccessible to us. He would not regard our normal perceptions as necessarily more informing than the perceptions of a religious neurotic. As man was the measure of things, the pious man's so-called neurotic experiences might be quite as good and as valid, for him at any rate, as the normal man's healthy perception. Even with regard to Saintliness as the ideal of religious life, James was prepared to admit that though under the existing social conditions of the world it was hardly calculated to lead to success in life, yet the present social organization itself might change and under the conditions of a different civilization, the saintly life may happen to be the fittest to survive.

Critics would probably say that the value attached by James to religious experiences was not much and that it was after all a half-hearted concession that he was making to public opinion. Perhaps so; nevertheless he made the concession. But others were there who would not concede even this much. Take Leuba, for instance. In his *Psychology of Religious Mysticism*, he is at pains to show that psychologically examined the mystic experiences reveal elements of consciousness at work which can hardly be considered praiseworthy; in most cases it is the repressed sexual instinct trying to find an expression. Leuba is definitely of opinion that "to love God in this way (*i. e.*, like a grand mystic of the type of Marguerite Marie) is to open the door to some of the worst perversions and distortions possible to human nature." These remarks show how what at one time was regarded as a holy experience—an experience that came to one in a million and an experience to obtain which a long and strenuous preparation was thought necessary—how such an experience is being explained by modern psychology, and what is worse, how it is being valued.

This is not all. Leuba has also tried to prove that the two most important doctrines of Religion—of Christian Religion at any rate—namely the belief in a personal God and the immortality of the soul—is fast disappearing from the minds of men of Science. We are told, for instance, that among eminent scientists a very small percentage yet clings to these beliefs—not more than 23.4 *per cent* on an average. And so far as psychologists are concerned, the more eminent they become, the less they believe in these things: only 8.8 *per cent* of the greater psychologists believe in immortality and 13.2 *per cent* of such men believe in the God of Christian churches.

The significance of such a table is obvious. It is an open challenge to the fundamentals of Religion. It is a challenge to prove the truth of what Religion believes. And the implied suggestion is that, since it is difficult to prove these, the belief in them should rather be discarded.

Take again the inductive generalizations at which Starbuck arrives in his *Psychology of Religion* after a study of about 200 individual cases. The many tables and curves which he gives us there prove, if they prove anything at all, that the phenomena of religious consciousness are, like other psychical phenomena, amenable to certain laws, more or less definite. And to an honest

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and unbiassed student, these phenomena will reveal their own laws. A scientific study of religious phenomena will therefore prove that they are psychologically quite like other phenomena of mind and are governed by similar laws. The special sanctity that Religion attaches to these phenomena is thus destroyed by psychology. But just as all emotions are not of equal worth and value, so the religious emotion even after its psychological analysis, might retain its character as one of the loftier sentiments possible to the human mind. That would have saved much in Religion. There is a tendency, however, to deny even this much to the religious sentiments. There is a tendency to ascribe religious experiences to the lower elements in human nature.

The worst danger to Religion comes from the tendency to trace some of the higher religious experiences to the sex-impulse. This tendency has manifested itself in various ways and claims to be justified by certain facts of religious life. The use of sex-symbols in worship, the employment of sex-imagery for expressing religious emotions and the association of sex-ideas with ideas of spiritual relations are facts on which the above mentioned tendency bases itself. And the claim of modern psychology that many of the religious experiences can be accounted for by the theory of repressed sex-instinct is also advanced as an additional argument for suggesting that Religion had its origin, directly or indirectly, in the sex-impulse.

From the above account it would appear that Religion is not quite safe in the hands of its scientific students. Scientific study, instead of proving a prop to Religion, threatens to demolish it altogether. The Sciences as such are much less harmful to Religion than the Science *of* Religion itself. The new Astronomy or the latest Physics or the theory of Biological Evolution may have undermined some of the old crude ideas of the Church ; but they do not appear to have touched the essentials of Religion ; and the deeper religious experiences which were not confined to any particular Religion and which were independent of the tenets of any Church or creed, were undisturbed by these Sciences. But what other Sciences could not do, the psychological study of Religion threatens to do. It threatens to take away from Religion its holiness and deprives it of its special significance as experience. If the vision of a St. Paul or the experiences of a St. Augustine are, from the stand-point of the science of mind, to be placed as experiences on the same footing with the hallucinations of a neurotic or the trances of an epileptic, then wherein lies the special value of those experiences ? Again, if the experiences and emotions of a great mystic are to be ultimately derived from the lower cravings of the flesh, then wherein lies their holiness ? The danger to Religion from a scientific study is, therefore, not inconsiderable. Enemies are mustering strong around it which it can ill-afford to ignore.

As against this, the attempt of Natural Theology to maintain the idea of a personal God and other associated ideas, can produce but feeble results. Metaphysically, atomistic materialism or Deism or any other 'ism' can perhaps be successfully combated by idealistic monism ; and to that extent and as against these attacks Religion may perhaps maintain its ground. But the onslaught of psychology is of a very different kind and requires other modes of defence. It is no longer the question whether the God of theism is a higher object of worship than that of deism, or whether the idea of a personal God is more helpful to our spiritual progress than an impersonal *Brahma*. But the issues are now quite different. Is religious emotion or religious faith, of any superior value to our other experiences ? And can religious experiences be accounted for in the same way as other psychical phenomena without assuming the existence of supra-human objects to produce them ? If religious experiences can be explained like other mental phenomena and if they are not of any superior value, then the rest of our endeavour —theism or pantheism—is absolutely needless.

If, however, it is claimed that religion is a higher experience, then it must be shown that, in spite of what psychology may say, it contains superior worth. The heresies of science can no longer be suppressed by the method of Inquisition. Nor will it do to maintain an attitude of supercilious contempt

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towards the labours of Science. Science is too sinister an enemy to Religion to be bowed out of existence by an attitude of stiffness and studied indifference. If Religion hopes to outlive these onslaughts, then it must meet its opponent openly and fairly and try to maintain its ground in the teeth of all antagonism. No compromise, however, is thinkable without some cession of territory on the part of Religion. Many more of its beliefs and ideas must go. But if the kernel can be retained, there ought not to be any nervousness to part with the husk.

It seems, however, that it is yet possible for Religion to establish its claims to our allegiance on moral as well as ontological grounds. Ontologically, the truth of Religion, it seems, can be shown to be higher than other experiences, and, in spite of all theories about its origin, it ought certainly to be demonstrable that Religion is the highest morality. And if this can be done, Religion may yet emerge unscathed out of the ordeal to which it has been put by Science. But the shape in which it will come out of this struggle, will certainly be very much different from what it is trying to maintain now. It will have to leave behind in this process many of the dogmas and formulae which beset the religions of the world today ; but what it will retain will be the element of universal truth in it. So purified, Religion may yet become an universal creed for the whole of mankind.*

* Contributed to the Philosophical Congress, Mysore, 1932.

IS THERE AN AMERICAN CULTURE ?

By FRANK C. BANCROFT

An American travelling around the world soon gets hardened to taunts against his native land ; or if he doesn't, he had better hasten back. The land of the free and the home of the brave has conceived her world-mission in every way between universal religious evangelization and bigger and better industrialization. But few people back home realize that one of our most valuable contributions to society is to serve as a sort of scapegoat, humorous to gaze upon and conveniently constructed to receive the burden of the sins of the people.

Now some of us happen to belong neither to the class of one hundred per cent Yankees nor to that of the pseudo-sophisticated who think it smart to malign their own country. We seek to adopt something of that attitude which psychologists prescribe for the parent ; objectively dispassioned affection. And one of the questions which we are led constantly to ask ourselves, particularly when travel has lent that perspective so difficult of attainment in the midst of things, is : "Is there an American culture ?" Whatever of naivete or confusion may reside in the question, we entreat observation that it is at least modest. Indeed, were it not for fear of seeming to fall into that pharisaism of which at times we have so justly been accused, we might mention several well-known places which lack even the grace to ask it. But fortunately, our question, as worded, is not comparative, but objective and positive ; and we hope that a consideration of it will escape onerousness as well as odiousness.

Naturally, the question rests upon a definition of culture, which to construct is decidedly embarrassing. Those who already have one, will of course cleave to it ; for such as are in search of one, the following is suggested, by no means as an adequate summation of so profound and comprehensive an idea, but as a tentative background against which to approach the query at hand.

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Culture is the organic spirit of a society which is sufficiently cohesive to have character and sufficiently diversified to express itself with increasing richness and depth. Thus, that group is cultured which fulfils in the human world those conditions which make evolution possible in the biologic. On the one hand, a species which adheres rigidly to type eventually dies when conditions surrounding change; and on the other, that which lacks stability and shoots off into strange freaks soon perishes in a law-abiding world. Or, to go a step lower, what is true of species is true of the individual organism—it must have dynamic stability.

The question before us is not whether certain historical or contemporaneous Americans are to be considered cultured. What we wish to determine is rather the problem: Is there that in American life as a whole which can satisfy the requirements of our definition? This rules out not only individuals, but individual places as well (such as would be singled out in Keyserling's statement that he found culture in Massachusetts and Virginia, but not elsewhere). And it also excludes past periods, such as Colonial days, Victorian New England, etc. The query is interested in the spirit of the life of the 130,000,000 inhabitants of the country today.

One may object to the question on the ground that, according to such restrictions, no people has ever been cultured. This is, however, at least open to dispute. It should be noted that the pivotal word of the definition is "spirit"—not erudition nor refinement. When a whole people accept certain fundamental pre-suppositions, such as sportmanship in England, chivalry in France, or honesty in China, they are on the way to fulfilling the first condition of culture, however illiterate or poverty-stricken they may be. And when these flower out into forms which give the individual the satisfaction of creative effort without depriving him of a sense of being in vital touch with the warm, central, life-currents of his people, culture is alive.

America doubtless has certain traditions which are dear to the hearts of the major part of the population; freedom, optimism, a love of sport, and practicality. Furthermore, she has always abounded in inventors, innovators, and messiahs. But the general impression one receives is that it is all aggregate, rather than organic. Voices rise up as if from nowhere, shout a little while, and subside. Fads (which are a substitute for culture) sweep the whole country and in a year are buried fathoms deep. And demagogues of all kinds make use of a universal and universally unsatisfactory system of education to lead the multitude whithersoever they will.

Some persons make the mistake of rushing from these all-too-evident facts to the conclusion that the lack of a unified American culture is due to a deliberately uncultured and materialistic attitude of mind of the people. It is often said that America is quite uninterested in culture, seeking only money and thrills (thrills constitute another antonym of culture). The most cursory consideration of the situation would seem to belie this assertion, however. If she had deliberately tried, America could hardly have evolved a system of education more ill-adapted to preparing a student for earning a livelihood. Pitiably misconceived as it is, the endless study of Euclid, Virgil, history—ancient, mediaeval and modern, "French," "art", and athletics, is directed toward producing a cultural knowledge—and is certainly of very little help in a brokerage firm. Many gibes have justifiably been directed at the American art collector, and the motives other than aesthetic which lie behind his frantic buying. It is true that he wishes to have Rembrandts in his mansion largely for purposes of social prestige. But what lies behind this, except that his friends must consider aesthetic taste a commendable characteristic? If everyone was what all Americans are sometimes represented, he would plaster his walls with dollar bills and let it go at that. And American mothers would not strive so desperately to land "cultured" if impecunious scions of the European nobility if there were not general social approbation of the process.

No, America wishes most whole-heartedly to be cultured, but no amount of wishing or actual striving will overcome in a few years the conditions which make the achieve-

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ment of an American culture so difficult. An almost hopeless jumble of races, creeds, and cultural backgrounds does not suddenly arrange itself into configurations like a snow-flake. Nor does a people, part of whom have been pushing across the Western prairies and opening up new land, part of whom have been building the mammoth industrial cities of the East, and most of whom have been busy learning the English language and trying to get a bite to eat, suddenly evolve common folk-ways and folk-thought. The stress and strain upon George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Plymouth Rock, Bunker Hill, and the few other persons and things we have in common, is continuous and severe. And now Washington is being represented as a *roue*, Lincoln as a demagogue, and the War of American Independence a rather shoddy economic affair !

In the matter of culture there have always been the classicists and the naturalists—those who think in terms of a well-ordered English or Moghul garden where fine ladies and gentlemen held high discourse ; and those who delight to think of the primaeval forest where men are guided by their instincts and unspoiled by the wiles of society *à la* Rousseau. Fortunately for America, her civilization is comparable to neither. She has not become laid out, ivy clad, and over-cultivated. But neither is she entirely chaotic and undisciplined. She is striving to express herself, but, like all who lack assurance, is timorous about striking out too far or fast. It is an open question whether she will atrophy before she has blossomed ; whether the forces of disintegration will overpower those of cohesion and carry her into chaos ; or whether that process of organic development out of which culture grows will succeed in establishing itself. American culture, therefore, is to be considered in the realm of potentialities, neither as a *fait accompli* nor as an impossibility

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THE VEDANTIC DOCTRINES IN THEIR METAPHYSICAL AND RELIGIOUS ASPECTS

By PRAKAS CHANDRA SINHA-ROY, M.A.

THERE are five Vedantic doctrines, each an interpretation of the *Brahma-Sutra* which is known as the philosophy of the Vedanta. These doctrines are (1) the *Advaita Vada* or absolute monism of Sankar, (2) *Vishistadvaita Vada* or qualified monism of Ramanuja, (3) the *Bhedabheda Vada* or the difference with non-difference theory of Nimbarka, (4) the *Sudhvadvaita Vada* or pure monism of Vallabha, and (5) the *Dvaita Vada* or dualism of Madhva.

Of these five doctrines, the first which is also known as *Maya Vada* or the theory of illusion, is by far the most important one. As a matter of fact, in some parts of India, specially Bengal, *Vedanta* and *Advaita Vada* are synonymous terms. The doctrine asserts that the ultimate Reality, Brahman, is an undifferentiated, unmodifiable, all-pervading consciousness, an absolute Unity and the world of our experience, an illusion superimposed on it, like what we experience when we mistake a piece of rope for a snake though there has been no modification in it to produce this illusion. As regards the *Jiva* or the individual self, there is, it maintains, absolute identity between them. The followers of the doctrine proudly assert that they can express in half a couplet what has been attempted to be stated by thousands of scriptures. The half a couplet is, *Brahma satyam jagat mithya. Jiva Brahmaiba naparah.*

The argument on which Sankar bases his doctrine, may be stated in a few words.

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First, he proceeds to dispose of the *Srutis* that are against his doctrines. These are the dualistic and monodualistic *Srutis* which, he asserts, are statements of facts which are true only relatively and not ultimately, intended only for the moral and spiritual discipline of minds not yet sufficiently trained to grasp higher and absolute truths expressed by the monistic *Srutis*. Having removed the dualistic and monodualistic *Srutis* from his way he establishes a general proposition that a subject can never be an object and in support of it quotes numberless *Srutis* which say that Brahma is the universal knower and can never be known as an object. The words used by him for subject and object are *Vishayi* and *Vishaya* respectively.

He then works out his doctrines on the basis of the monistic *Srutis*. One of these, a most oft-quoted one, speaking of Brahma says that it is '*ekamevadvitiyam*'—all in all —the only existence without a second. If Brahma is the only existence, the universe of our experience must be either a modification of Brahma or an illusion. Brahma is of the essence of consciousness which cannot conceivably be modified into grosser and perceptable form, to be the object of our senses, and moreover, Brahma being *ekamevadvitiyam*, there is nothing else that can possibly bring in any modification in it. The other alternative that the universe is an illusion is therefore the only possible conclusion, a support for it being supplied by the illusive snake superimposed on an unmodified rope, as has been stated above.

Now as regards the *Jiva* or individual self, it is either a separate and distinct entity or a part of Brahma or Brahma itself. It cannot be a distinct and separate entity; for, Brahma is *ekamevadvitiyam*. Nor can it be a part of Brahma, for, Brahma is infinite and what has parts cannot be infinite. The only reasonable conclusion, therefore, is, that the third alternative that the *Jiva* and Brahma are identically the same, must be the true one.

If the *Jiva* and Brahma are identically the same, how is it that the *Jiva* is not all-knowing like Brahma? How is it that it grovels under delusion? If Sankar chose to answer this question directly, he would have said—this is a question which I cannot answer. In every system of philosophy, a stage is reached, when its propounder has to admit that he cannot account for anything beyond it, and this is that stage in my system.

But Sankar does not answer the question so directly. He does it, however, in a roundabout way, which is more argumentative than convincing. There can be no doubt, says he, that the *Jiva* and Brahma are identically the same. It is also a fact that the *Jiva* is not all-knowing and labours under delusion. There must be some cause for it. This cause is *Avidya* or nescience. That there is nescience is a matter of our experience. In every fact of our ignorance including that of our true nature, we realize its presence. Is this *Avidya* real? It is not real in the sense in which Brahma is real. But its reality has to be assumed to account for many things which cannot otherwise be accounted for. This *Avidya* cannot be known except by its effect. If we are to know *Avidya* we must do it with the help of *Vidya*. But an attempt to discover *Avidya* with the help of *Vidya* would be to look for darkness with the help of a lighted torch.

In direct opposition to the absolute monism of Sankar, is the dualism of Madhva, inasmuch as it asserts not unity but plurality for what are ultimately real, and these are the three principles:

(1) *Isvar* or Lord who is of the essence of consciousness, all-knowing, all-pervading and all-powerful. (2) The *Jivas* or individual selves, innumerable in number, possessing the same attributes as the Lord though to a very limited extent, and (3) matter which in its subtlest and ultimate form is called *Prakriti*. These three, *Isvar*, *Jiva* and *Prakriti* are unborn and co-eternal. *Isvar*, though shaping the universe and regulating its movements is its creator only in a limited sense as He is not its material, but only the efficient cause creating it with materials co-existing with Him. The relation between the Lord and the *Jiva* is what exists between the master and the servant, between the worshipped and the worshipper, between the controller and the controlled. Freedom from bondage is obtainable by *Bhakti* or devotion

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the Lord purified by true knowledge of the eternal distinction between the three ultimate realities noted above. The doctrine is based on the dualistic *Srutis*, the monistic ones being either explained away as *Artha Vada* or exaggerated praise of the free souls, or twisted to yield meaning to fit in with the author's view.

The other three doctrines occupy an intermediate position between these two extremes. Agreeing with absolute monism, they maintain that the ultimate reality is a unity, that is Brahma; but this Brahma is not mere consciousness but a conscious entity, a personal God both knowing and acting, and the universe of mind and matter is not an illusion, but it constitutes a part of Brahma and as such is as real as Brahma itself. Creation means manifestation of this part into comparatively grosser and perceptible form and dissolution, its withdrawal into the causal form. Freedom from bondage is generated by *bhakti* or loving devotion to God and God only.

Though agreeing on these broad points, they differ from one another in one important detail, namely, the way in which the universe of mind and matter constitutes a part of Brahma. According to qualified monism, *Chit* and *Achit*—mind and matter—are the bodies of Brahma. Pure monism holds that they are parts of Brahma's sub stance, whereas the doctrine of *difference-with-non-difference* asserts that they are parts of Brahma's attributes.

To express the relation between the *Jiva* and Brahma, as propounded by these doctrines, in the fewest of words, we may say that monism recognizes neither distinction, nor separation, while dualism asserts both, and the intermediate doctrines admit the one, that distinction, and denies the other, that is, separation.

We may now consider these doctrines, both from a metaphysical and religious point of view and ascertain their position among the systems of orthodox Indian philosophy which admit the authority of *Srutis* more or less. These systems are *Nyaya* and *Vaisheshika*, *Sankhya* and *Patanjala*, *Purva-Mimansa* and *Uttar-Mimansa* which is also known as the *Brahma-Sutra*, of which, these doctrines are five different interpretations.

Nyaya and *Vaisheshika* reduce the universe of matter and mind to six general principles as ultimate realities. They are the five kinds of atoms which are the basis of all material objects and *atma* or spirit of which consciousness is an inseparable attribute. The difference between the two systems lies more in the method of treatment of their subjects than in the nature of the subjects themselves. While in the *Nyaya* system the mode of proof has been dealt with more elaborately than the objects of proof, in the *Vaisheshika* it is the latter that has received more elaborate treatment than the former.

The Sankhya reduces the six principles of *Nyaya* and *Vaisheshika* into two, by asserting a common basis behind the five kinds of atoms, which in its subtlest form is called *Prakriti*. The Patanjala does not differ materially from Sankhya, while in the Sankhya the object of knowledge has been examined more minutely than the means of acquiring such knowledge, in the Patanjala it is the latter that has received more elaborate treatment than the former. Another fact, in which Patanjala differs from Sankhya is its assertion amongst *atmas* or spirits, of a special one which is all-knowing and all-powerful, regulating the movements of the worlds. This spirit among spirits is *Iswar* or the Lord or creator in a limited sense. It is on account of this assertion, that the system also goes by the name of *Seshwar-Sankhya*, that is Sankhya with the conception of an *Iswar* or creator.

The *Purva-Mimansa* is called philosophy by courtesy. There is very little of philosophy in it, abounding as it does, with matters which, to a mind endowed with modern education, will appear more puerile than philosophical. It lays down however some canons which are undoubtedly interesting and useful, as a guide for the interpretations of scriptural literature.

Barring its interpretations by the followers of dualism the *Uttar-Mimansa* which is specially known as the philosophy of the Vedanta, goes a step farther behind the dual principle of Sankhya, and asserts a

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unity behind them; and this unity is Brahma which is both the material and efficient cause of the universe. Resolving all that exist into one ultimate reality, the Vedanta marks a stage of metaphysical speculation, which is higher than any that has ever been conceived. If Vedanta is the highest of metaphysics, Sankar's doctrine is the highest of all the Vedantic doctrines.

Asserting the existence of an absolute unmodifiable unity only and denying that of anything else, except in our mind, Sankara's doctrine is undoubtedly the loftiest of metaphysics and highest of idealism; and if Sankar chose only to evolve a philosophy out of the *Srutis*, he would have stopped here. But his avowed object, however, was not to write out a philosophy, but to interpret the *Brahma-Sutra* with the light of the *Srutis* referred to by it. But neither the former nor the latter are confined to metaphysics only. There is theology too. This perhaps is a weak point of the orthodox Hindu philosophy which has to admit the authority of the *Srutis* without questioning their validity in any way; or perhaps it is a good point too—weak because it hinders freedom of thought, and good because, if a philosophy cannot hold out an ideal for moral and spiritual life, it is of practically little value to society.

Sankar had therefore to provide accommodation, in his lofty metaphysics—though not quite logically,—for a personal God for love and worship and this was supplied him by the immanent aspect of the absolute, the *Hiranyagarbha* or *Iswara* or lower Brahma of the *Srutis*, possessing infinite knowledge and power of creating and regulating the universe with the help of *Avidya* though of a purer form than what enshrouds the individual self.

If asked, what the relation of this lower Brahma is with the absolute or the higher one, a Vedantist of Sankar's school would say that just like the *Jiva* it is identically the same with it. The *Triguna-Brahma, Iswar* and *Jiva* are one and the same, appearing as different only when considered with reference to the *Upadhis* or limitations which obstruct our right vision. They try to explain this by the analogous case of the skies pervading respectively a tree in a forest, the forest itself, and the infinite space. As when the tree and the forest are moved from the field, what remains is one sky only—the universal one—so when the illusive bodies both the individual and the universal—are removed from thought what remains is Brahma and Brahma only.

In spite of all these subtleties in argument, a broad fact that remains unshaken is, that religion involving the idea of a personal God for worship, can have no reasonable accommodation in the theory of Monism establishing absolute identity between *Jiva* and Brahma. The idea is as atheistic and as theistic—atheistic, because there can be no room in it for a personal God, and theistic, because it breathes of Brahma and Brahma only. It is not a retreat from the absolute but a continued approach towards it till everything merges and is lost into it. Sankar himself was aware of this weakness of his position and he did not forget to warn the more advanced of his followers, that his metaphysics based on the monistic *Srutis* represent the absolute truth suitable for minds that have undergone moral training of the highest order and his theology based on the dualistic ones represents, what is true only relatively, for the guidance both moral and spiritual of the ordinary and uninformed mind. He seems to divide the *Srutis* into classes—esoteric and exoteric and builds his metaphysics on the former and his theology on the latter. This esoteric and exoteric division in spiritual culture did not originate with Sankar. It was there long before his time and can be traced in more or less degree, in every authoritative work on religion.

Be it as it may, whether Sankar's theology is consistent with his metaphysics or not, it is by itself of a very high order. The Deity to be worshipped is the all-knowing and all-powerful Lord, pervading the universe and creating and dissolving it at will. This indeed is as high a conception of a personal God as is conceivable, and nowhere else have we a higher conception of it.

The moral discipline prescribed for the realization of the Absolute as well as the Relative, is also of a very high order. Before an aspirant begins the study of the Vedanta

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he must equip himself with *Viveka, Vairagya, Sama, Dama, Titiksha, Uparati, Samadhi* and *Sraddha*.

Viveka means discriminating knowledge—knowledge by which one may distinguish the right from the wrong, the permanent from the temporary. *Vairagya* means living in mental detachment from worldly things. *Sama* and *Dama* means control of the senses both internal and external, and *Uparati* their complete withdrawal from their objects. *Samadhi* means concentration on the object of meditation. *Sraddha* means faith with respect to the fundamental teachings of the scripture or perhaps in the instruction of the spiritual guide. These no doubt indicate moral culture of the highest order.

Thus then, in Sankar's doctrine, we have two distinct objects. His esoteric philosophy in which theology can have no foothold to stand and his exoteric theology with religious and moral conception of the highest order. But in spite of all this Sankar could not escape the charge of being a Bauddha in disguise by his opponents of later dates—by the founders of the *dvaita* and *dvaitadvaita* doctrines.

The intermediate doctrines are less idealistic and from a metaphysical point of view, less imaginative too than the absolute monism of Sankar. But asserting that the ultimate reality is a conscious unity manifesting itself as diversities in perceptible form they suggest a metaphysical conception of the highest order without running counter to our experience by explaining the universe away as an out and out illusion superimposed on that unity with no objective reality outside our minds. The present tendency of modern science is towards the Vedantism of these schools. Of the three principles, life, motion and matter, constituting the universe, matter has already been shown to be a modification of motion and the day may not be distant when motion will be shown as a modification of life.

The philosophical position of dualism declaring plurality for what are ultimately real is of a comparatively inferior order. It is a mere echo of Patanjala's *Seshwar Sankhya*. With its doctrine of *Jiva* and God being related as the controlled and controller, as the worshipper and worshipped, it stands the requirements of religion better than the other doctrines. The duomonistic doctrines, undoubtedly entertain a grand conception of *Jivas* by declaring them to be parts of Brahma. But from a religious point of view it has this defect that as *Jivas* labour under delusion and ignorance, if they are parts of Brahma, they are so many black spots either on its nature or its substance. It is a painful conclusion, but all the same it is logical. Some of the interpreters have tried to obviate this difficulty by interpreting "part" as not "part" but "as if part"; which in plain language means, that though *Jivas* look like parts of Brahma, they are not really so. With this interpretation of "part" the difference between Dualism and Monodualism resolves itself into a mere verbal dispute. But it may be that what the interpreters mean is that as both the *Jiva* and Brahma are spirits and so unconditioned by time and space, the words part and whole must not be understood in their ordinary sense. We have already said that absolute monism is not logically consistent with religion which includes in its connotation, the idea of duality.

One question, a very important one, yet remains to be answered. The question is which of the five doctrines is the correct interpretation of the *Sutra*? The answer we reserve for a future issue.

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THE GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS CASTE

By ROMESH CHANDRA BANERJEE, M.A.

WHAT should be the attitude of the Government towards the caste differences among Hindus? This question arises in the minds of all who have watched the Untouchability Abolition Bill successfully blocked in the Legislative Assembly* by the obstructionist tactics of a minority of M. L.A's who were indirectly assisted by the Government adopting an attitude of apparent neutrality. The British Government have all along posed as the champion of equality and progress and even school boys are carefully taught how the Government have done all in their power to further the cause of social reform in general, and to level up the inequalities between high and low caste Hindus, in particular. No reasonable man will undervalue the work of reform and progress accomplished in the past by the British administrators in India. One might naturally hope that a Government professing liberal and progressive views will do nothing, directly or indirectly, to hinder a measure of social reform initiated by Hindus, intended for Hindus alone and supported by a considerable volume of public opinion, not to speak of the justice and humanity of the cause. But in the case of the Untouchability Abolition Bill, the Government's attitude frustrated all such hopes. How the blocking of the Bill was helped by the Government's attitude of supposed neutrality is made clear by the following words of Sj. C. Rajagopalachariar:

> "The normal procedure from which the Government refused to make any departure could produce no other result. The Government have been fully aware of this and we cannot acquit them of the charge that in refusing to give adequate facility for introduction and passage of the Bills they have obstructed the progress of the country. They have refused the simple step of publication in the Gazette which could have saved the formality of leave for introduction, they have refused to give any extra day, even though it was wanted only for carrying the motion for circulation so that the Bills might be ready for consideration at the next session. Yet the Government claimed that they were particular only to ensure proper circulation." †

The attitude of what may be called obstructive neutrality on the part of a Government that shed rivers of tears on the lot of the depressed classes only reveal their true mind.

Some Sanatanists have raised the plea that if the Government were to interfere, even in a remote way, in these socio-religious matters in which one section of Hindus was opposed to another their pledge of religious neutrality would be broken. Some highly placed officials were also reported to be inclined to this view. In this connection the following from the pen of a Bengali lawyer is worth perusal:

> "The question is—Will the Legislature be justified in legislating even in the face of such opposition insignificant and unimportant though it may be. Or, in other words, will the Legislature be justified in legislating on such questions without the unanimous support of the entire Hindu community? But the imposition of a condition of unanimity will be tantamount to a prohibition of legislation in any shape. Such a condition will be intolerable in any country because of the impossibility of obtaining unanimous support of the community concerned with regard to legislative or any other measure. It may be urged that the condition is essentially necessary in this country because of the principle of religious neutrality. But the answer to this argument is that this principle was adopted at a time when the British administrators had no means of ascertaining the views of the people and true rules of Hindu law, when opposition came from the class of people who are now asking for such legislation.....But it is not the non-Hindu members of the Legislature but its Hindu members who are now introducing Bills dealing with rules of Hindu law and they are supported by a large number of Hindus themselves.....When a portion of the Hindu community wants certain legislative enactments which are opposed to some Hindus the argument against the legislation on the gound of religious neutrality is not applicable."*

By the bye, may one ask if the principle of religious neutrality is not violated by giving a disproportionately large share in the administration of the country to one particular religious community at the cost of another?

To turn to the subject proper, however, it seems clear, then, that if the Government were to take up a helpful attitude in a legislative measure, initiated by some Hindus with the object of extending to certain castes the social privileges now monopolized by certain other castes, the principle of religious neutrality would not be violated.

The present reluctance of the Government to move in these matters makes one inclined to enquire whether such has always been the attitude of the British administrators from their early days. Every student of Indian history

* In the first week of March last.

† *A. B. Patrika* (Dak) 2nd March 1933.

* *Codification in British India*—Tagore Law Lectures 1912. p. 393.

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knows that many of the early British rulers of the land were very earnest in the work of social reform among Hindus, and their work was done at a time when only a handful of Hindus demanded what a vocal majority opposed. Unlike the present rulers, many of their predecessors did not content themselves merely with taunting the so-called upper castes with the evils from which the so-called lower castes suffer: they lent support to the cause of social reform. This benevolent attitude of the rulers did not, however, last very long. It will be seen that with the suppression of the Sepoy Mutiny, the bureaucracy began to look upon the high caste Hindus with an evil eye and the utterances of many high officials at the time go to prove that the policy of keeping the high and low caste Hindus separate, was favoured by them. Since then, with the gradual lapse of time many covert and overt acts of the bureaucracy roused misgivings even in the minds of those who believed that the Government would not at least hinder, if they could not help the Hindus in the cause of social reform. But the latest official move viz. separate electorate for the depressed classes, has settled all doubts in the matter. This, in brief, is the history of social reform among Hindus, so far as it was affected by the Government's attitude towards it, for nearly a century. Instead, however, of indulging in general propositions, let us now look at the facts and see whether they go to substantiate what has been said above, *viz.*, whether the old attitude of friendliness on the part of the Government has gradually been changed into one of practical hostility to Hindu social reform, especially when this reform tends to level up the differences between caste and caste so as to bring about Hindu solidarity.

So far as caste is concerned, the Government's general policy apparently is one of non-interference and it is behind this professed policy that the Government is taking shelter just at present, while withholding all support or sympathy from the Anti-Untouchability and Temple Entry Bills. But it is not true that the British Government did never interfere in caste matters.

7. Social Reform Legislation in pre-Mutiny days and Some Instances of Serious Interference with Caste Matters.

The first outstanding measure of social reform that seriously affected caste customs was perhaps Regulation XVII of 1829 abolishing the practice of *Suttee*. It was a purely official measure, initiated and passed by the head of the Government of the time, without consulting the opinion of a representative legislature because there was no legislature then. This was such a grave interference with the customs of high caste Hindus (for the *Suttee* was mostly prevalent among them) that many high officials including an ex-Governor-General, warned Bentinck that this act of his might be followed by a mutiny of the Bengal Army which, at the time, was composed mostly of high caste Hindus. Notwithstanding the support given to it by the illustrious Raja Rammohan Roy and his party, the measure was resisted by a very influential section, perhaps a majority, of the Hindus of the day who took their case up to the Privy Council. Bentinck felt himself justified in passing this Act in the teeth of such opposition because he was morally convinced of the justice and humanity of the cause. The preamble of the Regulation is worth noticing :

> "The practice of *suttee* is revolting to human nature ; it is nowhere enjoined by the religion of the Hindus as an imperative duty ; on the contrary a life of purity and retirement on the part of the widows more specially and preferably inculcated ; actuated by these considerations the Governor-General in Council, without intending to depart from one of the first and most important principles of the British Government in India, that all classes of the people be secure in the observance of their religious usages, so long as that system can be adhered to without violation of the paramount dictates of justice and humanity, has deemed it right to establish the following rules," etc.

Perhaps no British ruler in India was equal to Bentinck in his friendly zeal for the reform of Hindu society ; yet this act of his was, to many high caste Hindus of the day, an act of violent interference with their caste usages, though it has since then been rightly hailed as a blessing by the whole Hindu community. The next instance we shall cite of interference with caste matters is the following :

> "The Caste Disabilities Removal Act of 1850 dealt another blow at the integrity of caste. . . . . Notwithstanding any custom of caste disinheriting a person for change of caste or religion, this Act provides that a person does not forfeit his ordinary rights of property by loss of caste or change of religion"*

Thirdly we come to the Widow Remarriage Act (Act XV of 1856). This was a double interference with caste : it permitted widow marriage among high castes among whom it was practically unheard of at the time, while, among some low castes it invalidated the custom of allowing the remarried widow to inherit her deceased husband's property.†

In a small way, here is still another instance of the Government interference with caste :

> "The Indian Majority Act (Act IX of 1875) has affected the rules of Hindu law on the subject according to which, youths belonging to any of the three superior classes ceased to be minor upon their ending their studentship and returning home from their preceptors. Sudra youths attain-

* *Caste and Race in India* by Ghurye, p. 152.
† *Ibid.* p. 150.

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ed their majority upon completing the sixteenth year."*

The monopoly of priesthood hitherto enjoyed by Brahmins alone is no longer recognized by law; there are various decisions of the High Courts to that effect.†

One need not refer, in particular, to the suppression by the Government of minor social abuses like hook-swinging, human sacrifice, infanticide etc., which malpractices had grown into religious usages among some castes or sections of Hindus but which were never the general customs of the whole Hindu community.

To quote more specific instances is unnecessary. It is a fact that whenever the Government wanted either on humanitarian or administrative grounds, they threw overboard all caste usages and privileges. It has been rightly observed that:

> "The establishment of British courts administering a uniform criminal law, removed from the purview of caste many matters that used to be erstwhile adjudicated on it. Questions of assault, adultery, rape and the like were taken before the British courts for decision, and the caste councils in proportion lost their former importance. Even in matters of civil law, such as marriage, divorce, etc. though the avowed intention of the British was to be guided by customs, slowly but surely various decisions of the High Courts practically set aside the authority of caste.§

The following from Bentinck's minute shows that the abolition of the Brahmins' exemption from capital punishment was considered a serious violation of Hindu law:

> "It is impossible to conceive a more direct and open violation of their shastras, or one more at variance with general feelings of the Hindu population. To this day, in all Hindu states, the life of a Brahmin is, I believe, still held sacred."**

The period of Indian history from Bentinck to Dalhousie is memorable for the social reform legislation done in it. In this connection, the following should be noted:

(*a*) There was no widespread popular agitation, like the present anti-untouchability movement, demanding social reform legislation but that did not prevent the Government from showing commendable readiness in this matter; (*b*) Government's attitude was one of friendliness to social reform; (*c*) for the common good of the whole Hindu community Government did not scruple to interfere in caste matters, the plea of religious neutrality not being raised to help orthodoxy in blocking social progress.

* *Codification in British India*, p. 290.

† *Caste and Race*, pp. 151-152. The minor reforms mentioned here does not of course belong chronologically to the pre-Mutiny period but they are of the same class and their mention here does not alter the conclusions arrived at.

§ *Ibid.* p. 150.

** Bentinck's Minute quoted in his life (Rulers of India Series).

II. In the post-Mutiny days: Government's attitude towards caste-rapprochement legislation initiated by Hindus

Social reform legislation in the days of Bentinck and Dalhousie aimed merely at suppression of some social abuses (*e. g.*, the abolition of *suttee*) or removal of certain social disabilities (*e. g.* the Widow Remarriage Act). But from the last quarter of the nineteenth century, social reform legislation seemed to have a new object in view. It cannot be definitely known if the Hindu initiators of their respective legislative measures were consciously driving at it, but their efforts seemed to have a tendency towards fusion of castes. I mean here the various measures intended to legalize inter-caste marriage. The Government's attitude towards these measures furnishes interesting study and gives an inkling into a new policy on their part which has now developed into the avowed one of segregating the high from the low castes.

The first legislative measure of the class under notice is the Special Marriage Act of 1872. This Act permitted Indians to marry unrestricted by considerations of caste or creed, provided the parties gave a declaration to the effect that they did not belong to any religion. The last condition being tagged on to it, spoiled what would otherwise have been a very beneficial feature of the Act, *viz.*, the possibility of caste fusion by allowing persons to marry into different castes without formally renouncing their own. This would have helped in removing the existing marital aloofness between one caste and another. Had the Government really been the champion of equality as they often pose to be, this opportunity of helping the work of removing caste inequalities would have been readily seized. But this was not done. If it is true, that this Act was intended for the benefit of the Brahmos only, the proper thing would have been to allow persons to marry simply by declaring that they were Brahmos. This simple step too was avoided. However,

> "the clause requiring solemn renunciation of caste and religion was considered objectionable by many and efforts were made to liberalize the marriage law. Owing partially to the apathy of the Government and the hostility of the orthodox both B. N. Basu and V. J. Patel failed. Sir Harisingh Gour's Special Marriage Amendment Act of 1923 (which is applicable to all Hindus including Sikhs, Jains and Brahmos) does not require a declaration of renunciation of caste but persons marrying under this Act have to forfeit certain of their personal rights as Hindus—for example they cannot adopt, they cease to be members of the joint family to which they formerly belonged and must be governed by the Indian succession Act—not by Hindu law."*

In all these measures, aiming at fusion of castes by intermarriage the attitude of the

* *Caste and Race*, p. 153.

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Government was thoroughly unbecoming of the successors of Bentinck and Dalhousie. Not only was an attitude of neutrality with a vengeance adopted when it was thought that this would effectively hinder the cause, but obstructionist tactics (in the name of circulation for eliciting public opinion, etc.) were sometimes resorted to (e.g. in the case of Patel's Bill). The result has been that in the only one successful case, care was taken to leave some defect in the law so as to prevent intercaste marriage between Hindus in the full possession of their normal rights. Even the Sarda Marriage Act which had nothing to do with caste fusion took a pretty long time to come through the Legislature; but it is certain that it could not have been passed into law had not the strong and united body of Nationalists fought hard for it and borne down all obstacles created by the Government's attitude. The public will also remember the Government's attitude when the Arya Marriage Validation Bill came up for a short discussion in the Assembly. Even in this short discussion, extraordinary objections were raised by the Government and many Muslim members to a Bill intended to legalize marriage between one Arya-samajist and another irrespective of their previous caste, or creed in the same way as marriage among Muslim and Christian converts from Hinduism are considered legal whatever their previous caste or creed might have been.

III. Government and the Depressed Classes.

The Government's lip-deep sympathy for depressed classes is well known. And many officials, ex-officials, politicians, journalists and authors have made the Hindus the target of their attacks holding that it is the high caste men alone who are responsible for the sufferings of the depressed classes. It is conveniently forgotten that whatever has been done for the social uplift of these brethren of ours is almost entirely due to the exertions of numbers of so-called high caste men. Not to speak of the great reformers of modern India, like Rammohan Roy, Dayanand Saraswati and Swami Vivekananda, who preached the doctrine of equality of man and gave inspiration to thousands who practise this doctrine, the various institutions founded, for instance, by the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj solely for the benefit of the depressed classes are run and financed almost exclusively by the much-maligned "high caste" men. The public have yet to learn the names of depressed class men (and there are rich men among them too) or of their vociferous Muslim and Christian friends who have helped the cause with an appreciable amount of money.

But we are speaking here of their best friends, viz., the Government. Beyond maligning the caste Hindus, what material benefit have they rendered to the depressed classes? Let us see.

It was only in 1925 that a Bill was introduced in the Madras Legislative Council permitting the depressed classes to use all public roads, wells, tanks and places of public resort. Even now in many places in Southern India (may be in some places of Northern India also) the so-called untouchable boys cannot sit on the same bench or in the same room with the upper caste boys in schools controlled and financed by the Government. What John Wilson wrote in 1877 is still true of many educational institutions under Government control:

> "Few, if any, of the Antyaja are found in Government schools. This is to be ascribed not only to the Brahminical fear of contamination and general caste prejudices of the people but to the want of firmness on the part of Government educational authorities."*

There are many student's Hindu hostels in the mofussil of Bengal which are controlled and partly financed by the Government but where the depressed class boys are not given shelter. It would not have been an unexpected or improper thing for a Christian Government professing equality in the eye of the law to show a little firmness in this respect and to see that all Hindus enjoyed equal rights in Hindu institutions aided by Government; that would have greatly helped the Hindu reformers. But perhaps that is just the thing the officials want to avoid. The very idea of caste *rapprochement* which may bring about Hindu solidarity seems at present to be distasteful to the Government, the Muslims and to many Christians as well.

It may be within the memory of the public how peremptorily the Government put down the late Lala Lajpat Rai's proposal in the Assembly to the effect that Government should prove the sincerity of their professed love for the depressed classes by spending annually a few lacs of rupees on educational and other good work for their benefit. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Bengal Government alone spends on Muslim education more than fifteen times the money they spend on purely Hindu education.

If this has been the policy of the Government in secular matters that in religious matters is no more marked by liberality and humanity. Despite the much vaunted religious neutrality the Government is backing up orthodoxy against the claims of the depressed classes regarding temple entry and is thus indirectly keeping up a spirit of antagonism between the depressed and non-depressed classes.

"There are temples for the idols of God maintained by private individuals or by public trusts. The latter sometimes receive grants from the State. The famous temple of Parvati at Poona is such a one. The depressed classes want to visit the temple as other caste Hindus do. The Trustees refuse to allow them the

* Quoted in *Caste and Race*, p. 154.

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right. The Government of Bombay who make a substantial grant towards the maintenance of the temple have not yet thought fit to intervene as a matter of public policy."* One expected that Government money would be given to institutions alone where all people had equal rights.

This is not a solitary instance of Government support to Hindu orthodoxy. The following words of Sj. Rajagopalachariar on the working of the Madras Religious Endowments Act are noteworthy:

> "Numerous suits regarding the management of the temples and even concerning rites and ceremonies therein, are taken to and decided by the courts. All the temples in Southern India of any importance are governed by the Religious Endowments Act whereby the management of these institutions are placed under the direct control of a board consisting of salaried members nominated by the Government.....Strictly orthodox Sanatanists have accepted the office of members of these boards and are actually co-operating with Government in the management of temples. One of the main purposes of the Temple Entry Bill is to amend Section 40 of the Madras Religious Endowments Act which is interpreted by the Trustees and the commitees to stand in the way of any reform."†

In other words, this Section 40 as thus interpreted and enforced by the Government prevents temple entry by the so-called untouchables.

A Government taking any interest in the welfare of the depressed classes might be expected to take the initiative in the matter of removing the said defect of the Religious Endowments Act. On the contrary, however, we see the Anti-untouchability and Temple Entry Bills, sponsored by two of the much-abused high caste Hindus, cleverly kept out of the proceedings of the Indian Legislative Assembly by the ruse adopted by a few M. L. A's and the mighty British Government looking on apparently in a benumbed and helpless condition!

But enlightened public opinion will not absolve the British Government of all guilt in the matter. Referring to the blocking of the Anti-untouchability Bill and the Temple Entry Bill it has been rightly observed:

> "The normal procedure from which the Government refused to make any departure could produce no other result. The Government must have been fully aware of it and we cannot acquit them of the charge that in refusing to give adequate facility for introduction and passing of the Bills they have obstructed the progress of the country. They have refused the simple step of publication in the Gazette which could have saved the formality of leave for introduction. They have refused to give any extra day even though it was wanted only for carrying the motion for circulation so that the Bills might be ready for consideration at the next session. Yet they claimed that they were particular only to ensure proper circulation."*

The Government's attitude seems all the more regrettable in view of the fact that the above-mentioned reform measures did not violate the spirit of any of the existing laws. With reference to the Temple Entry Bill, Mr. T. Venkatarama Shastri, a caste Hindu, as his name implies, and ex-Law Member of Madras, is reported to have said:

> "There is no infringement of property rights of any one. Properties of temples are not sought to be diverted from purposes for which they are intended and have been issued in the past. No worshipper has any rights of property in the temple. All worshippers have equal rights, even though custom may regulate the mode and manner in which and the spot from which worship should be offered by each worshipper. Harijan has so far offered worship only from outside. Any change in the custom in this respect is no infringement of property rights of any one. The legislation permitting use of all public roads over some of which harijans had not been hitherto allowed to walk, would in exactly the same sense be a legislation affecting rights of property. Nor can it be said to infringe trusts if by that is meant diversion of trusts from purposes intended by authors of trusts."†

That eminent lawyer, Mr. Jayakar, is reported to have said:

> "It was clear that the first bill was intended to remove obstacles created by the British Indian courts giving legal recognition to customs and usages regarded as unjust, anti-social and irreligious by a section of the Hindu community."§

On the strength of what has been said above, would it be far from truth to say that by refusing to help the cause of education of the depressed classes with sufficient funds (in contrast to what is done for Moslems), allowing orthodox castes to keep out, till recently at least, the depressed class boys from Government controlled educational institutions, and, even now, from most of the Hindu student's hostels and lastly, by encouraging the ultra-orthodox in preventing temple entry by the same depressed classes as well as in helping the strangulation

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* *Caste and Race*. p. 159

Very recently the following case was reported:—"For entering the inner sanctuary of a temple reserved for Brahmin worshippers, S. K. Vadyar, now Dist. Deputy Collector of Ratnagiri, has been sued by the Trustees of the temple claiming damages. A decree for Rs. 30 was passed against him by the Sub Judge. His appeal to the Dist. Judge having failed, he now approached the High Court." (*A. B. Patrika*-Dak-11-3-1933). The case is pending.

† Statement in the *A. B. Patrika*—February, 22, 1933.

* C. Rajagopalachariar's statement—*A. B. Patrika* (Dak), March 2, 1933.

† *A. B. Patrika* (Dak) March 1, 1933.

§ *A. B. Patrika* (Dak) March 5, 1933.

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of two otherwise innocent Bills in the Legislative Assembly sponsored by two high caste Hindus for the welfare of the depressed classes,—the Government have not only belied their professed love for the depressed classes but also have made themselves liable to the charge of indirectly trying to keep alive the caste differences among Hindus?

IV—Effect of Census Operations

That the census has been another indirect cause of accentuating caste differences is the opinion of many. The emphasis laid by it on minute particulars about castes naturally tend to produce that result. On this subject, however, I will let more competent authorities speak:

"It is difficult to see any valid public reason for the elabarate treatment of caste in the census reports. The Government have never avowed their intention of helping any caste to retain its numbers and prosperity. Nor have they at any time helped a particular caste because it registered numerical decline or economic dislocation. Not even the declared policy of the Provincial Governments to provide special representation either by election or nomination to certain classes of people necessitates an enumeration of the people by their castes. For this representation is not dependent on numbers... The conclusion is inevitable that the intellectual curiosity of some of the early officials is mostly responsible for the treatment of caste given to it in the census, which has been progressively elaborate in successive censuses since 1872. The total result has been...a livening up of the caste spirit."*

The following from the "Census of India," 1921, Vol. I, Part I. shows that objections were raised against caste enumerations which were however overruled. Mr. Marten, Census Commissioner, says in the above mentioned report:

"Serious suggestions have at various times been made in favour of the omission of the question regarding caste from the schedules and the suppression of the classification of the population by caste and tribe. A proposal to this effect was made in connection with the 1901 census... The subject was revived from a more interesting point of view by the tabling of a resolution in the Legislative Council in 1920 attacking the caste enquiry on the grounds (a) that it was undesirable to recognize and perpetuate, by official action, the system of caste differentiation, and that (b) in any case, the returns were inaccurate and worthless, since the lower castes took the opportunity of passing themselves off as belonging to groups of higher status... Whatever view may be taken of caste as a national and social institution...so long as caste continues to be used as one of the distinguishing features of an individual's official and social identity, it cannot be claimed that a decennial enumeration helps to perpetuate an undesirable institution."†

The following from the same report shows however that the objection was at least partly justified:

"The opportunity of the census was...seized by all but the highest castes to press for recognition of social claims and to secure, if possible, a step upwards in the social ladder. This attitude has been strengthened by the recent development of caste *sabhas* or societies whose purpose is to advance the position and welfare of the castes.*

The Census Superintendent of Bengal gives a list of thirty-five different claims to Kshatriya, Vaisya and other status, which as he says, were among those most strongly pressed by the caste *sabhas* and there are similar lists in most of the provincial reports.† But the strongest condemnation of the system of elaborate caste enumeration in the census comes from Mr. Middleton, Census Superintendent of the Panjab in 1921. Says he:

"I had intended pointing out that there is a very wide revolt against the classification of occupational caste; that these castes have been largely manufactured and almost entirely preserved as separate castes by the British Government. Our land records and official documents have added iron bonds to the old rigidity of caste. Caste in itself was rigid among the higher castes but malleable among the lower. We pigeon-holed every one by caste, and if we could not find a true caste for them, labelled them with the name of an hereditary occupation. We deplore the caste system and its effects on social and economic problems but we are largely responsible for the system we deplore. Left to themselves, such castes as Sunar and Lohar would rapidly disappear and no one would suffer. Government's passion for labels and pigeon-holes had led to a crystallization of the caste system which, except among the aristocratic castes, was really very fluid under indigenous rule. If the Government would ignore caste, it would gradually be replaced by something very different among the lower castes."§

V—Exploitation of Caste differences

Hitherto we have seen that certain acts of the Government tended to keep alive the spirit of caste aloofness among Hindus and in some cases it aggravated the evil. All this happen, however, as an indirect consequence of the Government's attitude towards caste, they having done nothing to mitigate the evils of caste. A writer who made the matter a subject of serious study, sums up the Government's attitude towards caste, as we have noticed it so far, in the following words:

"The activities of the British Government have gone very little towards the solution of the problem of caste. Most of these activities, as must be evident, were dictated by prudence of administration and not by a desire to reduce the rigidity of caste whose disadvantages were so patent to them."

* *Caste and Race* p. 158.
† *Ibid.*, p. 222.

* *Ibid.*, p. 223.
† *Ibid.*, p. 224.
§ Quoted in *Caste and Race*, p. 160.

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"On the whole the British rulers of India, who have throughout professed to be the trustees of the welfare of the country, never seem to have given much thought to the problem of caste, in so far as it affects the nationhood of India. Nor have they shown willingness to take a bold step rendering caste innocuous. Their measures generally have been promulgated piecemeal and with due regard to the safety of the British domination."*

But the picture is not yet complete.

It may be argued that, if the British masters of India did not take any comprehensive steps to minimize the evils of caste which they openly deplored, it must be said to their credit that they did not at least consciously foster the institution. But in the face of the utterances of some responsible British officers after the Mutiny of 1857 was quelled, it is not possible to endorse this view. It was almost the unanimous opinion of persons connected with the Government of India that the deep causes of the Sepoy Mutiny were to be found in the fact that the Bengal Army was composed largely of the higher castes, *viz.*, Brahmins and Rajputs. The Special Commission presided over by Lord Peel (for the reorganization of the Army) took evidence from many high officials who were sometime or other connected with India. Lord Elphinstone opined that it was desirable that men of different castes should be enlisted in the Army while Major General H. T. Tucker went further and insisted on the necessity of keeping the country under British domination through the policy of dividing and separating into distinct bodies the nationalities and castes recruited to the Army. The lesson of the Mutiny, *viz.*, that the safety of the British domination in India was very closely connected with keeping the Indian people divided on the lines of castes, was driven home to the British rulers. Some officials like Sir Lepel Griffin thought that caste was useful in preventing rebellion while James Ker, Principal of the Hindu College, Calcutta, wrote the following in 1865:

"It may be doubted if the existence of caste is on the whole unfavourable to the permanence of our rule. It may even be considered favourable to it, provided we act with prudence and forbearance. Its spirit is opposed to national union."

"The maxim of divide and rule began to be preached by historians and journalists alike.... Suspicion of the high castes therefore dates from the Mutiny. The valuable lesson so dearly purchased was not going to be lost. It being repeated in the form of the general principle of divide and rule could not have failed to influence the policy and conduct of later officials."†

It is no wonder then that Government's attitude towards social reform legislation in post-Mutiny days was so unlike that in the days of Bentinck and Dalhousie.

Regarding reorganization of the Indian Army, after 1857, on the principle of throwing incongruous caste and communities into one group, the idea was not a new one. Even before the Mutiny there were many who advised such step:

"The question was hotly discussed whether we were wiser to compose each regiment of men of the same race or to mix up different races in the same corps. It was alleged that the fusion of different nationalities had a tendency to keep internal combination in check, but that if men of one race were formed into separate regiments, if we had Pathan regiments, and Gurkha regiments, Sikh regiments and Maratha regiments, facilities for mutinous combination would be greatly increased."*

Here is what a famous Indian ex-official said on the same subject:

"The ruinous consequences of drawing the large portion of our soldiers from a single class, under the influence of the same feelings and interests and holding more than any other people in India the strictest prejudices of caste were shown by the event of 1857.† The old system was abandoned and I quote from the Report of the Indian Army Commission (an account of) that which took its place....."

"These armies are thus composed of what are called mixed recruits, that is to say, of corps in which men of different races, several religions, and many provinces are thrown into the same company or troop. In the Bengal and Punjab armies the majority of corps are what are called class company regiments—that is to say, the regiments draw recruits from three or more different races and recruiting grounds. Thus an infantry regiment may have two companies of Sikhs, two companies of Hindustani Brahmins and Rajputs, two companies of Punjabi Muhammadans, one company of Trans-Indian Pathans and one company of Dogras from the Kangra or Jammu hills."§

The policy of grouping Government servants of different tribes, castes and communities in such a way that they may neutralize each other's influence is not restricted to the army alone. The history of the civil administration of India for the last twenty-five years has proved that the same policy has been extended in that direction also. In all departments of the Government, among all ranks of Government officers, in all local self-governing bodies, one sees painful evidence of the working of the same vicious policy.

* *Caste and Race*, p. 162.

† *Caste and Race*, pp. 163-164.

* *Kaye and Malleson's History of the Sepoy Mutiny*, Vol. I, p. 244.

† The old army had become dangerous because it was and overgrown homogenous force, all recruited from one part of India and from one class"—*Chesney's India*, p. 239.

§ *India—Its Administration and Problems*, by Strachey, pp. 439—40. There may have been slight alterations since then but the general policy remains the same.

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VI—Raising a Wall Between Caste and Caste

We shall not discuss here the extraordinary favouritism shown by the Government in all departments towards the Muslims. We are more directly concerned here with the policy of alienating one section of Hindus from another. This policy began to take effect in Southern India pretty long ago, and became a fruitful source of help and inspiration to the Non-Brahmin, or, more accurately speaking, the Anti-Brahmin movement there. This movement received official backing in the shape of reservation of a certain percentage of Government posts and Council seats. It should be remembered that this special favour was shown to a class of people whose attitude was inimical to the Brahmins and unfriendly to the depressed classes also. However, on the merits and results of this policy I will let Dr. Ghurye who has made special investigation of the matter speak:

"We contend that the restriction on the numbers of the able member of the Brahmin and other allied castes, imposed by this resolution of the Government, penalizes some able persons simply because they happen to belong to particular castes. When in the case of certain services recruited by means of competitive examinations, some vacancies are offered to candidates who have failed to attain a particular rank in the examination, on the ground that they belong to certain castes, which must be represented in the higher services of the country, it clearly implies that even the accepted standard of qualifications and efficiency is abandoned. The result has been the pampering of caste even at the cost of efficiency and justice. The Government of Bombay in their memorandum submited to the Indian Statutory Commission, 1928, complain that the District School Boards, where the non-Brahmins have a majority have almost in every case attempted to oust the Brahmin regardless of all considerations of efficiency. Yet this action is only a logical development of the attitude of the Government which nursed, rather than ignored, the spirit of caste."*

In Bengal, in the same way, the game of ousting out of the caste Hindus is being practised by the Namasudra-*cum*-Moslem combination in more than one district and Local Board (*e.g.*, in Jessore), under the careful protection of the Government.

But the climax seems to have been reached in the separate electorate for the depressed classes provided in the proposed constitution. The Poona Pact, brought about by Mahatma Gandhi's fast, may have modified the evil to a certain extent, but the root of the mischief still lies there, and above all, it has proved, beyond doubt, the determination of the British Government to drive a wedge deep into the body of the Hindu community.

It would be interesting here to trace the history of the communal policy of the British Government in India, one significant feature of which is that it has been more and more emphasized from the days of the Swadeshi movement—a movement which was started and kept going almost exclusively by the Hindus. It is said that the spectators see more of the game than the players. I will therefore present the reader with an excerpt from an article written by a foreign observer,* on the history of the genesis and development of the Government's communal policy as worked out up to the announcement of the communal award recently made by the British Premier; and, it is hoped, the length of the excerpt will repay perusal:

"The history of the matter runs back to 1906. In that year a small deputation led by the Aga Khan, asked Lord Minto, the British Viceroy of India at that time for communal representation for Moslems. From the *Recollections* of Lord Morley, who was then Secretary of State for India we learn that Lord Minto himself had first suggested this idea† to the Moslems, though Morley advised against it. The British Government agreed to the idea and established it by law in the reforms of 1909. The Sikhs were then also granted communal representation. From that time on, the separatist spirit among the Moslems increased.

"At the Second Indian Round Table Conference it was proposed that the communal representation should be applied to other communities such as Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and the Untouchables. Mahatma Gandhi strenuously objected to any such extensions specially with regard to untouchables.....

"The Report of the Commission on the Constitution of Ceylon headed by Lord Donoughmore, in 1928, agreed with Mr. Gandhi. It said:—'The representatives of the various communities do not trust one another and communal representation has not helped to develop a unitary bond or link. The minority communities are fearful that any preponderance of Governmental powers held by another community will inevitably be used against them and are keenly on the alert for signs of discrimination. The communal representation is, as it were, a canker in the body politic, eating deeper and deeper into the vital energies of the people, breeding self-interest, suspicion and animosity, poisoning the new growth of political consciousness and effectively preventing the development of a national or corporate spirit.'

The Commission also pointed out that once established 'the desire for communal representation tends to grow rather than to die down.' This has

* *Caste and Race*, p. 162.

* Mr. Richard B. Greg in his article entitled "Why did Mahatma Gandhi fast?" in *Asia* (December, 1932) of New York. The article was written soon after Mahatma's fast for altering the Premier's decision about separate electorate for depressed classes.

† The passage referred to by Mr. Greg is perhaps this:—"I won't follow you again into our Mahometan dispute. Only I respectfully remind you once more that it was your early speech that started the M. hare. I am convinced my decision was the best."

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been the case among the Moslems and Sikhs in India."

"Mr. Gandhi's opposition to communal electorates is supported by experience in other countries than Ceylon, by the report of other careful investigations besides that of the Donoughmore Commission. The Montagu-Chelmsford report on India made in 1918,—the Hilton Young Commission Report on East and Central Africa, 1929 ; and the famous Simon Commission Report on India, 1930, all supported this position.

"Two of these—the Donoughmore Report and the Simon Report not only opposed communal electorates in general, but also specifically opposed communal electorates for depressed classes. Depressed classes exist in Ceylon as well as in India. Moreover, the new constitution of Ceylon, 1931, presumably based on the Donoughmore Report of 1928, abolished all the previously existing communal electorates there.

"In regard to separate electorates for the depressed classes, the Simon Report (vol. ii. p. 65) said :—'We are averse from stereotyping the differences between the depressed classes and the remainder of the Hindus by such a step which we consider would introduce a new and serious bar to ultimate political amalgamation with others. If separate electorates have to be maintained for certain classes which have already secured them, there is no reason for bringing other cases within the mode of this treatment, if it can be avoided. A separate electorate for depressed classes means.....stigmatizing each individual voter in the list and militates against the process.....of helping those who are depressed to rise in the social and economic scale.'

"Yet the British Government by its Indian communal award extended separate electorates to three communities :—the Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, and Depressed classes. And indirectly it applied the principle to the Indian women, by providing that the women representatives in the Provincial legislature should be elected among the communities in fixed ratio and the candidates voted for by the women of those communities separately.

"It seems surprising that the Government should have thus flown in the face of so much weighty advice. It appears from the official despatch of the Government of India to the Government of Great Britain, when Lord Irwin was Viceroy, that the Government of India disagreed with the Simon Commission. It advocated separate electorates for Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians and strongly hinted that communal representation for the untouchables would be 'the best means that may be found practicable to give them adequate representation.' Presumably in this opinion Lord Irwin was guided by the bureaucracy around him ; for as Ramsay MacDonald himself pointed out in his book '*The Government of India*,' the Viceroy 'is working all the time with a machine that is too big and too complex for any man to control.' The report of the Lothian (Franchise) Committee of last spring reveals that the specific plan for a double electorate for untouchables in districts where they are in a majority was evolved and suggested by the Government of Madras Province, where untouchables are most numerous."

Thus have our British rulers, who are champions of democracy in their own country, tried and almost succeeded in erecting a permanent wall between caste and caste, obviously with a view to prevent the growth of the spirit of solidarity among Hindus. Publication from time to time of official lists of the so-called depressed classes, prepared without consulting either the castes concerned or any Hindu organization whatsoever, is another feature of the methodical process of alienating the aforesaid classes from the caste Hindus.*

VII—Then and Now

We have surveyed, in a way, the history of the Government's attitude towards caste for nearly a century. We have seen that Government's attitude in this respect has been different in the two different periods, which roughly speaking, may be termed the pre-Mutiny period and the post-Mutiny period. We have also seen that in the former period the attitude of the Government was favourable to social reform so much so that Government did not scruple to interfere in religious matters (customs and privileges of certain castes) with peremptory, though well-intentioned, authority. But after the Mutiny, *i. e.*, from the last quarter of the nineteenth century the attitude is changed into one of apparent indifference and hesitancy in the matter of social reform legislation. From the days of the Swadeshi movement onwards the Government have adopted a sort of obstructionist policy veiled in what looks like a desire for strict religious neutrality. While this is true, as regards social reform legislation, the Government's policy of alienating low castes from high caste Hindus has revealed itself in all its nakedness by the provision of separate electorates for the depressed class in the new constitution.

The Hindu has fallen on evil days. In the political field, the mighty Christian Government, in alliance with the loyal Muslim community, seems to be bent upon reducing him to the lowest possible position. One may be pardoned if taking a pessimistic view of the matter, he is inclined to fear that grand preparations are being made for the total suppression of the whole Hindu community, if that is possible. If Hindu social reformers try to put their house in order, the powerful British Government stand in the way raising the plea of religious neutrality or non-interference with caste privileges, which, however, they never scruple to break for administrative or other purposes of their own.

In such a predicament, our memory runs back to the day when even the Hindu had a Governor-General to befriend him, inconceivable though the idea seems to be now ! I mean the noble-minded Lord William Bentinck. The depth of Bentick's love of social reform among Hindus

* The interested reader is referred to my article headed "Cast distinction in Educational Reports" published in *The Modern Review* for July, 1932.

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may be gauged from the following words which he wrote in connection with the proposal for suppression of the *suttee* :

"*The first and primary object of my heart is the benefit of the Hindus.* I know nothing so important to the improvement of their future condition as the establishment of a purer morality, whatever their belief, and a more just conception of the will of God. The first step to this better understanding will be dissociation of religious belief and practice from blood and murder. They will, then, when no longer under this brutalising excitement, view with more calmness acknowledged truths. They will see that there can be no inconsistency in the ways of Providence.....and *when they shall have been convinced of the error of this first and most criminal of their customs, might it not be hoped that others which stand in the way of their improvement may likewise pass away and that thus emancipated, from those chains and shackles upon their minds and actions, they may no longer continue, as they have done, the slaves of every conqueror, but that they may assume their first places among the families of mankind ?* I disown in these remarks or in this measure, any view whatever to conversion to our faith. *I write and feel as a legislator for the Hindus,* and as I believe many enlightened Hindus think and feel."*

One is inclined to ask oneself the question —what sort of treatment even a Governor-General of India would receive at the hands of his own countrymen if he dared to give utterance to sentiments like the above in these days !

Equally bold and expressive of noble and liberal ideas are the following words from the preamble of Act XV of 1856 (Widow Remarriage Act) :—

"Many Hindus believe that this imputed legal incapacity (to contract a second valid marriage) although it is in accordance with established custom, is not in accordance with a true interpretation of the precepts of their religion and desire that the civil law administered by the courts of justice shall no longer prevent those Hindus who may be so minded from adopting a different custom in accordance with the dictates of their own conscience ; and whereas it is just to relieve all such Hindus from this legal incapacity of which they complain, and the removal of all legal obstacles to the marriage of Hindu widow will tend to promotion of good morals and to the public welfare, it is enacted as follows :— etc., etc.

The reader should remember that at this time, there was no widespread public agitation for the reform mentioned here, nor was there any legislature containing even a handful of popular representatives. How every social reformer wishes that the attitude of the present Government were more like the above and far from what it is today ! And what is it like today ? That famous Englishman, Bertrand Russell, speaks of it, in the *Manchester Guardian,* in reply to a query by a certain Mr. Ritchie, in the following words :

"Mr. Ritchie writing in your issue of January 26 demands an explanation of my assertion that British authority in India is impeding social reform. He appears to think that the decision made by the Government of India last week (*i. e.,* Poona Pact) disproves my statement. It does nothing of the kind.

"The Government of India is still the ally of social reaction. The Viceroy has sought safety in procrastination and avoided an immediate conflict with Mr. Gandhi. It is the insistence of Mr. Gandhi and his followers that has compelled Lord Willingdon to retreat one step. The Government's antipathy to the cause of social reform, however, is evident in the Viceroy's statement, which permits the Indian Legislature to discuss a measure to remove the disabilities of the untouchables and at the same time insists on proclaiming that the Government will not be bound by the decision of the Legislature.

"The Indian Government's present attitude only confirms the view that I have expressed—that it is impeding social reform. It is meeting the demand for reform with delaying tactics and spurious arguments."*

Lovers of social reform will regretfully ponder over the change of Government's attitude towards the Hindus' feeble attempts to put their house in order. Since every social reform movement is sure to be hindered, if not altogether suppressed, by the antipathy of the Government, they will wonder if there is any means on earth by which the present anti-Hindu rulers of India might be brought round to Bentinck's way of thinking !

* Bentinck's Minute, November 8, 1829.

* Reported in the *A. B. Patrika* (Dak) February 22, 1933.

Replying to the address of a Sanatanist Deputation which opposed Anti-Untouchability and Temple Entry Bills, the Viceroy is reported to have said :—"I made it clear that it was essential that the consideration of these measures should not proceed unless the fullest examination was made within the Legislature and outside by wide circulation" (*A. B. Patrika*—March 1, 1933).

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A PLANET AND A STAR

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

SOME hours earlier Maruchi had spoken to Orlon to address the meeting. Orlon protested on the ground that Maruchi was an accomplished speaker, he knew what there was to say while Orlon who was not accustomed to speak in public would make an ass of himself. But Maruchi would take no denial and suggested the lines of the speech. We knew Maruchi's selection was unexceptionable, for Orlon, in spite of his modesty, was a brilliant man and would prove an impressive speaker.

When we arrived we found a large, eager but patient audience. There were women as well as men. Vanita was there surrounded by a number of other women, while Pavro's wife was seated well in front of others. A rough platform had been erected near the Mundanus and as we mounted it to take our seats there was some faint cheering.

Amelach, who was seated between Maruchi and Orlon, first rose to address the meeting. 'My friends,' he said, 'you see before you the distinguished strangers who have favoured our city with a visit. You also see before you the marvellous machine in which they ride through the air outstripping the swiftest birds on the wing. They carry with them many wonderful inventions and they are as great as they are powerful. They are mightier than the kings of old and they are wiser than the wise men of ancient times. They are now on a voyage of exploration and discovery. They have visited many countries and cities and have everywhere been received with signal honour. You, my friends, and I are descended from famous and powerful monarchs who ruled the whole of this land, but now we are fallen on evil days and wicked men have deprived us of our inheritance. You will be pleased to learn, however, that our visitors have agreed to help us to regain what we have lost. If we have lost our old kingdoms we may found new ones. One of our honoured visitors will now address you and I pray you to give him a respectful, attentive and patient hearing.' Amelach resumed his seat. At a sign from Maruchi, Orlon got upon his legs and all eyes were turned upon him. In front of us were the upturned faces of men and women whose forebears had been kings in the days of yore. But these people could never have dreamed of a more striking or kingly figure than the man who now stood facing them. Nature's own crown was on his golden head while his features were chiselled like a god's. The lofty, broad forehead was a fitting abode of thought and the large, keen eyes held other eyes wherever they turned. His splendid height towered over and dominated the gathering. The men stared at him as at a superior being, the women were fascinated by his magnetic vitality and the beauty of his glorious manhood. For a moment he stood with hand uplifted and then he spoke in a rich, melodious voice which reached with ease every part of the large gathering. The raised hand fell gracefully to his side and he stood at his ease, the head superbly poised and the whole figure characterized by a marked aplomb.

'Men and women, he began, 'you do well to remember that you are descended from generations of kings and queens. It is a precious memory, it is a proud memory. But can we live and have our being in memory alone? Is memory sufficient nourishment for our minds and our souls? I admit memory is a precious possession. Not all men are descended from kings, not all may recall such a glorious past as is yours. You have merely to light the lamp of memory to send out long shining vistas into the accumulated glories of the past. It is an effulgence at which we can light our own humble rush-lights. How swiftly and overpoweringly come the memories of the past! Back come to our ears the tramp and snort of disciplined horses, the jingle of stirrup and bridle, the measured tread of moving cohorts with swords and shields glittering in the sun. The clarion of the battle cry is in our ears, our ears are deafened with the crash and thunder of battle. The steps that led up to a throne were covered by the red baize of war. That was one phase. The work of consolidation was more difficult than the excitement of conquest and called for higher and greater qualities. The ruler was greater than the mere conqueror. Kings were great in so far as they maintained and promoted peace and added to the welfare of their subjects. It was not by the accumulation or display of wealth, the lavishness, the pomp, and the magnificence of their courts that kings established their claims to the gratitude and admiration of the people. The people blessed them not for the triumphs of war but the achievements of peace. It was in the latter that the majesty of kings shone forth and called down the blessings of a prosperous and contented people.'

Orlon paused and cheers broke out from the

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audience. The orator was playing skilfully upon the feelings of his hearers and the glowing picture of the achievements of the ancient kings stirred the hearts of their descendants. The men proudly uplifted their heads, the women gazed at the speaker with flushed faces and shining eyes. The speaker resumed, 'How did the kings attain their lofty position and how did they acquire their immense power? Believe me, you who are justifiably proud because the blood of those kings flows in your veins, the office of the king was no sinecure. He was truly the first servant of the people. He had to work harder than any of his subjects, his responsibilities were greater than those of any other man in the kingdom. His vigilance never relaxed, his hands and his brain were never idle. You think only of the luxury and ease that surrounded the king, but you forget how hard he had to work, how multifarious were his duties, how great were his anxieties. Great ends can only be won by great efforts and no king, worthy of the name, ever spared himself. The divine right of the king was established by the king's own efforts. He had no other right, no other power than what he derived from the people. Why did the people refuse to have kings, why were the sons and daughters of kings deprived of their kingdoms and sent away to this place? You will say that the people were ungrateful and disloyal and they listened to the councils of evil men. Why were there no such men in the time of the ancient kings? If kings had continued to be what they were in the old days they would have been sitting on their thrones today. Why should the people have tired of kings if they had continued to govern wisely and well? In later times the kings turned away from the cares of state and spent their lives in the pursuit of pleasure, or they became despotic tyrants and oppressed the people. They became feeble of intellect and infirm of purpose, and easy tools in the hands of unprincipled and designing men. The people groaned under crushing exactions while the creatures of the kings enriched themselves. It was when the state of things became unbearable that the people decided to remove the kings who had lost every vestige of the greatness of their ancestors. Kingship is not a birthright but a personal right. If a man is born a king he must prove his fitness for his office. The people would never dream of turning against a king solicitous of their happiness and ready to recognize and help their aspirations. It was when the patience and forbearance of the people were exhausted that they put an end to the misrule of kings.

'What consolation do you derive from living with the memories of the past? The past is peopled by phantoms and not by living creatures of flesh and blood. Did the kings of whom you are so proud harp on the past? Many of them had no past to boast of and they strove and achieved in the living present. The past is dead and what happiness can the dead bring to the living? Can you recall the past, can you restore the dead to life? And thinking of the past you have become utterly forgetful of the present. Have you ever considered what your great ancestors would think of you if they could come back to life? We who are mere travellers feel ashamed of you and your city. You who are descended from kings live more miserably than the meanest citizens of any city that we have seen. Look at your city, look at yourselves. Looking at you who would believe that your progenitors were great and powerful kings? You appear rather as the scum and outcasts of all the countries.'

A marked change came over the audience. The light went out of the eyes of the women, the men hung down their heads and winced under the lash of Orlon's stinging words. Some of the men glared angrily at the fearless speaker. Amelach looked round about him somewhat apprehensively.

Orlon went on in a voice from which the hard note of censure had disappeared. 'But we are not here to blame you. If that had been our only object we would not have been here and I would not have opened my lips at all. We are here to help you during our brief stay here. If you have lost your ancient kingdom what is there to prevent, you from founding new ones? All of you may not become kings but you can become prosperous citizens, self-respecting men who will win the respect of others. Just beyond your city there are extensive areas of virgin, fertile soil which will reward your labours tenfold if you can cultivate it. There are hills and mountains at no great distance in which valuable minerals may be found. You can build another city either on this site or a fresh one and you can have large and commodious houses. You will rapidly accumulate wealth and wealth is the secret of power. But you must shake off your idleness and your indolence and we shall show you how to do it. We have some little skill as you may judge by our flying chariot which has been going all round Heperon. Our great leader here will tell you how he proposes to help you.'

Maruchi rose slowly as Orlon sat down in the midst of sullen silence. If not so striking a figure as Orlon Maruchi looked like one accustomed to command while his keen penetrating eyes were bent upon the faces in front of him. 'Yes, my friends,' he said in a firm, clear voice, 'we are here to help you and to teach you that if you wish to command you must learn to obey. The past, however glorious, is of no avail unless it stimulates endeavour. It is not worthy of your manhood that you should spend your time in loitering and ruminating over the past. From tomorrow morning we shall begin to instruct you and all the young men should be

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here after sunrise. We have placed Amelach in command over you but we shall teach you ourselves.'

There was no response to these words and the gathering dispersed in silence.

XXVI

The silence boded no good and we felt it would be well to look out for a squall. Amelach and Pavro joined us as we left and made our way to the house of Pavro. Amelach came in with us for a little while. His face was grave and there was anxiety in his voice as he spoke to Maruchi. 'I very much fear,' he said, 'that there is trouble in store for you. Some of the young men were muttering threateningly and I feel anxious for you safety.'

'I know', replied Maruchi calmly; 'do you think they will attack us?'

'That is what I fear.'

'Then what do you advise us to do?'

'It will be best for you to leave the city.'

'What did your great ancestors do when they were threatened by some danger?'

'They faced it and fought it.'

'Well, you may depend upon us to do the same. We are not kings but we are not in the habit of running away from danger.'

'Then what will you do? You cannot fight a crowd of angry men. Your lives would be in danger.'

'We don't think so. You better come and see what happens.'

'I will do my best to pacify them but I fear it will be no use.'

'You need not do anything at all. You merely look on while we deal with your brave men.'

Amelach was mystified by the easy confidence of Maruchi. 'You are sure you will be able to defend yourselves?' he asked in a doubtful tone.

'Come and see,' was all that Maruchi said.

Amelach went away. We dined early and Maruchi told Pavro that we would spend the night in the airship. On board our ship we held a council of war.

Maruchi said, 'These princes of the blood are not very terrible fire-eaters. If they knew their own minds they would have rushed and swamped us immediately after the meeting. But they are as incapable of a prompt decision as of regaining their lost kingdoms. There will be no night sally and there will be plenty of time to meet them when they come'.

Maruchi gave certain instructions to Nabor, who proceeded to carry them out at once. The two headlights of the ship were fixed close to each other with powerful reflectors behind them. The sirens were thoroughly cleaned. In front of the ship were attached two metal rods from which flashing sparks of electricity could be emitted. When all the preparations had been completed we went quietly to sleep.

We were up with the birds. Maruchi told Nabor what was to be done in case a large number of men made a united rush in our direction or attempted to wreck the machine. The other four of us stepped down from the airship, carrying in our pockets the innocent-looking weapons charged with full clips containing pellets that sent off people into sudden sleep. We wheeled round the machine to face the entrance to the city. Then we strolled about in the vicinity of the machine with a very unconcerned air, though all our senses were alert and we were constantly on the *qui vive*.

As the first rays of the sun streamed out across the sky and over the land we saw Amelach and Pavro dashing out of the city. They came up to us, breathless with running. Amelach gasped out. 'You have not a moment to lose. You must escape at once.'

Maruchi patted him on the back, 'You are out of breath, my friend. We are obliged to you both, but there was no occasion for hurry.'

'But there are nearly five hundred of them armed with sticks and spears, and they are marching straight towards you.'

'Very well. We are here ready to give them a warm reception.'

'You do not understand. They are in an ugly mood and are breathing vengeance.'

'We understand perfectly well. If they are in an ugly mood we are in a sweet mood and we are breathing the fresh morning air.'

'But what can four or five of you do against an infuriated multitude?'

'Wait and see. If we believed we were in danger we could leave this place this instant. But we wish you to see for yourselves that we, who live in the present, have nothing to fear from those whose minds meander in the past. What you will see presently will be a valuable object-lesson to you. You will cease to harp on the past when you see greater deeds done before your eyes.' A hard glint came into Maruchi's eyes as he rasped out with a sweep of his arm. 'You will see the rabble scattered like chaff before the wind.'

Even as Maruchi spoke a shouting, gesticulating crowd brandishing sticks and rusty spears poured out of the city. The men in front were shouting, 'Down with the strangers! Death to the insolent strangers!' Amelach and Pavro hurriedly moved away from us, their eyes protruding from their heads with terror. They firmly believed that our last moment had come. We were perfectly cool and taking out our weapons discharged them at the crowd where it was thickest and then Maruchi shouted out an order to Nabor. Two powerful lights like a pair of glaring eyes burst forth at the head of the machine and with an ear-splitting out-burst of hideous sounds the machine rushed on its wheels

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towards the advancing crowd. It were as if a furious monster, or a fabled dragon, bellowing and roaring, were sweeping down upon its prey to devour it. Amelach and Pavro quickly retreated to a safe distance. The effect upon the yelling and menacing crowd was instantaneous. The men halted abruptly and then turned and fled for safety into the city leaving four of them lying on the ground. It was the most terrifying experience they had ever had in their lives.

But we had not done with the royal recreants. We chased the flying crowd, telling Nabor to to look after the men who had fallen. In a few minutes we halted and rounded up ahout fifty men, and at the point of our weapons turned them back. All the fight had gone out of them. They were pale and trembling with fright, and we drove them before us like sheep to the slaughter. We found the machine standing motionless with the lights put out and Nabor standing guard over the four men who were sitting up on the ground, dazed and frightened. Amelach and Pavro had returned and they looked at us with awe in their eyes. The men we had brought back with us cast fearful glances at the airship, which seemed to them to be a monster that might be roused to fury at any moment.

Maruchi ordered the four men on the ground to stand up and they did so meekly. Then he turned to Amelach and Pavro, 'You two go into the city and bring out all the young men. If they hesitate or refuse to obey my orders I shall attack them in my machine either from the streets or from the air. I will give them just an hour.'

'We go at once,' promptly replied Amelach, 'and you will be obeyed.'

They went off at a trot. Maruchi turned sharply to the men who were huddled together and were cowering before his stern figure and his blazing eyes. 'You must thank your stars,' he said in a voice hard as steel, 'that I have stayed my hand and have not utterly destroyed you. I have but to speak and your city will disappear in a few minutes. We are merciful and therefore we stunned these four men instead of killing them. You lazy loons, how can the past help you or any one else? We should not have been here if we had been gloating and dawdling and fretting over the past. Did the past give us this mighty machine and the power that we have won? Your royal ancestors would be ashamed of you as we are ashamed of you, and we are determined that you shall not continue to live as idlers and loiterers. Will you now obey our orders?

'We will,' was the humble reply of several of the men.

A little later Amelach and Pavro returned and behind them streamed the young men of the city, with bent heads and scared eyes. They were thoroughly cowed and after a whispered consultation with the others who were already standing they declared themselves willing to carry out our orders. We sent for spades and other implements for digging from the city and marched them out into the open fields where they were divided into gangs and set to work under our supervision. Nabor returned to the airship, which rose from the ground and circled slowly over the heads of the men working below, flying low. Maruchi told Amelach to pick out a number of young men who could be trusted and make them his assistants in helping him to get work out of the men. As we expected the men were awkward for they had never done a stroke of work in their lives but we hustled and drove them to work with sharp and curt words of command. After there or four hours or gruelling labour the men were dismissed for their midday meal with orders to return after a conple of hours.

We went back to the city and after a late breakfast went about in the city giving orders to the older people staying at home and the women to sweep and clean the streets. We called on Vanita and placed her at the head of the women workers. There was a large village of agricultural people at a distance of about fifty miles and Nabor and I flew out to this village and bought large quantities of seed grain for liberal payment. In the afternoon several acres were sown and we were satisfied, that there would be a bumper crop. While these operations went on Orlon and Amelach with twenty picked young men went to the hills at a distance of about six miles and returned after about four hours. They were jubilant for they had found a number of gold nuggets, some of them fairly large, and had also picked up several rough precious stones.

Maruchi took Amelach aside. 'While all of you have been lamenting the past,' he said, 'here are all the material of a new kingdom lying at your door but which you have never tried to find out. If you have found all this gold and these precious stones after a few hours' casual search there must be a great deal more for which you will have to dig and mine. The land that is being cultivated will give you a rich return but you must lose no time in establishing your authority. There may be a rush for gold hunting and the men employed in the fields may desert their work. The finding of wealth may also be the beginning of crime. You have got some men on whom you can rely. Get more. Train them to arms and set them to guard over the treasure that will be found. No one but the men selected should be allowed to go to the hills. Proclaim yourself the chief and the governor of the city and the adjoining country. Do not aspire to be a king and do not hanker for a throne and a crown.

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All countries have decided that there will be no kings and if they hear you have set up as a king they will sweep you and your kingdom away and may leave you to languish in prison. But you can be a king in everything but the name. We have satisfied you of our power to help you but you cannot expect us to tarry here much longer. As it is we have stayed here longer than we intended.'

Amelach spoke with considerable feeling. "What words can I find to express my gratitude? You found us grovelling in the dust and you have raised us up. We were groping blindly in the past, you have recalled us to the living present. We were worthless wastrels, you have made us men. No, I do not wish to be a king and have no desire to found a kingdom. You are greater than any king that ever lived. I have no other ambition than to render you unquestioning obedience and to follow your directions faithfully after it pleases you to leave us.'

At a large gathering of the men the following afternoon Maruchi announced his decision to place Amelach in command over the city and the new lands. No one except the men selected by Amelach was to go to the hills to find gold or precious stones. 'There will be no kings,' said Marucchi, 'because kings are out of date and the peoples of the countries have resolved that there will be no kings in future. If any one here sets up as a king it will bring him into conflict with other countries which will send armies to destroy your kingdom and all of you may be condemned to death or imprisonment. There can be kings only if the people wish to have them but not otherwise. Amelach here will be the governor of this new territory and he will be helped by such men as he may select or you may elect. Most of you will become wealthy and prosperous in a few years if you continue to be industrious and hardworking. Amelach will have control over the public treasury. As soon as you have the means pull down these rickety houses which are a disgrace to the city and erect new and substantial buildings. Do not allow the office of the governor to become hereditary. The fittest and ablest man should invariably be chosen for this responsible office. Remember that although we shall shortly leave your city we shall always have the means of knowing what is going on here and we shall sternly punish any infraction of our orders. But we wish you well and all that is being done is for your own good. But before we go we shall secure our friend Amelach in his new position and he will have no difficulty in enforcing his authority.'

Immediately afterwards the people assembled at the meeting were treated to an exibition of military drill and manœuvres. Unknown to the other people Orlon and Ganimet had been drilling and training about two hundred young men in a retired place. They were carrying pikes and at a sharp word of command from Orlon detached themselves and lined up on the open space in front of us. Orlon and Ganimet stepped out with them and put them through their paces. The men were a smart looking lot and they were very quick to learn. They marched and countermarched, they made various formations, they came up at the double, they thrust out their pikes as if attacking an enemy. They made a very great impression upon the spectators and were dismissed after saluting Maruchi aud Amelach. In a week a wonderful change came over the city. Men were seen no longer shambling aimlessly in the streets. The knots of idlers at the street corners disappeared. The attendance in the taverns and the places of gossip thinned almost to the vanishing point. The past was left in peace and its ashes were not raked up and blown all over the place. The Rip Van Winkles were started out of their prolonged sleep and found themselves gazing at a new order of things. The young men were at work under the eyes of very exacting taskmasters. The old people unless they happened to be very infirm were employed in the city. Vanita had organized the women into various sections and different kinds of work were assigned to them. Maruchi gradually withdrew our personal supervision, entrusting it more and more to Amelach and his lieutenants. Orlon appointed officers over the men trained to arms and established a sort of conscription by which all able-bodied young men passed through a period of military training.

We were looked upon as beings of a superior order. This race of many royalties realized that men could be great and powerful without being kings. I suspect they firmly believed that we were possessed of supernatural powers, but the work that had been accomplished in the city was quite tangible and had nothing ghostly about it. And another thing that had struck all the people was that we wanted nothing for ourselves. We asked for nothing, we refused to accept anything even if it was offered to us. Men saluted us with the profoundest respect wherever they met us and stood respectfully aside to let us pass. The women often dropped us a courtesy with a shy smile. The fairer and younger girls greeted us with bewitching smiles and were delighted if we engaged them in conversation. Even that shrew, Pavros wife, gave up nagging at her husband because she saw we favoured him and her sharp tongue ceased to clack as soon as we entered the house. The old listlessness and the lack of interest gave way to a bright alertness and constant cheerfulness. There was occupation for all and all went about their work with eager willingness. The inhabitants of the City of the Kings were roused out of their indifference and they no longer brooded over the past. They found the

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present stimulating and the future held out a bright outlook. As Maruchi noted all this he mused aloud. He called this habit sharing his thoughts with us. 'There is no nightmare,' he said, 'more frightful than the past. An incubus oppresses a man in sleep, but the fear passes as soon as he awakes. But the past gets held of a man in his waking hours and paralyses and makes him unfit for an endeavour to rise above circumstances. It is one thing to attempt to live up to the past when that past is a record of successful achievement. But the past is rarely a stimulus. More often it is an octopus that throws out its tentacles to seize the unwary and the indifferent, to crush all energy and effort out of them. So long as the past is the source of inspiration and an incentive to endeavour it is helpful, but if it is made the object of vain regret it becomes a drag and fetters the mind. Our real and valuable inheritance from the past is the wisdom of the ancients, their great literature and their undaunted quest for the truth. How they wrestled with the great problem of life and death and tried to find an explanation for the ordered universe, and spurned the petty possessions that men usually hold so dear! But these are matters of all time and belong to the present as much as to the past. The world, our own or any other, owes very little to kings but everything to the thinkers, the dreamers and the philosophers. We have seen for ourselves that left to themselves the descendants of the kings become the most useless section of the population. There is the enervating influence of a pampered ease and when they are deprived of their unearned wealth and their effiminate surroundings they become helpless and disreputable. This is what the past has done for them. Now, Orlon, you were opposed to any kind of interference with the affairs of these people, and I do not blame you. Are your still of the same opinion?'

'Of course not,' replied Orlon, 'you are always wise and always right. So far we have been mere onlookers and that is really what we are here for. But you will leave here a record of splendid work, all the more splendid because it will remain unchronicled and the people here have no idea where we come from. You put a great charge upon me when you made me start the palaver but all that I did was to bring down a nest of hornets about our ears,' concluded Orlon laughingly.

'You are perfectly right, for stinging wasps are preferable to lazy drones and you created the opportunity for frightening these men into submission and laying the spectre of the past for good. Why, Orlon, you have become a perfect hero with men here, and perhaps also with the ladies,' added Maruchi with a genial wink.

PROBLEMS OF THE SUGAR INDUSTRY IN INDIA

By PROBHAT KUMAR SEN, B. sc. Econ. (London.)

SUGARCANE thrives best in the tropics. Cuba, Hawaii and Java, India and Formosa, lands of burning sun and beating rain are its home. Here in India the plant does not perhaps find as congenial a home as in the other countries mentioned, for our chief cane-growing provinces are sub-tropical; yet the conditions are sufficiently favourable. Sugarcane has a special significance for this country. To a predominantly agricultural country like India, which aims at the progressive industrialization of her population, the importance of an industry such as the sugar industry, can hardly be overestimated. The scope of systematic development of the great potentialities of this country for the manufacture of sugar is extensive; the opportunity of training a large industrial population in the ways of discipline and scientific team work is, therefore, also very great.

The Sugar Position of India

Despite climatic disadvantages and primitive methods of cultivation and manufacture, India's contribution to the total annual cane sugar production of the world is considerable. Nevertheless, we have to import annually substantial amounts of sugar to supplement the quantity produced at home. In 1931-32, for example, we produced 3,178,000 tons of sugar and imported 556,274 tons. While we produced 11 per cent of the total world output of sugar, we consumed about 15 per cent of the total world output. There is no reason why we should not at least be able to replace the imported sugar with home grown product of an equally fine quality at a cheaper price. Indeed, our immediate efforts should be directed strictly with this end in view. We have 2,886,000 acres

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under cane in this country and we have only slightly to improve the yield per acre to achieve our purpose. Nor should this be difficult to accomplish. The total area under cane in India is considerably greater than that in Cuba; it is about five times greater than the cane area in Java, and the United Provinces, our chief sugar producing area, have a greater percentage of the cultivable area under cane than Java. Even a slight improvement in the yield per acre will, therefore, result in a far more substantial figure of total outturn than at present.

India And Her Rivals

It is a commonplace that, compared to Cuba, Java and Hawaii, India's yield per acre is most unsatisfactory. So far as refined sugar is concerned, India's production per acre is only about a third of that produced in Cuba, one-sixth that of Java and about one-seventh that of Hawaii. Here is a vast field for improvement and enterprise which no Indian who has the economic welfare of his country at heart can afford to ignore. Add to this the advantages of an extensive internal market, which neither Cuba nor Java can claim and we have a complete picture of the unique position enjoyed by India.

The War And The Post-War Periods

It is a happy sign that the Government as well as the people of this country are becoming increasingly alive to these opportunities. Attention was forcibly directed to the sugar industry during the years immediately following the Great War, due to the disorganization of the beet sugar industry in Central Europe, and the consequent fall in the world output of sugar and excessive rise in its price. In 1917-18 the total sugar output of the world was 13¾ million tons as against 15¾ million tons in 1913-14. No wonder prices rose. The index price for sugar touched its highest since 1914, reaching 407 in 1920-21. In this year Java white sugar was quoted at as high a rate as Rs. 40 per maund at Calcutta. It was felt that the production of sugar had reached the optimum level in cane producing countries such as Java, Cuba and Hawaii and that it was only India which could possibly come to the rescue with her extensive cane areas and as yet insufficiently developed resources. The Indian Sugar Committee of 1920 went so far as to envisage a time "when India will again become an exporting country." The detailed survey of the sugar position in India, carried out by the Committee was prompted by the desire to give India her rightful place in the sugar map of the world.

The Present Position

Conditions have changed considerably since 1920. During the years that have since elapsed, the Central European countries have had enough time to reorganize their beet sugar industry; Java has successfully lessened her manufacturing costs by systematic research, better cultivation and up-to-date manufacturing processes. Russia and Japan are now fresh but determined competitors in the world sugar market; while world production has thus been increasing consistently, world consumption has not been able to keep pace with the progress made, with disastrous consequences to the price level. The present world economic depression has further aggravated the situation. The index price of sugar fell to 128 in December, 1930, and stood at only 139 in December, last year.

The History of the Indian Sugar Tariff

Commencing from 1926-27 right up to 1930-31 the price per maund of Java white sugar in Calcutta, fell steadily year after year though duties based on revenue considerations were levied on an increasing scale at intervals. In 1925, the *ad valorem* duty of 25 per cent, being found ineffective from a revenue point of view, was replaced by a specific duty of Rs. 4-8 a cwt. The duty was raised to Rs. 6 per cwt. in 1930, to Rs. 7-4-0 a cwt. in March 1931, and finally a surcharge of 25 per cent was imposed in September, 1931, making the total duty payable Rs. 9-1-0 per cwt. Yet, the average price per maund of Java white sugar in Calcutta in 1930-31 was only Rs. 8-8-0. It was becoming increasingly evident that unaided, the Indian sugar industry would soon succumb to the onslaughts of Java sugar. Clearly the Indian manufacturers had no chance against such a formidable rival without a frankly protective tariff system.

At this stage the question was referred to the Tariff Board and the Board recommended that a basic duty of Rs. 6-4-0 should be imposed on all imported sugar and that an additional duty of Re. 1 should also be imposed during the first seven years to facilitate the establishment of new sugar factories. In his budget for 1931-32, the Finance Member increased the duty to Rs. 7-4-0 per cwt. in pursuance of the recommendations of the Board. Such then, in short, is the history of the protection of our sugar industry.

The following figures of sugar imports during the last three years will show that the duties imposed have been fully effective:

1929-30	1,011,345 Tons
1930-31	1,003,177 "
1931-32	556,274 "

Prices have also risen, Java sugar being now quoted at about Rs. 10-8-0 per maund in Calcutta. With the adoption by the Government of such a definite policy of protection—the extent of protection being about 166 per cent—there has been an unprecedented growth in

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the number of sugar factories in this country, as many as 27 new factories being erected during 1932. Many more are in course of erection.

The Necessity of Action

The growth of the industry along sound lines is now of the utmost importance to the people of this country. A false step may seriously jeopardize the future prosperity of the industry and may even mean its ruin. Apart from the loss to individual capitalists that such a failure would entail, the injury done to public confidence would be no less reprehensible. In 1931, Mr. Burt, the Agricultural Adviser to the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, estimated that about 13 million people in this country are directly dependent upon cane cultivation, and the Tariff Board considered that the figure would rather be 15 million even at a conservative estimate. The future economic well-being of this great number would alone justify the most careful planning of the industry from the very outset.

The Problems Ahead

Problems of irrigation of the vast cane area, drainage to prevent water-logging, and problems of agricultural improvement such as the introduction of improved varieties of cane, improved preparation of land, proper crop rotation and manuring and a thorough examination of the scope for better organization and research, constitute a task which is at once interesting and stupendous. Agricultural and manufacturing methods should be thoroughly investigated, their proper co-ordination and the careful organization of the processes, from the cultivation of the cane to the marketing of the sugar must be given our most careful consideration.

The Sugar Areas of India

The characteristic feature of cane cultivation in our country is its concentration in the three provinces of the Panjab, the United Provinces and Bihar and Orissa. They are responsible for three-quarters of the total area under sugarcane as the following figures will show :

	Percentage of total cultivation.	
	1919-20	1932-33
The United Provinces	50	52
The Panjab	15	14·4
Bihar and Orissa	10	9·9
Total percentage	75	76·3

It will be seen that the position at present is very much the same as it was when the Sugar Committee reported and that the three provinces still maintain their importance as sugar producing areas of India. The problems facing these three contiguous provinces must, therefore, be of pre-dominant interest to us. Further, as all these three provinces are mostly sub-tropical, their problems are, to some extent, similar in nature. Climatically, Bengal may also be said to belong to this group, while Bombay and Madras in the south belong to a second group of mainly tropical provinces.

Bengal and the Sugar Industry.

Can Bengal be as important a sugar manufacturing province as the Panjab, the United Provinces or Bihar and Orissa ? If so, should she devote more attention to sugarcane than she does at present ?

About the year 1900, Bengal was the second cane-growing province in India. Even as late as 1910, the province had about 500,000 acres under cane ; in 1931-32 the acreage figures went down to about 200,000 only. The province is mainly sub-tropical but this natural deficiency is certainly not more pronounced in Bengal than in the other provinces just mentioned. Further, as has just been mentioned, Bengal did actually grow a considerable amount of cane. About the year 1905, however, the spread of jute caused a serious decline in cane cultivation, a set-back from which the province has not since been able to recover.

The bane of Bengal has been a most regrettable lack of balance in its economic life. Not only is the population almost wholly dependent upon agriculture, but on one only crop—jute. The result is that the economic fortune of the province ebbs and flows with ebbs and flows in the jute market. Now that jute prices have come tumbling down, the people are in a rather sorry state. The need for diversification of agriculture has never been better appreciated in Bengal than it is at present. Sugarcane offers just what the province needs ; it offers greater scope for diversification of agriculture and for the introduction of a little more of the industrial element in the economic life of the population.

The Problem of Irrigation.

Lack of proper irrigation facilities is perhaps one of the greatest factors impeding the growth of cane cultivation in this country. A look at the irrigation figures, however, would seem to belie this statement. Grand projects have been planned and important irrigation works have been opened up. The Sutlej Valley project in the Panjab and the Sarda irrigation works in the United Provinces, water extensive areas in two of our most important cane-growing provinces. The Cauvery reservoir at Mettur in the Madras Presidency, the Bhandardara dam and the Lloyd dam at Bhatgar also irrigate extensive tropical areas which would seem to be ideally situated for cane cultivation. In addition to the canals, large areas in northern India are now being watered by irrigation wells. The number of these wells has increased at a great pace and

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at the same time, thanks to improved slip-strainers and more efficient water lifts, their yield has increased at an even greater pace. During the last 21 years, the yield of the wells has increased by about 3,136,277 gallons per hour. The acreage under canal irrigation has also increased immensely. The total acreage of land irrigated by Government works in 1919-20 was 28,000,000 ; at the present moment the total area irrigated in British India alone, excluding the Indian States, would be about 32,000,000 acres. The Cauvery reservoir, the Bhandardara dam and the Lloyd dam, when fully developed, will together irrigate an area of 751,000 acres. Again, with the completion of the Nira Valley canals in the Deccan, a further area of 675,000 acres will be irrigated.

The total acreage under sugarcane, on the other hand, shows no increase ; the figures are 2,883,543 in 1919-20 and 2,886,000 in 1931-32 ; whereas the net area irrigated increased by about 20 per cent between 1920 and 1932, the total area under sugarcane remained practically stationary. It will thus be clear that although the increase in the acreage under irrigation has been satisfactory, the area under sugarcane shows no improvement, and this in spite of the fact that sugarcane is considered to be one of the "cash crops" in this country. One is inevitably driven to the conclusion that something must be wrong with a system of irrigation which fails to improve the acreage figures of one of the most important crops of this country. At places, natural disadvantages are to blame. In the Panjab, for instance, the extremes of temperature and the shortness of the monsoon season render cane cultivation difficult ; in Madras, perhaps the most favourably placed province in India for the cultivation of sugarcane, the spread of this crop is impeded by the predilection of the province for paddy. But unsatisfactory irrigation is certainly to blame in certain other parts of the country. A regular and abundant supply of water during the critical months of March, April and May is absolutely indispensable to the cultivation of sugarcane ; the agriculturists should also be kept fully informed about the time and amount of their next supply of water. Thus, not only should there be sufficient water for the purposes of the cane crop but there must also be absolute certainty that a sufficient supply will be available when needed. A regular supply of water is even more important to sugarcane than to a crop like wheat ; the entire cane crop is liable to be totally ruined for want of sufficient water even for a short duration in these three months and any uncertainty about the supply must inevitably make the agriculturists increasingly cautious in the matter of increasing their cane acreage. As the canals in the United Provinces are mostly designed to work on a system of rotations, a regular and plentiful supply of water is not to be had. The entire area of a village cannot in most instances be irrigated by means of canal water. One can hardly expect an increase of the acreage under cane in these circumstances.

A definite policy of assisting cane growers in the suitable canal areas must be adopted. Cultivators willing to adopt better methods of cane cultivation should be supplied with canal water for irrigation purposes at concessional rates. Crown lands which are suitably situated should be leased out to cane growers on favourable terms under certain necessary conditions to guard against mere land speculators. Last but not least, cultivators should be kept fully informed regarding the time and amount of their next supply of water.

The Problem of Drainage.

In Bihar, the Sone canal system offers splendid scope for the development of cane cultivation. The area commanded by the system is not subject to periodic floods, nor would it be difficult to supplement the canal water during the hot months with water drawn from wells sunk at very little expense. The problem here is the problem of drainage. The East Indian Railway runs parallel to the Ganges, across the line of natural drainage in this part of the country, and its embankments render the discharge of the surplus water into the river a difficult problem. The cultivators suffer in consequence, both from an inconvenient rise in the subsoil moisture and surface flooding. In North, no less than in South Bihar, the problem of drainage has baffled attempts of cultivators to grow a better variety of cane. There the Bengal North-Western Railway runs parallel to the Ganges and holds up surplus water like the East Indian Railway in the south. Embankments constructed along the river have further added to the difficulties. The problem of proper drainage of water-logged areas is one that has to be tackled along the entire breadth of India from Bengal in the East to the Frontier Provinces in the North-West. In Bengal, the Bengal North-Western Railway, running parallel to the Ganges, produces problems similar to those in North Bihar, just described. Water-logging is also a serious problem in certain parts of the area watered by the Kabul river canal.

The first requisite in these areas for the development of cane is proper drainage and for economic utilization of the water supply and for the reclamation of land for agricultural purposes. No more time should be lost in instituting a thorough drainage survey. A very heavy tariff has been imposed on the import of sugar; we should now make sure of the industry standing on its own legs as soon as possible, instead of remaining a permanent incubus on the taxpayers of this country. The Indo-Gangetic plain is the sugarcane area of India. So long as problems of unsatisfactory irrigation and lack of drainage impede the development of cane in this

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ure of the country, the sugar industry can never hope to be a great national asset to India. Mere spread of irrigation is not enough. Sugarcane is a plant which requires special climatic conditions and extra care in cultivation. A conscious well-planned action can alone be of assistance to it. As late as in 1920, the Indian Sugar Committee strongly recommended that a drainage survey should be carried out without delay. Drainage of the water-logged areas, extensive construction of tube or ordinary wells and development of electric power to work the wells cheaply and efficiently, are the first requisites of a satisfactory irrigation policy. The practicability of lining the canals to prevent leakage of irrigation water will also require careful examination. It is the Government alone which can lay down a well-conceived, comprehensive policy and give effect to the same with success. The responsibility for such action is a corollary to the decided policy of protection which has been adopted by this country.

The Problem of Scattered Cultivation

Local concentration of the cultivation of cane is indispensable. Factories cannot otherwise obtain an adequate and regular supply for its crushing purposes. Further, as the sucrose content of the cut cane suffers progressive diminution with lapse of time, the interval between the cutting of the cane and its crushing in the mills, for the manufacture of sugar, must be of the shortest possible duration. It will, therefore, be seen that the concentration of cane cultivation in well-defined areas is indispensable, both in the interests of better cultivation and also of more efficient factory treatment. In a country like India, where the evils of uneconomic fragmentation are pronounced, the difficulties in this regard can hardly be exaggerated. Nor is it possible in India to introduce the forced culture system of Java. Nevertheless, there is an extensive field for useful work. Operations, to be really effective, have got to be on an all-India scale and here too the Government could lend a helping hand. The problem of fragmentation is inextricably intertwined with complicated questions such as agricultural indebtedness, the traditional land tenure and laws of inheritance of this country. Indeed, the position at first sight seems so hopeless that nothing short of complete socialization of the land will, it appears, afford a complete solution. It is difficult to envisage a time in the near future when it will be possible fundamentally to alter the present land tenure and especially the laws of inheritance of this country without fear of revolution. The more practicable method would, therefore, be to educate the agriculturist and help him to help himself. Education is not mere instruction in the three R's, badly as our agriculturists want it, but also dissemination of the most up-to-date agricultural knowledge. Again, to be in a position to avail of the knowledge thus broadcast the agriculturist must be set on his own feet; the burden of his debts will have to be considerably lightened, he must be afforded facilities to repay the same and his economic position, in general, must be rendered more stable. Education and improved economic status will assuredly tend to bring home to the agriculturist the essential unity of interests of the cultivators as a class; he will learn increasingly to appreciate the necessity of joint action.

Such progress must, invitably, be somewhat slow. A quicker method of concentration, worth giving a trial, is the one recommended by the Sugar Committee. They suggested that the Government should institute local surveys in the cane-growing area with a view to determining the suitability or otherwise of particular areas for the concentrated cultivation of the crop and should also, when possible, reserve suitable areas for the sole cultivation of sugarcane and encourage the public to acquire large blocks on long lease, on favourable terms, subject to certain conditions designed to assure the scientific cultivation of sugarcane and to discourage land speculators or people who are not *bona fide* agriculturists.

The Committee recommended that a survey committee of this nature, consisting of a member of the Agricultural Department, an officer of the Public Works Department and a non-official expert in plantation management, should report on the possibilities of sugarcane cultivation in such areas as North Mangaldai, the Lakhimpur Frontier Tract and the Lanka plain of the Nowgong district of Assam, after minute examination of all relevant agricultural and commercial aspects; for example, questions of drainage, cheap and efficient communication and practical business considerations would all be thoroughly examined and recommendations based on expert knowledge would then be made by them. The Government would then be in a position to lease out such land or grant them in perpetuity in economic holdings to agriculturists on such favourable terms as would guarantee intensive and concentrated cultivation of sugarcane. Once granted or leased out, the right of alienating such estates will, doubtless, be subject to certain restrictions, to discourage mere land speculators. By such means, by the utilization of crown waste lands, wherever they are favourably situated for the cultivation of cane and by affording better irrigation facilities, under more favourable terms to agriculturists willing to employ advanced methods of cultivation in the canal areas, the Government can certainly help to concentrate the sugarcane areas. The work in this connection of the Sugar Committee recently appointed by the Imperial Council of

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Agricultural Research will be watched with great interest by the public in this country.*

Co-operation And Concentration of Cane Cultivation

While, having regard to the vastness of the country and the complexity of the problem, it is the Government alone which can, with success, adopt a comprehensive scheme to meet the situation, there is hardly any reason to assume that the factory owners and cane cultivators are totally incapable of helping themselves even if they so desire. In a country like India, of small cultivators and small factory owners, the possibilities of co-operation have not yet been given a fair trial. A great deal could be done for the concentration of sugarcane cultivation, the adoption of better agricultural methods and better sales organization by this means. The factory owners as well as the cultivators of cane would become members of the same co-operative organization. The problems of providing cheap and abundant credit facilities, of gathering and disseminating agricultural knowledge, of better marketing facilities, both for the sugarcane and for the product of the factories, could all be tackled on this basis with the minimum of friction. The factories would gain, for cut-throat competition amongst themselves for obtaining the limited supply of cane and the dangers of price cutting would thus be obviated ; the agriculturists would also benefit from cheap credit facilities and have an opportunity to be progressively independent of the *mahajan* ; the active assistance of the co-operative society would enable them to introduce better varieties of cane and adopt better agricultural methods. Thus, with the gradual improvement in the economic condition of the agriculturists, their ability to meet their liabilities would be increased. They will learn to be self-dependent. In a true co-operative society there would be no danger of the factory owners sacrificing the interests of the agriculturists to selfish ends. Limitation of voting rights and the right of every member to secede from the society after giving due notice and reasons for such secession, would be sufficient safe-guard.

The Problem of Introducing Improved Agricultural Methods

In Java they say : "We make sugar in our fields, not in our factories." Indeed, a reference to relevant figures would seem to justify such a statement. The average percentage of sugar in the cane grown in Java for the years 1924-31 was 13.21 per cent against 11.70 per cent for the better managed firms in this country. The figures of extraction also bring into clear relief the deficiency in sucrose content of the Indian sugarcane. While the yield of sugar from cane in Java is 10.8 per cent, in India it is only 9 per cent ; and Java is fast forging further ahead. Besides the handicap imposed by climatic conditions, this country labours under the further disadvantage of divided control in respect of the agricultural and manufacturing operations. In Java the factories cultivate their own cane and are thus able to derive the fullest advantage from a wide application of the latest fruits of scientific research. In this country, the definite advantage that a sugar factory may derive from ownership of cane fields has been demonstrated by the success attained by firms such as the East India Distilleries and Sugar Factories Company at Nellikuppam and the Belapur sugar factory. Unfortunately, however, almost all our sugar factories have to depend upon petty agriculturists for their supply of cane. Besides the uncertainty of obtaining a regular supply from such a source, this system labours under the crowning disadvantage of extreme divergence in the quality of cane, both in regard to supplies during any single season and those from year to year. The factories are, therefore, never sure about the quantity of sugar they would be able to extract from any given quantity of cane. The obstacles in the way of the factories acquiring sufficient land for their needs have already been indicated. The solution of the problem of introducing better agricultural methods, therefore, lies in educating the agriculturist and helping him financially and otherwise to utilize the elements of production in the most scientific manner.

Agricultural practice is very primitive even in our most important cane-growing provinces. The cultivators still use the most simple instruments—implements which have acquired a certain amount of sanctity through centuries of use. They have no established system of crop rotation and no fixed fallowing period. Very often the land is not properly irrigated and does not get the requisite number of ploughings. Special care is very seldom bestowed either on the purchase of sets or on their proper selection before sowing. The thick canes no doubt obtain somewhat better treatment, at least in the United Provinces. Cultivation of the European planters' estates in Bihar is also of a higher standard. On these estates a definite crop rotation and a fixed fallowing period are the rule ; agricultural practice, in general, is of a superior standard. On the ryots' holdings, however, the standard of cultivation is as low in this province as in other parts of India. Indeed, with the exception of the planters' estates in Bihar and the plantations in Peshawar, where cultivation is of a high order, the standard is unusually low all over India.

The difficulty of educating the agriculturist

* In a paper recently read before the Committee, Noel Deerr suggested that a system of "zoning" should be adopted. For a criticism of the system, see the *Report of the Tariff Board on Sugar, 1931*, pp. 102, 103, 121.

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lies in his extreme conservatism and illiteracy. Propaganda, through distribution of literature or even lectures, has very little effect on him. The only propaganda that tells is actual demonstration in the cultivator's own field; and this is the most difficult and the most costly form of educational propaganda that could be thought of. This would necessitate a staff of field men being specially deputed for demonstration work. The expense would be beyond the means of the sugar factories and the petty cultivators. Unlike Java, most of the cane research work in India is carried on by the Government; it is they who should also take up the work of demonstration in right earnest. In certain districts, for example in the Gorakhpur, Meerut and Rohilkhand divisions of the United Provinces, this would certainly be advantageous to the Government, the factory owners and to the cultivators alike. The provincial Government would reap a rich harvest in increased revenue both from the cultivators and the sugar manufacturers. Increased prosperity of the sugar trade will help to create confidence and optimism; trade will move in an upward "spiral." The co-operative method could also be tried with fair chance of success. The co-operative society of manufacturers and cultivators could pool their resources for the purpose of mass purchase of mill sets and manure and could also undertake the work of instructing the cultivator on scientific agriculture. They could, for example, demonstrate to the cultivators how best to utilize the sets, the quantity and quality of manure to use for obtaining the best results, the proper method of tilling, irrigation and drainage, proper crop rotation and the scientific utilization of the labour force.

Research

Progress in research brings agricultural developments in its wake. In this country, the total annual estimated expenditure on cane research amounts to only about Rs. 10 lakhs. We have 3 million acres under cane in India and the annual expenditure on research would, therefore, work out at about 6 as. per acre. Against this, Java spends about Rs. 14 lakhs per year, the incidence of expenditure being thus about Rs. 3 per acre. In Hawaii, research costs amount to about Rs. 12 per acre and in Formosa about Rs. 3 per acre.

It is apparent how little we spend on a head of expenditure which is considered to be of the greatest importance in the chief sugar-growing countries of the world. This is a failing which the Government of this country should take upon themselves to remedy with the greatest vigour and promptitude. True, in Hawaii and Java, they depend more on private than upon state enterprise for action in this direction. Nevertheless, having regard to the circumstances ruling in this country at present, it is the example of the Japanese Government in Formosa rather than that of Hawaii or Java that we should like to see emulated in this regard.

The Government have, from time to time, made non-recurring grants to the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research for sugarcane work. In 1930, for example, they made a special grant of Rs. 10 lakhs for cane research work and again in 1931 a grant of Rs 8,000 per year was made to each of the three chief sugar growing provinces, *viz.*, the United Provinces, the Panjab and Bihar and Orissa, through the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, for the purpose of designing more efficient crushing mills for village use. This is a beginning in the right direction and it is to be hoped that the provinces will hereafter obtain increasing help from the Central Government for research purposes. Under the proposed Federal Constitution, as at present, it may not be possible for the Government to make direct grants to the provinces; nevertheless, it is to be hoped that the precedent set by the above grants will be followed up with more substantial pecuniary aid of the same nature in the future.

The research station at Coimbatore should also receive careful attention. Coimbatore should aspire to a position similar to that of the station at Pasoroean, where they lay special stress on the necessity of studying local conditions on the spot. Besides the extensive experimental area at Pasoroean the station possesses sample plots for demonstration and experiment scattered all over Java. Coimbatore should work somewhat on these lines instead of concentrating on breeding cane for Northern India alone. The South perhaps also deserves an equal amount of attention. Centralized control is indispensable to cane research, for this can alone lend consistency to the entire scheme; there is no other system better devised to avoid duplication and extravagance.

Conclusion

We have a very high tariff wall to protect the sugar industry in this country. While other conditions are not as favourable as the factories would like them to be, we are beginning to realize the importance of perfection in every detail. Progress is necessarily slow but what progress we are making must be steadily maintained. Under the protection afforded by the sugar tariff, factories are springing up—shall we say—like mushroom? Until the year 1931 there were only 28 sugar factories in India; last year as many as 27 new factories were constructed and many more are yet in course of erection. Thirty-nine out of these 55 factories are owned by Indians and the capital involved is over six crores of rupees. A heavy responsibility rests upon the shoulders of these factory owners; they are charged not to abuse the privilege they are at present enjoying, nor shirk their respon-

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sibility but to turn these to their advantage and to the advantage of the entire nation by founding their business on a secure basis. Already well-informed people are beginning to whisper that all is not well with the factories. The burden of complaint in the correspondence columns of the daily press is that the factories are indifferent to the need for modernization, for up-to-date technological improvements in their factories and for proper chemical control; that get-rich-quick ideas are their sole guiding motive. There is much to be said in their defence; the factory owners are clearly justified in ignoring the call for modernization where modernization would only mean uneconomic capitalization. But they should at least make a sincere effort to justify their existence by availing of every possible opportunity for better organization and more economic operation. The cane industry is on the threshold of a new era; opportunity knocks at the door; let us not miss it.

There may be differences of opinion regarding the extent to which the Government could legitimately be expected to assist the industry. Having granted a substantial amount of protection, they might feel justified in resting on their oars. The justification, however, for a policy of *laissez faire* must today lie, not in the absolute sanctity of any theory but in its relative application to particular problems. Even England, once the home of individualist economy, has at last renounced a theory which she was the first to preach. In a world of self-conscious social and political dictatorships, the theoretical plea for *laissez faire* will not hold much water.

Looking at the problem of sugar from a practical point of view one finds that the low economic standard and the poor educational equipment of the agriculturists of this country demand that initiative in the matter of better organization should come from an authority above rather than from the scattered masses below. In these days of depression, sugarcane is, perhaps, the only crop to which the Government can render some assistance. Why miss the opportunity? We hear a great deal, in these days, about State expenditure as a means of dispelling the prevailing pessimism in the economic world. A better and a more fruitful method would be to help an industry which would gather momentum with every little help rendered and would eventually be able to stand on its own legs.

JAINISM IN NORTH INDIA*

By POLITICUS

THE publication of this beautifully got-up volume in the most sumptuous style of British publishers, has been rendered possible by the generosity of the trustees of Seth Anandji Kalyanji of Ahmedabad. The illustrations, especially those on illuminated palm-leaf MSS., are a feast to the eye. Among the images, we miss the Jina Rishava of the Mathura Museum published by Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda in *The Modern Review* for August, 1932. Mr. Chanda has traced Jaina influence in Mohenjo-daro but a point of some significance in the seals printed in his article seems to have escaped his notice. In one of the seals there are two hooded snakes guarding the saint seated in the middle, and we know this to be an emblem of Parsvanath, who flourished in the eighth century B. C. and attained salvation on Samet Sikhar, now called Parshanath hill near Giridih in the Hazaribagh district. The Yogi type of seated Jina is a well-known feature of Jaina sculptures.

Jainism differs from its more well-known contemporary, Buddhism, in that it is a living religion in India today. "Its great wealth," says Mrs. Stevenson, "and its position as the religion par *excellence* of money-lenders and bankers makes it, especially in native States, the power behind the throne." Indian philosophy, logic, narrative and romantic literature, grammar, lexicons, astronomy, above all, Indian architecture, owe a great deal to northern Jainism, the history of which came to an end in A. D. 526, when the list of canonical works of Jainism was finally drawn up in the Vallabhi Council. The history of Jainism in Southern India is totally different, for it had then lost its primitive simplicity and became crystallized and is not therefore of very great interest to the student, and the author, himself a Jain, has done well to restrict himself to the development of his religion north of the Vindhyas.

According to Mrs. Stevenson, "the value of Jaina philosophy lies not only in the fact that it, unlike Hinduism, has correlated ethical teaching with its metaphysical system but also in the amazing knowledge of human nature which its ethics display." Parsva laid down four great vows for the guidance of his followers, *viz.*, *Ahimsa*, which is the sheet-anchor of Jaina religion, and has been carried to ridiculous excesses; *Sunrita*, truthfulness

* *Jainism in North India: 800 B. C—A. D. 526: By Chimanlal J. Shah, M. A. Longmans, Green and Co., 1932. £ 2. 2s. net, with bibliography and Index, pp. 292.*

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speech; *Asteya*, non-stealing: and *Aparigraha*, renunciation of all illusory objects. To these Mahavira, the last Tirthankara, who died at Pava near Rajagriha shortly after Buddha attained his *Parinirvana*, added a fifth vow, *Brahmacharya*, chastity.

Jainism, like Buddhism, was a protest against caste privileges. Though the *Digambaras* agree with the Buddhists in denying Nirvana to woman, the *Svetambaras* lay down that the path of salvation is open to all—'अस्ति स्त्रीनिर्वाणं पुंवत्' says Sakatayanacharya. Like the Buddhists, again a Jina must always come from a Kshatriya or noble family, and the *Kalpa-sutra* gives currency to the legend that though Mahavira was conceived in the womb of a Brahman woman Devananda, as she was 'low-born,' गर्भापहार the embryo was transferred to the womb of queen Trisata, wife of the Kshatriya king Siddhartha. Yet all the *Ganadharas* (chief disciples) of Mahavira from Indrabhuti downwards, as well as their successors, the *Gurus*, were originally Brahmans, the only restriction being that a born Brahman cannot be a Tirthankar.

The rationalism of Jainism is to be found in its other doctrines. "It...declares its object to be to open all men to salvation and to open its arms, not only to the noble Aryan, but also to the born *Sudra*, and even to the alien, deeply despised in India, the *Mleccha*" (Bühler). Similar is the testimony of Mrs. Stevenson. This cosmopolitan spirit is characteristic of the brightest features of the Jaina Church. Haribhadra begins his section on the Jainas in his *Saddarsana Samuccaya* with the words:

पक्षपातो न मे वीरे [महावीरे], न द्वेष कपिलादिषु ।
युक्तिमद्वचनं यस्य, तस्य कार्यः परिग्रहः ॥

Hemacandra in his *Mahadevastotra* says:

भवबीजाङ्कुरजनना रागाद्याः क्षयमुपागता यस्य ।
ब्रह्मा वा विष्णुर्वा, हरो जिनो वा नमस्तस्मै ॥

The Jainas deny a supreme eternal God; to them there is no need to assume any intelligent cause of the universe. Hemacandra in his *Anyoga Manjari* says:

कर्त्तास्ति कश्चिद् जगतः, स चैकः,
स सर्वगः, स स्ववशः, स नित्यः ।
इमाः कुहेवाकविडम्बनाः स्यु ।
एषां, न येषामनुशासकस्त्वं ॥

If God created the universe, asks Acharya Hemacandra, where was he before creating it? The soul however is immortal, and through its own merits is the master of its destiny. The soul, in its pure state, possesses Ananta (infinite), perception (Darsana), knowledge (Jnana), bliss (Sukha) and power (Virya). Nirvan, according to the Jainas, is not annihilation of the soul, but its entry into a state of blessedness which has no end. The doctrine of truth is the essence of the Syadvada philosophy. Since the most contrary characteristics of a variety may be associated with a thing, the conclusion, made from whatever standpoint, cannot be erroneous.

We have no space here to give the substance of other philosophical doctrines of Jainism. Towards the latter part of his life Mahavira discarded all clothing, giving rise to the *Svetambara* and *Digambara* sects of Jainas. It is necessary to quote here the author's warning regarding this schism in the Jaina Church. "Their attitude towards each other, both in the past as it is now, does in no way do justice to the followers of Lord Mahavira. One need not be misunderstood, if one were to express one's fears that if this aggressive attitude and mutual distrust amongst the existing divisions in the Jaina community were to go on at this rate, a time may come when the Jainas may have to share the same fate as that of their brothers, the Buddhists."

Vaisali was the headquarters of the great and powerful Vajjian confederacy. Four out of the seven daughters of Cetaka, the king of Vaisali, were married to the lords of Sauvisa, Anga, Vatsa, Avanti and Magadha, and through them the reformed Church of Mahavira spread through the royal families of North-East India, Cetaka being the brother of Mahavira's mother Trisala. Bimbisara and Ajatasatru of Magadha were both followers of Mahavira. The Jainas were a powerful sect in the days of the Nandas. According to Jayaswal, Chandragupta at the end of his reign accepted Jainism and abdicated, and he died according to Jaina tradition, by slow starvation—*Sallekhana*—in the approved Jaina manner at Sravana Belgola in Mysore. Samprati, a successor of Asoka, was one of the leading stars of northern Jainism. He caused Jaina temples to be erected all over Jambudvipa, says Hemchandra. But it was in Orissa, in the time of king Kharavela (2nd century B. C.) that Jainism flourished most vigorously, being the state religion of the province. The Hathigumpha cave of the king and the Swargapuri cave of his queen as well as their well-known inscriptions, in the Udayagiri hill near Bhuvanesvara are standing monuments of the Jain religion in Orissa, traces of which are to be found even in the 16th century, for king Pratapa Rudra Deva of the solar dynasty had leanings towards Jainism. The traditional literature of the Jains claims king Vikramaditya of Ujjain, whose era begins about 57 B. C., as a Jaina. About the same time Jainism extended southward and led to the foundation of Palitana, where, Satrunjaya, the holiest of Jaina *tirthas*, said to be "one of the loveliest temple cities in the world" (Mrs. Stevenson), is situated. The Jain inscriptions of Mathura begin with the Kushan emperors before the Christian era and are continued through the subsequent centuries. The Kankali Tila of Mathura is prolific both in Jain sculptures and inscriptions. The general purport of all the inscriptions is to record the gifts of certain individuals, both male and female, for the honour of their religion, and for the benefit of their families. During the Gupta period Jainism was as much a living religion as Buddhism, both being equally tolerated.

Jaina literature is the subject of Chap. VII., but we have space only for a few names. The *Siddhanta* is the holy scripture of the Jainas, and the *Uttaradhyayana*, with its specimens of old ascetic poetry, belongs to the most precious part of the canon. Umasvati, Divakara, Padaliptacarya, Nemicandra, Hemacandra, Bhadrabahu, are among the great names of Jaina literature. The *Sutrakritanga*, a philosophical treatise exhorts young monks to beware of the temptations of women, and there are passages in it where we find realistic and humorous touches like the following: "When the women have captured him, they send him on all sorts of errands. Look (for the bodkin to) carve the bottle-gourd,

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fetch some nice fruit. Bring wood to cook the vegetables ; paint my feet, come and meanwhile rub my back give me the collyrium box, my ornaments, the lute...Fetch me the pincers, the comb, the ribbon to bind up the hair ; reach me the looking-glass, put the tooth-brush near me !"

According to Dr. Guerinot, "In the domain of architecture in particular they [the Jains] have reached a degree of perfection which leaves them almost without a rival." More than the other Hindu sects, they believe in the efficacy of temple building as a means of salvation. "They love to construct their sanctuaries on the slopes of woody or naked hills, in wild places, with boundless scope for decoration. The mountain masses of Girnar and Satrunjaya, which rise abruptly to a height of three or four thousand feet above the plains, have veritable cities of temples on their tops." In Bengal or its immediate vicinity, there are three Jain temples, that on the summit of Parsvanath hill, the highest in the Hazaribagh range being the most ancient, and that on Khandagiri near the temple city of Bhuvaneswara in Orissa being equally picturesque, whereas the third is a very modern structure, situated in the heart of the city, and is counted among the sights of Calcutta. Elliot, in his *Hinduism and Buddhism*, thus describes the temples of Satrunjaya: "Specially on the summit of Satrunjaya on every side sculptured chapels gorgeous in gold and colour stand silent and open : within are saints sitting grave and passionless behind the lights that burn on their altars. The multitude of calm stone faces, the strange silence and emptiness, unaccompanied by any sign of neglect or decay, the bewildering repetition of shrines and deities in this aerial castle, suggest nothing built with human purpose but some petrified spirit-world." The first period of Jaina architecture extended down to about A. D. 1300; it revived again in the fifteenth century under Rana Kumbha of Chitor (Mewar). As single edifices illustrating the beauty of the Jaina art both in grace of design and patient elaboration of workmanship may be mentioned the towers of Fame and Victory at Chitor, and the famous temples of Mount Abu. The latter *tirtha*, for minute delicacy of carving and beauty of detail stands almost unrivalled even in this land of patient and lavish labour. In this connection the author has done well to emphasize Vincent A. Smith's warning against the classification of Indian art into Buddhist, Jaina, and Brahmanical, in the manner of Fergusson. There is no such thing, for example, as a Jaina style of architecture or sculpture. As Vincent A. Smith observes, it is a mistake to suppose that style was dependent on creed. All the three religions used the art of their age and country, and all alike drew on a common store-house of symbolic and conventional devices.

As the Jainas form a large part of the population of Gujarat, and as their sacred shrines and famous temples are mostly situated in that province, the following extract from Mr. Desai's *Hindu Families in Gujarat* (1932) may be of interest to our readers. "Jainism is gradually drifting back into the current of Brahmanism which everywhere surrounds it and attracts it. Jains observe Hindu holidays like *Diwali*, *Holi*, and *Akhatrij* and have a sort of modified belief in the Hindu gods, especially Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva and Ganesh with their consorts, being subordinate to the Jinas. Representations of these deities are sometimes observable in the precincts of their temples. They observe the caste system and sometimes claim to be regarded as Hindus, though rejecting the Hindu Vedas. In actual practice, they celebrate most of the purificatory rites prescribed by the Brahmanical shastras and employ Brahmans for the performance of these as well as for offering worship to their Tirthankaras. Jainas also mark their foreheads with a small spot of saffron as a sect mark in imitation of the Hindus. The schism from Hinduism does not operate as a bar to marriage or commensality any more than the differences which are admittedly only sectarian. Jain Shrimalis intermarry with those of their community who belong to the Vaishnav sect of Hindus. If a Hindu girl marries a man who is a Jain, she attends the Jain ceremonies when in her husband's house and worships the Brahmanical gods when she goes to visit her parents.

"Jain beliefs and practices have largely affected the Hindus especially in kindness towards animal life. *Ahimsa paramo dharmah*, non-killing is the highest religion, is now as much a Hindu as a Jain belief. Animal sacrifice which was once very common with the Hindus is now practically non-existing in Gujarat ; while pumpkins are cut instead of goats and oblations are made of rice. Hindus as well as Jains join in maintaining the *pinjrapole*, or animal hospitals, which are established in most of the towns. The killing of street dogs and the catching of fish from ponds are opposed both by the Hindus and Jains as a common cause. Pigeon-houses in street corners are built by followers of both the religions."

The book under review is No. 6 of the "Studies in Indian History" of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. It contains a foreword by the Rev. H. Heras, S. J., Director of the Institute, who says: "As regards the method followed in this work, nothing will, it is expected, be objected against it even by the most scrupulous historians—he has not been satisfied by seeing what other authors have said or propounded—since this is not research but mere compilation. He has studied the sources themselves, has criticized opinions, has discussed controversial points, has compared sources with sources and has thus finally elucidated one of the most obscure periods in the history of India, with the criticism and impartiality proper to a historian."

To students of the main elements in the composite strand of Indian culture, the contribution of Jainism cannot be a matter of merely superficial interest. The list of books and journals dealing with the subject given at the end of the volume, is itself a valuable compilation, and there is abundant internal evidence to show that the material there referred to has been utilized by the author with care and discrimination. We wish the book the success it so richly deserves.

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LONDON LETTER

(Special to *The Modern Review*)

FROM MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

THE INDIAN WHITE PAPER

THE Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament have their third meeting today. They are meeting twice a week and are endeavouring to get over as much of the ground as possible before the Indian Delegation arrives.

The Committee is meeting in private and the Indian members cannot arrive in this country before May 4th. As the Joint Committee will have had a number of meetings before that date, it is difficult to see how they can reconcile such procedure with the statement made by Lord Birkenhead, when Secretary of State for India, in the House of Lords on 24th November 1927, that the Indians would be

> "most formally and specially invited to come and sit with the General Committee in Parliament and to develop any criticisms or objections that they feel."
>
> *HANSARD*, House of Lords. Vol. 69 No. 75. Col. 245

It was expected that by the end of July the Committee would not have been more than half-way through its work. As Winston Churchill and his die-hard group are "non-co-operating" I believe that it is now hoped that by strenuous work the Committee may be able to conclude its work by the end of July. There is a greater reason for this endeavour because if they do not finish by that date the Committee would adjourn for a summer vacation until at earliest about the middle of September.

I understand that Members of Parliament are very anxious not to break in on their vacation at that time, as Parliament is not likely to resume until late in October. It looks therefore as if the work of this Committee may be rushed in a very unseemly way considering the tremendous issues involving three hundred and fifty millions of our Indian fellow subjects.

The Government have a majority on the Committee for the proposals of the White Paper, so that whatever representations are put forward it is unlikely that any material alterations will be made on the Government's proposals. The members of the Labour Party will, I know, use every endeavour to try to make the Constitution Act more in consonance with the views of India than is the Government's intention at present. But it has to be remembered that on the Joint Committee they are only a small minority. Their voices will certainly be used in support of the Indian Delegation in the views they put forward.

THE NEED OF THE WORLD

It would be difficult to imagine a time when the world was in a greater mess or in greater need of socialist principles to guide it. In Europe one country after another is throwing up the sponge, giving up the struggle, and resigning its affairs into the hands of a Dictator.

There never was a time when it was more necessary for nations to work for peace —not only positively, as in the Disarmament Conference, but also negatively, by avoiding actions that might lead to war or that might make war more easily brought about.

That is where we have failed in our recent dealings both with Ireland and with Russia.

IRELAND

We had a dispute with Ireland which we refused to send to an international tribunal. Instead of that we declared an economic war on Ireland. There is no doubt that this is doing material damage to Ireland,

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but it is also doing an immense amount of damage in this country.

Russia

Our behaviour towards Russia was the behaviour of a bully with a big stick. On the day the British engineers were arrested the British Ambassador cabled that the men were innocent—without even hearing what the charges against them were. The Prime Minister intimated in the House of Commons that a Bill would be brought in to deal with Russian imports. He would not admit, although the Bill was intended to be rushed through in a single day, that it had anything to do with the arrest of the British engineers. Perhaps he remembered that it was he who led the "Hands Off Russia" campaign when there was a fear that the Coalition Government would try to crush the Bolshevik Republican States. Two days later, however, the Foreign Secretary and the President of the Board of Trade, made it clear that the Bill had reference to nothing else than these arrests.

The embargo on Russian goods was declared before the appeal for Thornton and MacDonald could possibly be considered, and indeed before it had been presented. This was a declaration of economic war on Russia and it was only because the Government believed that Russia was not in a position to retaliate that it took these measures. And this took place when the Prime Minister was arranging to go to the United States to try to further the cause of "economic disarmament." It was a step taken too hastily, born of fear and hate.

Our embargo applies to 80 per cent of our imports from Russia. 20 per cent of our imports were excluded because we need these articles—flax, fur, etc. Russia has retaliated by putting an embargo on all goods coming to this country and also on all British goods passing through Rûssia and on all British shipping. This will mean more idle ships and more unemployment.

Russian timber is being excluded and Scandinavian timber, that will come in its place, will be much dearer and therefore housing costs will inevitably go up. The extra profits will go to the Danes and Swedes.

A good deal of the shipping may be a permanent loss, as every time there is a complete stoppage only part of the trade is recovered—even in the best circumstances.

Japan

But it is not only as regards this country directly and immediately that the danger arises. Japan has flouted the League of Nations and has violated all her solemn pledges with regard to China. She now hopes to gain the approval of the Western nations by making war on Communism. The British breach with Russia has given her exactly the chance she was hoping for—and she quickly proceeded to pick a quarrel with Russia, entirely unjustifiably.

Some of us have seen this possibility as the most serious threat to the peace of the world on the horizon for some time. Japan proposes now, while the Disarmament conference is on, to fit up Port Arthur again as a naval base.

She has marched further and further into China and is now well within the Great Wall. A strong Government in this country, following the advice given by George Lansbury in the House of Commons in September, 1931, when Japan began her inroads on China, could have brought pressure to bear on Japan to stop her mad gamble in Asia. Sir John Simon, however, realizing that China was weak and Japan strong, refused to say a word to hinder Japan's bullying tactics.

All modern wars are endeavours to widen the influence for trade. Germany in 1914 wanted "a place in the sun." She had a large population and little outlet for it. Japan has been well named "the Prussia of the East." She also has a dense population and a small territory.

She has, in the past, cast envious eyes on the millions of uncultivated acres in Australia. The Australians cannot cultivate them and refuse to allow the Japanese to try. She has therefore conquered first Korea, then Manchuria, and now she is in China within striking distance of Pekin.

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Her next gamble is probably the outlying parts of Russia.

What Capitalists Fear

Russia is so vast and the difficulties so enormous that she has never yet been conquered. Napoleon tried and failed. Winston Churchill, when the last Coalition Government was in office, spent £100,000,000, without declaring war, in trying to crush the Soviet regime—and had to acknowledge failure.

We have been told time and again that the Soviet regime is on the point of toppling. They have now celebrated their fifteenth anniversary and are no nearer collapse than they were.

What the Capitalist Powers really fear is the success of the Soviet regime, because that spells the doom of capitalism. It is the greatest communal experiment ever tried in this world, and whatever people may say about the conditions in Russia today they cannot be worse than those that obtained during the Tsarist regime of which some of us were witnesses in pre-war days. I have not been in Russia since the war, but I certainly would not have liked to have lived in the spy-ridden Russia of pre-war days.

Statesmen and Politicians

Sir Malcolm Hailey, the Governor of the United Provinces, in India, who has now arrived in this country to assist the Government in connection with the discussions of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Indian White Paper, has said that "a statesman is a man who desires to do something for his country. A politician is a man who desires his country to do something for him." We have had too few statesmen in this country and too many politicians.

At the end of the World War statesmen like President Wilson desired to make a lasting peace as a suitable sequel to "the war to end war." Politicians like Mr. Lloyd George, Sir Eric Geddes, and indeed the whole Coalition Government, backed up by Lord Cunliffe, the Governor of the Bank of England, made the end of the Great War the beginning of a new economic war. They were going to "squeeze Germany like an orange till the pips squeaked." Germany was "to pay the whole cost of the war," calculated by our banking experts to cost £24,000,000,000—far more than the whole gold supply of the world.

A New Factor

But a new factor came in when a communist State was started in the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics. Germany still remained a country based and worked on capitalist principles. The hate was therefore transferred to Russia, who had been our ally during the war, from the Germans whom we had called "baby-killers." All Germany's richest possessions were taken from her. It was impossible for Germany to find the money to pay even the smallest fraction of the cost of the war. German currency fell lower and lower and American and British capitalists saw an opportunity of speculating by investing in Germany at break-up prices, hoping for a rich reward in the future.

The Muddle of International Debts

Every country except America had got into a hopeless morass of debt owing to the expense and waste of the war, and practically all the payments coming from Germany passed ultimately to the United States. America found herself in a boom of prosperity with money coming in easily. Speculation on a gigantic scale followed.

America lent large sums to Germany which were paid by her to Great Britain, France, and Italy, who in turn handed them back to the United States. Our capitalists refused to lend money to Russia, but lent millions to Germany at 8 per cent. Germany in turn lent this money to Russia at 12 per cent, stipulating at the same time that it would be paid over to Russia not in cash but in goods. So that with the help of British money Germany got the bulk of the Russian trade.

Capital knows no boundaries, no patriotism. Labour ever since the end of the Great War has alone urged the complete wiping out of all War Debts. Many hard

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things have been said about the Labour Party and the Labour leaders for taking up this attitude, which is now recognized by everyone, except possibly some of the farmers of the Middle West of America, to be a necessity if there is to be any world recovery.

America thought she could stand alone and that what happened in other parts of the world did not concern her. She now realizes that the world is one, and that you cannot have depression in one part of the world without its spreading to other parts. It is as true of depression as it is of disease.

Unity is Strength

The Labour Party, every May Day, has joined with workers throughout the world with the slogan "Workers of the World Unite." The workers are still slow to realize not merely the advisability but the necessity of making this slogan not just something to shout about and forget but something to act on and carry into practical effect. The capitalists of the world have already united.

Justice and Geography

There has been much talk of the unfairness of the recent Russian trial. The unfairness has been chiefly on the part of the British Government who, without hearing what the charges were, declared that the men must be innocent. They asked that British counsel should conduct the defence in Russian courts. If it were suggested that any foreigners should come into British courts, it would be regarded as ludicrous.

But what about justice as dispensed under the rule of Great Britain? Thousands of people are imprisoned in India at this moment without charge and without trial because of their political convictions. In the recent Meerut Trial the proceedings lasted for over three years in that hot climate and men were sentenced to as much as twelve years imprisonment although no single act was proved against them of "waging war against the King," with which they were charged, and not one of them was found to be in possession of a single weapon.

Even in this country, quite recently, Tom Mann and his colleague were imprisoned not for doing anything, but for not giving an undertaking that they were not going to do something they had no intention of doing. It is about time that we looked for the beam in our own eye before we looked for the mote in others.

Words and Actions

One of the difficulties is that the actions of our Government do not square with their words. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald went off to Geneva to attend a Disarmament Conference. On the same day the First Lord of the Admiralty introduced into the House of Commons the Naval Estimates increasing our expenditure this year by about £3,000,000 on the Navy alone, including the building of twenty-one new warships. That certainly was not the way to prove to the world that we were in earnest about Disarmament.

The Government professes to be anxious about Housing. Never was a large building programme more necessary in this country—not merely because of the disgraceful slums in most of our large cities, but because of the impossibility of workers' renting houses at anything like an economic rent. Yet we are paying £20,000,000 every year to keep 300,000 builders unemployed.

The Royal Commission on Land Drainage in 1927 reported that no less than 1,279,000 acres of agricultural land in this country are rendered more or less useless by flooding. To spend money to make this land really fit for growing the food we urgently require would be real economy. Nothing is done.

There are 30,000,000 of workers in the world willing and anxious to get work and yet we carry on with the foolish system by which tens of thousands of others are over-worked and not allowed to share their work.

There is abundance and more than abundance in the world. The work should be shared, and, as a preliminary, the hours of work should be drastically cut down and hours of leisure increased.

Great Britain, unfortunately, at Geneva has opposed a forty-hour week, and will

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oppose it so long as we have the kind of Government we have.

Waste and Incompetence

Within the last two years Brazil has destroyed no less than 1,855,524,000. lbs. of coffee. The world population is approximately 1,849,500,000—so that there has been destroyed just over 1 lb. of coffee for every person in the world. As President Roosevelt said at his inauguration :

> "Nature still affords her bounty, but the generous use of it languishes in the very sight of supply. This is primarily because the rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods have failed through their own stubbornness and their own incompetence."

It is the incompetence of capitalists that has brought not only this country but the whole world to the stage at which it is at present. So long as goods are produced for profit and not for service, these conditions will go on.

Try Logic

Sir Austen Chamberlain, in one of his post-war speeches, said :—"I profoundly distrust logic when it is applied to politics." Lord Selborne, a member of the Cecil family, spoke of the "glorious incapacity for clear thinking, which is one of the distinguishing marks of our race." And the late Lord Roseberry said that we in Great Britain always "muddled through." We do usually muddle through—but why be proud of it ?

The absence of logic in our politicians has led us to the most hopeless mess the world has ever been in. Why not, instead of merely crying down Labour, consider the logic of the propositions she puts forward ? Why not try the application of a little logic to our national and international affairs ? In any event it could not lead to a worse mess than that in which we find ourselves—but we are confident that it will lead to a very much better and happier state of affairs.

Education

We are being told that democracy has failed, but democracy can only fail if we fail in education. Education, the fullest and best education, should be the birth-right of all. It will never be so while we have schools catering for the very rich, some catering for the moderately well-off, and others for the poor. The education of all should be in the same establishments and available free to all. This would be one of the soundest national investments that we could make.

Among the most important members of the community are teachers. They should be of the highest standard and well paid. I am very glad to think that I voted against the reduction of teachers' salaries when it was proposed in the House of Commons.

We only spend about 5 per cent of our national income on the best of all investments, the education of the people. France spends more ; Norway nearly three times as much ; Denmark and Holland about four times as much—and Switzerland nearly five times as much.

We spend more than twice the amount on armaments that we spend on education. A child at an elementary school in this country costs about twelve guineas a year. A cadet at Dartmouth costs £200 a year to train him for war. We throw two or three hundred thousand children out of the schools every year and on to the market to scramble for employment. They can only get employment at the expense of able-bodied men and women who are put out of work.

Surely this is a time when these children should be kept at school and at educational and training centres to give them that finest inheritance that any child can get to fit him for the battle of the world—a first-class, all-round education.

27th April, 1933

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A CRITIQUE OF THE WHITE PAPER*

By NIRMALCHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA, HIRANKUMAR SANYAL, BENOYENDRANATH BANERJEA AND SUDHIRKUMAR LAHIRI

I.—INTRODUCTION

BRITISH policy in India has been dictated mainly by an unswerving regard for the furtherance and consolidation of British political and economic interests. The history of Indian constitution has, therefore, been characterized by a deep distrust of Indian nationalism and the progress of reform has been necessarily slow.

In 1858, the Government of India was transferred from the Company to the Crown, and the Secretary of State came to exercise political control over Indian affairs. A nominated legislature was established at the centre and in the provinces in 1861. These legislative bodies were enlarged and a modified system of indirect representation was introduced in 1892. The Councils as established by the Acts of 1861 and 1892 were empowered to discuss legislative proposals but could not be regarded as Parliaments in any sense of the term. The Councils Act of 1909, gave larger opportunities for dis-discussion, but hardly any real powers to the representatives elected indirectly to the various councils.

The new policy that was adopted in the famous Declaration of August 20, 1917, was in a sense, forced on the British politicians by the exigencies of the war. The period of Indian constitutional history between 1858 and 1909 was characterized by association of Indians with the bureaucratic government to appease the agitation of the politically minded people. The underlying policy was merely to tone down the rigours of bureaucratic rule. The declaration of August 20, 1917, on the contrary, promised "responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." The Instruments of Instructions to the Governor-General dated March 15, 1921 goes further. It says, "for above all things it is our will and pleasure that the plans laid down by our Parliament . . . may come to fruition to the end that British India may attain its due place among our Dominions." The language is clear enough and does not require any comment. The same principle was reaffirmed in the famous Irwin Declaration. This Declaration which had the authority of the British Cabinet behind it, recognized that it was "implicit in the Declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as there contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion Status."

The history of constitutional reforms in India under British aegis is also a history of broken promises. Since the Irwin Declaration and, for that matter, even since the inauguration of the Reforms, in 1921, sedulous attempts have been made to whittle down the declared aim of British policy in India. The White Paper is an unmistakable proof of this subversive attempt in as much as it does not contain even a bare mention of Dominion Status for India.

The present constitutional proposals do not even constitute a basis for the framing of the *bill* to be presented in due course to Parliament; for, the White Paper, we are now told, is merely a basis of discussion for the Joint Select Committee. It will be open to the Committee to review the constitutional position anew and make whatever proposals it thinks suitable. The labours of the Round Table Conferences, in a way, come to no purpose and the real position of the much advertised Conferences becomes at once clear.

The pre-requisites of the Federation, mainly in the shape of the consent of Indian States, representing at least one half of the total population of the States and the establishment of a Reserve Bank acceptable, in effect, to the City in London, are not conceived in goodwill towards India. This latter condition has a sinister economic significance of its own and is particularly humiliating to India.

The proposal of an Indian Federation between the British Indian provinces and the autocratically governed Indian States, though generally welcomed, in principle, at its inception, has assumed such a curiously incongruous character as to make even enthusiasts look askance at it. The privileged position of the Indian States in the matter of their accession to the Federation on their own terms, through special Instruments of Accession, the scheme of Federal Finance in which the States are favoured with regard to the amount, manner, and even the initial period of their payments; the 'nominated' representation in both

* These papers are contributions from members of THE POLITICS CLUB, "a fellowship whose fundamental object is to promote the scientific study of social, political and administrative problems with special reference to India," recently formed in Calcutta. The contributions are the result of co-operative discussion at meetings of the Club in which the members took part. The writers whose names appear at the top initiated discussions on their respective subjects.

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the Houses of the Federal Legislature accorded to the States in rather disproportionate numbers; the absolute absence of any voice of the new Government in matters relating to the States, which will become a 'special responsibility' of the Governor-General and a charge of the Viceroy—are among the features that mark out the Indian Federation proposed in the White Paper as 'unique' in its constitutional aspect. This seems to make British India a 'dependency' of the Indian States in certain directions. It is doubtful if, under these and similar circumstances, the proposed or even a modified form of All India Federation should be the immediate objective of British Indian statesmen.

Even the Simon Commission unhesitatingly recognized the principle that "the new constitution should, as far as possible, contain within itself provision for its own development." The White Paper proposes to impose upon India a rigid constitution with no means of automatic growth. Neither is any period of transition specified in the present proposals. In the Government of India Act, 1919, there was a provision for a statutory enquiry after ten years. No such saving grace marks the present proposals.

There is precious little about defence in the whole of the White Paper. The development of a national army, upon which responsible government or Dominion autonomy depends, is a matter that the framers of the proposals did not even care to consider. This attitude serves to reveal in all its nakedness the motive behind British policy in India.

The proposal to set up the so-called autonomy in the provinces before the Federation is formed is wrong in principle. Provincial autonomy and bureaucratic control of the Central government cannot exist side by side. The latter is sure to paralyse and ultimately kill the former.

The diarchy in the Central government, the overriding powers, ordinary and extraordinary, vested in the Governor-General will render the dose of responsibility in the Federation completely ineffective. Provincial autonomy likewise will be crushed under the deadweight of the ordinary and special powers of the Governor. In fact the Governor-General and the Governors have been given powers far in excess of what they enjoy today. This is, indeed, responsible government with a vengeance!

The financial provisions of the White Paper are appalling. In the Federation more than 80 per cent of the total revenues will be absolutely beyond the control of the Legislature. To add to it, the previous sanction of the Governor-General shall be required for the introduction of any measure affecting the currency and exchange of the country. The creation of a Statutory Railway Board by the Constitution Act is another 'unique' feature of the present proposals. This is the measure of free government in the financial sphere that we have been promised!

The recommendations of the White Paper regarding the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service are calculated to create and maintain vested interests in favour of such services, and are likely to undermine discipline and efficiency.

The rights and liberties of the Indian people have been a plaything in the hands of the executive in India. A declaration of fundamental rights is essential in view of such wanton interference with public rights. Such rights, curiously enough, are sought to be safeguarded mainly by the dubious methods of Royal Proclamations and the exercise of the special power of the Governor-General or Governor. Again, the absence of any fundamental rights safeguarding the position of the peasants and workers reveals a callous disregard of their legitimate needs and is typical of the capitalistic bias of the entire proposals.

Sir Samuel Hoare in his statement in the British Parliament exults over the fact that the ultimate sanction of the Government will be derived from the British army, which will lie beyond the control of the people. India has reasons to be grateful to Sir Samuel for his candour.

The constitution that has been offered is a challenge to Indian nationalism—a challenge which, we are sure, will be taken up in right earnest.

The notes that follow are a study of different aspects of the White Paper and are meant to clarify the implications of the proposals without making any claim to originality.

II.—THE SECRETARY OF STATE

The Secretary of State has been described as the Great Mogul of Whitehall. The analogy is not an unhappy one. India is ruled not from Delhi or Simla but from Whitehall by his Majesty's minister known to the Statute as the Secretary of State. In constitutional theory he is not an autocrat but in reality he is the virtual repository of all powers. The superintendence, direction and control of all acts, operations and concerns which relate to the government or revenues of India are practically vested in this confidential adviser of the Crown. And this powerful servant of the Crown subject to his ultimate responsibility to the British Parliament is the fountain-head of the policy underlying the governance of

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India. Nor are his powers confined to policy alone; the Secretary of State has a control over a large field of administrative detail. The character of the control over policy and administration depends on the personal equation. The presence of a masterful personality at Whitehall like that of Lord Morley leads virtually to personal rule whereas a weak personality at the India Office like that of Lord Peel coupled with a strong Governor-General like Lord Reading goes to establish a tepid dualism of joint control of the Secretary of State and the Governor-General.

The powers of the autocrat of Whitehall suffered a slight diminution in accordance with the Government of India Act, 1919. In conformity with the principle of partial responsibility introduced in the sphere of Provincial Government, and in pursuance of the devolution of authority to the Central Government, the control of the Secretary of State over the Provincial and Central Governments was relaxed. Such relaxation of control was marked in the provincial sphere of administration; but in reality there was hardly any relaxation so far as the sphere of central administration was concerned.*

Any further advance towards responsible Government must be accompanied by further relaxation. Paragraph 68 of the Introduction of the White Paper clearly refers to it thus: "The Secretary of State in Council of India as a statutory corporation . . . . . is a conception which is manifestly incompatible alike with Provincial Self-government and with a responsible Federal Government."

In the formulation of the constitutional proposals however, this principle has not been logically given effect to. The amount of 'responsibility' in the provinces or in the sphere of federal government has been hedged around with numerous limitations; and with regard to such limitations, the Secretary of State will continue to interfere with the respective administations. Thus in the sphere of provincial Government, in matters the determination of which is by law committed to the discretion of the Governor, in matters relating to the administration of Excluded Areas and in matters in respect of which a special responsibility is by law committed to the Governor, the Secretary of State or the Governor-General will have the right of interference.†

Similarly in the realm of federal government subjects falling within the sphere of discretion and special responsibility of the Governor-General and his Reserved Departments will come within the field of control of the Secretary of State.

His control in regard to the provincial and federal matters enumerated above will extend over both administrative and legislative spheres. The Secretary of State will come to exercise, according to the conventions of the British Constitution two other powers in relation to Indian legislation. In the first place he will be called upon to deal with a bill that is reserved by the Governor-General for the signification of the King's pleasure. Secondly, any bill assented to by the Governor-General or Governor will within twelve months be subject to disallowance by his Majesty in Council; in this behalf also the Secretary of State will exercise his discretion.

It is to be noted that similar provisions are found in the Constitutions of Canada, Australia and South Africa. The Statute of Westminster, 1931 and above all the conventions of the constitution, however, have rendered these provisions entirely harmless so far as the Dominions are concerned. It cannot, however be argued, for obvious reasons, that these powers will not be abused by the Secretary of State in relation to Indian legislation.

The extent of financial control that the Secretary of State will exercise over the Indian revenues is not stated in the White Paper. In all likelihood he will continue to weild this authority in respect of the non-votable items of expenditure in the federal and provincial spheres of Government. Secondly, the Secretary of State will exercise his powers of financial supervision with regard to any money that may be required by the Governor-General or the Governors for the discharge of their special responsibilities.

Thus at least 75 to 80 per cent of the federal finances will come within the supervisory powers of the Secretary of State. In the provincial sphere the figures are not so appalling. In the circumstances central resonsibility will be meaningless and the much vaunted provincial autonomy will be more or less a myth.

So it appears from the legislative, administrative, and financial points of view that the Secretary of State remains very much the same autocrat he has hitherto been. His powers will suffer a partial diminution no doubt, but he will be able to exercise an effective control over the Indian administration. This control will be large in extent in the sphere of federal government. Even in the provinces which were promised full autonomy, the control of the autocrat of the Whitehall will not cease. Self government that is promised is, indeed, overloaded with the restrictive powers of the Secretary of State.

Hitherto the Indian States have dealt with the Governor-General in Council who has, for all practical purposes, represented the paramount power. In future, however, the States will have the privilege of

* For the extent of relaxation of control see pp. 181—82 of the Simon Report, Vol. I.
† White Paper, Para: 72 and 73 (Proposals).
§ White Paper, Para 220 and Pt. 81 (Proposals).

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dealing with the Crown which will be represented in India by the Viceroy deriving his position and authority from Letters Patent.* In the matter of the Crown's relationship with the Indian States the Secretary of State will be the confidential adviser; and in this respect the Viceroy will necessarily come within the supervision and direction of the Secretary of State.

From the point of view of British India this is a retrograde step. Under the proposed arrangements the Secretary of State or the Viceroy as his agent will be able to influence the States against progressive British India. The States will have a disproportionately large share in the Federal Government; through the States representatives on the legislatures and the Executive, the Princes may be persuaded to exercise a reactionary influence on the politics of the Federation.

III.—THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S COUNCIL

One feature of the present constitutional proposals which appears to be a desirable one is the abolition of the Council of India. The position and powers of the Council are incompatible with the development of democratic institutions. The framers of the proposals remark that the present power of veto possessed by the Council of India over all expenditure from the revenues of India is no less incompatible with the constitutional arrangements outlined by them. It is, therefore, proposed that after the commencement of the Constitution Act the Council of India as at present constituted will cease to exist. But the Secretary of State will be empowered to appoint not less than three and not more than six persons (of whom two at least must have held office for at least ten years under the Crown in India) for the purpose of advising him.

This Advisory Council will be consulted by the Secretary of State according to his discretion and convenience. But in one important respect this Council is proposed to be given large powers. Paragraph 179 read with paragraphs 183 and 189 of the Proposals require the Secretary of State to seek the approval of the majority of the Council regarding any rule regulating the conditions of Public Services in India with regard to which the Secretary of State remains the authority charged by the Constitution. These Services will include appointments to the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Police Service and the Ecclesiastical Department. But these are not all. It is further provided that after the commencement of the Constitution Act recruitment to the political department will be controlled by His Majesty's Government.† It means that in practice the Secretary of State will be responsible for recruitment and conditions of these appointments. Then, again, no decision has been arrived at regarding the question of continued recruitment by the Secretary of State to the superior Medical and Railway Services.§ The fate of these services is under consideration and His Majesty's Government hope to submit their recommendations on this matter to the Joint Select Committee. Finally, the method of recruitment for appointments to the Foreign Department which will be a special charge of the Governor-General has not yet been determined.

From the reactionary trend of events in England in relation to her Indian policy it may be inferred that the Medical, Railway and Foreign department services along with appointments to the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Police and the Ecclesiastical Department will also come to be controlled exclusively by the Secretary of State. With regard to these services, therefore, the Secretary of State

> "will be required to lay before his advisers, and to obtain the concurrence of the majority of them to, any draft of rules which he proposes to make under the Constitution Act for the purpose of regulating conditions of service, and any order which he proposes to make upon an appeal admissible to him under the Constitution Act from any such member."*

The removal of the services from the control of the Government of India or the Provincial Governments is fraught with grave danger. The effect of this state of things will be that the Federal and Provincial Governments will have practically no control over a large number of their own servants. It will be difficult in the circumstances for the responsible ministers to discharge their responsibilities to their respective legislatures in so far as such ministers will have little or no control over their servants in whose hands the actual administration will lie. In times of crises, in particular, this independence of the service will be found to be fraught with grave danger to the State. Further this freedom from control by authorities in India is sure to lead to insubordination, intrigue, constant friction and subversive propaganda by the members of these favoured services. The fundamental principles of responsible government demand an abandonment of the doctrine of special interest created in favour of some of the Services.

The question was thoroughly threshed out at the Services Sub-committee of the First Round Table Conference.

* Page 3 of the Introduction to the White Paper.
† Second footnote on page 69 of the Proposals.
§ End of para 72, Introduction, page 28, White Paper.

* Proposals, Para 179.

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"Whatever decision may be reached as to the ratio," runs the Report, "the majority of the Sub-committee hold that the recruiting authority in the future should be the Government of India. They should leave to that authority the decision of all questions such as conditions of recruitment, service, emoluments and control. Those who take this view attach importance to complete control over the services being vested in the Central and Provincial Governments."

The framers of the present proposals have completely disregarded the wishes of the majority of the Services Sub-committee. In the interest of discipline and efficiency the British Parliament should yet see its way to accept the wise recommendations of the majority.

The Advisory Council which will practically determine the rules of the Services will in all likelihood be a citadel of reaction like the Council of India which it will replace. This Council which is to consist of a strong element of retired civil servants will tend to create and maintain vested interests in favour of the Services to the detriment of the common good of India.

In fact the proposals of the British Government regarding the Services are contrary to the fundamental principles of sound administration. Good and efficient government in the interest of the people of India demand the complete control of the All-India Services by the Government of India.

IV—THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL

The Governor-General is the holder of the most responsible, the most picturesque and the most dignified office outside England. As Viceroy he represents the King, and as the 'Crown visible in India' he is surrounded with dignity, formality and ceremony.

The Governor-General is the chief executive officer of the Crown in India, and he is in association with his Council invested with the superintendence, direction and control of the whole civil and military government of British India. As such the Governor-General in Council is required to pay due obedience to all orders that he may receive from the Secretary of State in Council. The Governor-General in Council is in the second place the agent of the Paramount Power in its relations with the Indian States.

This being the constitutional position of the Governor-General he is clothed with vast executive and legislative powers, direct or indirect. "The Governor-General, or Viceroy of India and the Czar of Russia are sometimes said to be the two great autocrats of the modern world. But, save in the case of a man of rare capacity and force, an autocrat, specially if like the Viceroy he comes for a few years to a strange land, must be largely under the influence of advisers who are thoroughly familiar with the work to be done; and this is the more true when those advisers, including his own private secretary, belong to a great organization with a strong "*esprit de corps*."* In fact, India is not ruled by an individual, the Governor-General, but by a Committee, the Governor-General in Council. This remains true in spite of the constitutional provision that the Governor-General may reject the advice of his Council and act on his own responsibility if in any matter his judgment is that the safety, tranquility or interests of British India so demand. In fact Indian government is a typical example of bureaucratic rule; subject to the supreme control of the Secretary of State the Governor-General in Council exercises unlimited powers, legislative, administrative and financial.

The formal legislative powers of the Governor-General are indeed formidable. In the first place, previous sanction of the Governor-General is required for introduction in the Central or Provincial legislatures of certain classes of legislative proposals; secondly, the Governor-General possesses, in case of failure of either chamber of the Indian legislature to pass essential legislation, the power of certification for securing the safety, tranquility or the interests of British India, or any part thereof. In the next place the Governor-General possesses the usual legislative veto both over Central and provincial legislation. And finally the Governor-General possesses the power of emergency legislation, better known as ordinances.

The financial dictatorship of the Governor-General in Council is complete. Expenditure on certain costly heads including interest and sinking fund charges, defence, political and ecclesiastical departments are authorized by the Governor-General in Council without being voted. As regards votable expenditure which amounts to about 20 p. c. of the total Indian revenues, the Governor-General in Council is empowered, if the Legislative Assembly declines to vote a demand, to restore a grant covered by such a demand.

The constitutional principles underlying the White Paper proposals according to their authors, are fundamentally different from the laws of the present constitution. Hence the implementing of the proposals as contained in the White Paper would require the repeal of the Government of India Act.

"On repeal of the present Government of India Act, all powers appertaining and incidental to the

* Lowell—*Government of England*, Vol. II pages 421-22.

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Government of British India will vest in the Crown; and transition from the existing constitutional position will be effected by making them exercisable on behalf of the Crown by the Governor-General, the Governors and other appropriate authorities established by or under the Constitution Act.

"The office of Governor-General of the Federation will be constituted by Letters Patent, and that document will set out the powers which the Governor-General will exercise as the King's representative."*

It will appear from the above that the Governor-General in the proposed Constitution of India will represent the British Crown. Today, according to convention, the Viceroy and not the Governor-General symbolizes the British Crown; under the new arrangements both the offices of the Viceroy and of the Governor-General will represent the British Crown. But the two offices will derive their positions from two Letters-Patents. The Governor-General will exercise the powers conferred upon him by the Constitution Act as the Executive Head of the Federation; the Viceroy will exercise the powers of the Crown in relation to the States principally in the numerous matters outside the federal sphere. With these the Constitution Act will not, of course, be concerned.

The present constitutional proposals effect a radical change in the Central Executive. The Governor-General in Council as the supreme Executive in India will cease to exist and out of its ashes will emerge a dyarchical executive. Defence, foreign relations and ecclesiastical department shall be the reserved subjects under the charge of the Governor-General who will appoint not more than three counsellors to help him in the administration of these subjects who will be responsible to him. Other subjects shall be in charge of ministers responsible to the federal legislature. It is provided that the Governor-General will, whenever he thinks fit, preside at the meeting of the council of ministers.

The defects of dyarchy are well known. Dyarchy is a form of government that is divided against itself and naturally gives rise to friction and mutual jealousy. It destroys the unified character of administration and is thus destined to undermine governmental efficiency. Moreover, the reserved departments like defence, etc., under the direct charge of the Governor-General together with the other non-votable items of expenditure will swallow up more than 80 p. c. of the total revenues. Thus the federal ministers will have to work under a financial handicap of a very serious nature.

The only reasonable alternative to diarchy is the concession of full responsibility at the centre. It will mean that the three subjects now described as reserved will have to be placed in the hands of ministers. In order to allay British fears and suspicions Indian opinion may be prepared to accept, in the transition period, reasonable safeguards with regard to these subjects—safeguards that are demonstrably in the interests of the Indian people.

The Governor-General will bestride the proposed constitution of the federation like a colossus. Subject to the ultimate control of the Secretary of State he will dominate the Indian political situation. Freed from the check of the Council he emerges as a real autocrat, possessing vast formal and informal powers of far-reaching import. His powers will include:

(a) Powers over reserved subjects
(b) Powers in relation to matters affecting his "special responsibility"
(c) Discretionary powers
(d) Emergency powers:
(i) those relating to Reserved Departments and "Special Responsibilities of the Governor-General"
(ii) those relating to transferred subjects
(e) Proclamatory powers
(f) Powers that may by Devolution Rules be assigned to the Governor-General over the discretionary powers of the Provincial Governors, the latter's "Special responsibilities" or over Excluded Areas
(g) Other legislative and financial powers
(h) Exclusive powers regarding the administration of British Baluchistan.

The powers of the Governor-General over Reserved Departments have been dealt with. They introduce complications and difficulties which people attempting to work the constitution will not be able to surmount.

The doctrine of "Special Responsibility" introduces urther difficulties. Paragraph 18 of the Proposals runs thus:

"Apart from his exclusive responsibility for the Reserved Departments the Governor-General in administrating the government of the Federation will be declared to have a special responsibility in respect of—

(a) the prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquility of India or any part thereof;
(b) the safeguarding of the financial stability and credit of the Federation.
(c) The safeguarding of the legitimate interests of minorities;
(d) the securing to the members of the public services of any rights provided for them by the Constitution Act and the safeguarding of their legitimate interests;
(e) the prevention of commercial discrimination;
(f) the protection of the rights of any Indian State;
(g) any matter which affects the administration of any department under the direction or control of the Governor-General.

It will be for the Governor-General to determine in his discretion whether any of the special responsibilities here described are involved by any given circumstances."

The powers that are given to the Governor-General under the above head will appear, on analysis, to be so wide that no department of

* Paragraphs 9 and 10 of the Introduction.

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federal activity will practically lie beyond the sweep of 'special responsibility.' In the circumstances free government will wither and Indian interests will be in danger.

Apart from the Reserved Departments and the specified 'Special Responsibilities' the Governor-General will be given what has been called 'discretionary powers.' In this category of discretionary powers, the precise range of which it will be impossible exhaustively to foresee until the drafting of the Constitution Act has reached completion, His Majesty's Government anticipate that the following matters will be included:

(*a*) The power to dissolve, prorogue and summon the legislature;

(*b*) The power to assent to, or withhold assent from Bills, or to reserve them for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure;

(*c*) The grant of previous sanction to the introduction of certain classes of legislative measures.

(*d*) The power to summon forthwith a joint session of the Legislature in case of emergency, where postponement till the expiration of the period to be prescribed by the Constitution Act might have serious consequences.

To these are added:

(*e*) The power to take action notwithstanding an adverse vote in the legislature.

(*f*) The power to arrest the course of discussion of measures in the legislature.

(*g*) The power to make rules of legislative business in so far as these are required to provide for the due exercise of his own powers and responsibilities.

In countries where constitutional government prevails it is customary to give to the head of the Executive powers contemplated in clauses (a), (b) and (d), but clauses (c), (e), (f) and (g) are special powers supposed to be demanded by the peculiar political circumstances in India. But there are certain powers which may very well be employed by the Governor-General to check the legitimate demands of the representatives of the people in the legislative bodies. These safeguarding clauses are conceived in deep distrust and are thoroughly undemocratic and mischievous.

Finally the Governor-General will be clothed with extraordinary powers, firstly, with regard to Reserved Departments and his 'Special Responsibilities.' He is given in this respect the authority of making and promulgating ordinances in case of emergencies; such ordinances shall be in force for a period not exceeding six months.

Secondly, on the advice of a minister at a time when the federal legislature is not in session, the Governor-General will have the authority of issuing ordinances in case of emergencies. Such ordinances shall operate for six weeks unless both chambers have in the meantime disapproved of these by resolution

The Governor-General shall have the right of withdrawing all kinds of ordinances at any time according to his discretion.

Lastly, the Governor-General in the event of a breakdown of the constitution will be empowered to assume to himself by Proclamation all such powers vested by law in any Federal authority as appear to him to be necessary for the purpose of securing that the government of the federation shall be carried on effectively. A Proclamation so issued will have the same force and effect as an Act of Parliament; and it will remain in force for six months unless it is in the meantime approved by a Resolution of both the Houses of Parliament. Such Proclamations may be revoked by Resolution of both Houses of Parliament.

The extraordinary powers of the Governor-General are in fact a body of ultimate powers that have to be given to the chief executive to meet extreme emergencies. The recent experience of the use of the emergent powers of the Governor-General naturally gives rise to legitimate apprehension. But, anyway, provision has to be made for emergencies like the breakdown of the constitution. All that can be demanded is that the elected legislature should be the final authority to judge whether ordinance or Proclamation is required by the exigencies of the situation.

It is important to note in passing the relation between the Governor-General and the Federal legislature. He will have the ordinary right of assenting to, or withholding his assent from, or of reservation of a bill for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure. Secondly, with regard to Reserved Departments and the 'special responsibilities" of the Governor-General, he will have the power, in case the legislature refuses to pass an Act, of enacting a legislative measure which will be known as a Governor-General's Act. This proposal has the merit of candour, though it marks the height of autocracy.

In the federation the financial powers of the Governor-General will also be considerable. The Governor-General will make demands for grants and finally authenticate all appropriations. In cases when he will be unable to accept the proposals of his ministers or the decision of his Legislature, for the proper discharge of his special responsibilities, he will have the power to bring the appropriations into accord with his *own* estimates of the requirements.* With regard to the non-votable items of expenditure which will cover more than 80 per cent of the revenues, detailed in paragraph 49 of the Proposals, his interpretations will be considered as final. Secondly, the provision for the appointment of a financial adviser to assist the Governor-General in the discharge of his special responsibilities for financial matters is a retrograde one. The financial adviser who will

* *Vide* pages 40-41, Proposals.

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be appointed by the Governor-General and hold his office during the latter's pleasure will be in all probability an agent of British capitalism. His endeavour will in that event be to further the interests of British capital. Thus the finance and currency, industry and trade of India are likely to be manipulated to serve British interests to the detriment of the legitimate interests of India.

In the next place, special consent of the Governor-General will be required for the introduction, among others, of any bill affecting the coinage, currency, and the powers and duties of the Federal Reserve Bank in relation to the management of currency and coinage.* This is a power that is in excess of what the Governor-General enjoys under the present constitution.* The clear import of this provision is to subordinate the economic interests of India to those of Great Britain.

Thus in the legislative, executive and purely administrative fields the responsibilities and powers that are proposed to be conferred on the Governor-General and Viceroy are, indeed, tremendous. None but a superman can be expected to do justice to these powers and responsibilities. But supermen are rare. In all probability the Governor-General will be crushed under the heavy load that he will be called upon to carry; and in the process incalculable injury will be done to India's political advance and economic prosperity.

V—THE FEDERAL LEGISLATURE

On a well-known occasion, Mr. Wedgwood Benn, then Secretary of State for India, said that the business of Government was 'to govern.' Applying the same grammatical method of defining political terms we can define the business of a legislature as 'legislation.' The Indian Legislature should be, according to this definition, a body charged with the duty of making laws for the Indian people, and so it is though with a qualification. The qualification consists in the fact that lest the duty of making laws for this country prove too heavy for its legislators, so far as they are chosen by the people, a kindly Providence has decreed that a considerable portion of this burden be transferred to the more capacious shoulders of its own trusted agents. That these agents are efficient and wise and benevolent goes without saying. They are efficient because they carry most manfully the terrible burden that Providence has entrusted to them; they are wise because they have unbounded and abiding faith in the sacredness of vested interests; and they are benevolent because they are British. A few references to chapter and verse of our own constitutional Bible—the Government of India Act of 1919—will bear out these remarks.

The present constitution has however a long history behind it, made up of a series of Acts passed by Parliament from time to time. Some of the more important among these were the Acts of 1861, 1892 and 1909. The seeds of representative institutions were sown in 1861; in 1892 there was an enlargement of their scope, and in 1909, the Morely-Minto Reforms made what was then considered to be a revolutionary change in their powers.

The legislative domain of the Central Government under the present constitution extends over the whole of British India, and the two chambers of the Central Legislature—the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly—have between them "power to make laws for all persons, courts, places, and things within British India, for all subjects of His Majesty and servants of the Crown within other parts of India, and for all Indian subjects of His Majesty without and beyond, as well as within British India." So far so good. But here comes in the qualification or rather the qualifications referred to at the beginning, and these consist in the special powers enjoyed by the Governor-General in the sphere of legislation. Notwithstanding a majority of elected members in both chambers, the Indian Legislature has virtually been reduced to impotence by these special legislative powers vested in the Governor-General—powers for which there is no warrant in any country with the slightest pretension to democratic government and which appear as monstrously incongruous in face of the declared policy of the British Parliament, namely, "the progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the British Empire." Whoever cares to study the record of the working of the present constitution since its inauguration will subscribe to this statement.

Let us now consider the manner in which, it is proposed, we should achieve the next stage of our glorious journey from irresponsible servility to responsible partnership in the British Empire.

The most important among the proposals embodied in the White Paper is that India is to shed her unitary form of government and adopt the federal form instead. The implications of this change in the structure of government go far. The Central Government is no more to remain omnipotent; its authority is to be limited to matters of national importance and interest only (the word 'national' may or not cover 'states' according as the 'states' join the Federa-

* Para 119 of the Proposals.

* Sec. 67, Government of India Act, 1919.

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tion or not), while the Provinces are to enjoy, in theory, unrestricted powers in regard to matters that are considered by the framers of the constitution as coming within the range of provincial life. In the legislative sphere this change is to be marked by "a statutory demarcation between the legislative competence of the Federal and Provincial Legislatures respectively, and the assignment to each of an exclusive field of competence which the other will not be permitted . . .to invade." It is therefore proposed that the respective legislative field of the centre and of the Province will be defined in terms of the subjects which will be scheduled in the Constitution Act, though certain subjects will be recognized as common to both the Centre and the Provinces and in respect of them, both Federal and Provincial Legislatures will enjoy concurrent powers.

An interesting and important question arises at this point; what is to happen when Federal and Provincial laws are in conflict. The answer given in the White Paper is that:

> "In the event of a conflict between a Federal Law and a Provincial Law in the concurrent field, the Federal Law will prevail, unless the Provincial Law was reserved for, and has received the assent of the Governor-General. The Federal Legislature will have no power to repeal or amend a Provincial Law to which the Governor-General has thus assented, save with the prior sanction of the Governor-General."

In short, the Governor-General is the supreme arbiter in cases of conflict between the Central and the Local Legislatures.

It is recognized in the White Paper that no list of subjects specifically enumerated as belonging to the proper sphere of either the Central or the Local Government can cover the entire range of potential activities appropriate to each and hence it is proposed

> "to include in the Provincial list a general power to legislate on any matter of a purely local and private nature in the Province···; but in order to provide for the possibility that a subject which is in its inception of a purely local or private character may subsequently become of all India interest, it is proposed to make that power subject to a right of the Governor-General in his discretion to sanction general legislation by the Federal Legislature on the same subject-matter."
>
> Again: "Provision will be made enabling either the Federal Legislature or any Provincial Legislature to make a law with respect to a residual subject, if any.····by means of an Act to the introduction of which the previous sanction of the Governor-General, given at his discretion, has been obtained, and to which (in case of a provincial Act) the assent of the Governor-General has been declared."

This is really a clumsy solution of the problem of residual power. It will have the effect of making the Governor-General the virtual repository of such power.

Whatever the other defects of the proposed constitution it cannot be denied that the composition of the two Chambers of the Legislature—the Council of State with its 260 members (150 from British India) and the House of Assembly with its 375 members, of whom 250 will be representatives from British India, marks a distinct advance upon the present constitution. But even here there is scope for improvement. The Lothian Committee's recommendation of 450 members for the lower house has been ignored for apparently no reason. Again, if there is to be real responsibility there should not be a nominated element in the upper house as has been proposed. If the idea of a Federation between British India and the Indian States is to materialize, there should be a specific provision in the coming Constitution Act about the method to be adopted for filling up the seats in the lower house allocated to the States. The principle of democratic government demands that seats in the lower house should be allocated to the various units of the Federation, whether the Provinces of British India or the Indian States, on the basis of population, and the method of filling up these seats should be the same in every case. There is of course only one method that a truly democratic country can adopt for choosing its legislators, and that is direct election. Though the principle of indirect election by really popular chambers may, in certain circumstances, be accepted in the case of the upper house, direct election only should be adopted for choosing members of the Assembly—whether they represent British India or the States.

How far is the proposed Legislature to enjoy wider powers than the present one in regard to control over the Executive? The proposed scheme on the face of it embodies changes of a radical character in this respect. Under the Act of 1919, there is no responsibility in the Central Government. In the new constitution, it is proposed, there will be partial responsibility at the centre. This responsibility will be secured by the creation of a Council of Ministers responsible to the Legislature who will aid and advice the Governor-General in the exercise of his executive authority except in regard to Defence, External Affairs and Ecclesiastical Administration. No, it is not Dominion Status yet; but, then, Dominion Status cannot surely be far off with such wide powers already in our grasp—only if a few slight obstacles could be removed. These obstacles are to be found, firstly, in the provision for certain specific powers to be exercised by the Governor-General 'in his discretion,' independent of the Ministers, and secondly, in the 'special responsibility' with which the Governor-General is to be endowed in respect of certain matters or purposes and in the discharge of which he may disregard ministerial advice. The authors of the White Paper have very cleverly and carefully seen to

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it that in the discharge of his special responsibility and in the exercise of his discretion—both very vague words—the Governor-General has the ran of nearly the whole field of legislative authority, thus reducing to mere rhetoric the talk of 'responsibility at the centre.' All the odious features of the present constitution are repeated—very often on an exaggerated scale—so far as the Governor-General's special powers in the legislative sphere go.

Among the proposals in the White Paper on this matter, there is one that is remarkable for its downright honesty. The Governor-General will be able to initiate legislation, and make laws against the declared wishes of the legislature. An Act so passed is to be known as a "Governor-General's Act." This is a phrase which is true to the British tradition of calling a spade a spade. No, the White Paper does not produce an impression of white lies. It is the stark truth at last !

VI—THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT: GOVERNOR'S POWERS

Before the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, which came into effect in 1921, the Government of India exercised control and supervision over the Provincial Governments. The Provincial Governments were no more than the agents of the Central Government, whose decision and policy they were to carry out. The Government of India was responsible for the entire administration of British India, and the British Parliament in its turn exercised its control through the Secretary of State for India.

The framers of the present constitution sought to bring about a change in the system described above by introducing a measure of responsibility of the executive to the people in the Provinces through their elected representatives on the Provincial Legislative Councils.

The intention of the late Mr. E. S. Montagu, the real author and inspirer of the existing constitution, was that in transferred subjects, administered by ministers appointed from among elected members of the Legislative Council, legislation should be carried out with the approval of the Council, and in reserved subjects, administered by executive councillors, efforts should be made to give effect to the wishes of the legislature as far as possible. How far effect has been given to this intention may now be said to be a matter of history.

The present provincial constitution, of which diarchy is, perhaps, the most characteristic feature, is now proposed to be superseded by a constitution to be modelled on the proposals contained in the White Paper. Under the new dispensation, we are told, the provinces will be conferred the privilege of autonomy. An examination of the more important among the proposals relating to the provinces will give us an idea as to the nature and extent of this autonomy.

The Governor is the keystone of the proposed constitutional framework for the province. The executive authority in a province will be "exercisable on the King's behalf" by the Governor, and all executive acts will run in the Governor's name. He will be the head of the provincial government and will act in accordance with the Instrument of Instructions to be issued by the King. The salary of the Governor and of his personal and secretarial staff together with their allowances will be excluded from the vote of the legislature.

The Governor will be declared to have a "special responsibility" in respect of certain specified matters. These are:

(*a*) the prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquility of the province or any part thereof ;

(*b*) the safe-guarding of the legitimate interests of minorities ;

(*c*) the securing to the members of the Public Services of any rights provided for them by the Constitution and the safe-guarding of their legitimate interests ;

(*d*) the prevention of commercial discrimination ;

(*e*) the protection of the rights of any Indian state ;

(*f*) the administration of areas declared, in accordance with provisions in that behalf, to be partially excluded areas :

(*g*) securing the execution of orders lawfully issued by the Governor-General.

The Governors of the North-West Frontier Province and of Sind will, in addition, be respectively declared to have a special responsibility in respect of

(*h*) any matter affecting the Governor's responsiblities as Agent to the Governor-General in the tribal and other trans-border areas ; and

(*i*) the administration of the Sukkur Barrage.

The Governor will have the full discretion to reject the advice of a minster, if such advice appears to him to be inconsistent with the fulfilment of his special responsibility in any matter, subject to such directions as he may receive from the Governor-General or the Secretary of State.

The Governor will, besides, be empowered to enact, on his own responsibility, special laws, if he thinks such action is needed to enable him to discharge the "special responsibilities," imposed on him. Such laws will be called Governor's Acts. The Governor's Acts will have the same force and effect as a measure of the provincial legislature. If in any case the Governor considers that any Bill introduced or proposed for introduction, or any clause thereof, or any

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amendment to a Bill moved or proposed, would affect the discharge of his "special responsibility" for the prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquility of the province, he will have the power to direct that the Bill, clause or amendment shall not be further proceeded with.

As regards finance, the statement of proposals for appropriation of revenues and expenditure, to be placed before the legislature, will include additional proposals, if any, whether under votable or non-votable heads, which the Governor regards as necessary for the fulfilment of his "special responsibility," and these will be shown separately. Besides, certain items, such as interest, sinking fund charges and other expenditure relating to the raising, service and management of loans, expenditure fixed by or under the Constitution Act, etc. etc. though open to discussion, will be excluded from the vote of the legislature. At the conclusion of the budget proceedings, the Governor will authenticate by his signature all appropriations and the appropriations so authenticated will be laid before the legislature but will not be open to discussion. The Governor will be empowered to include in the final appropriations any additional amounts which he regards as necessary for the discharge of any of his "special responsibilities."

The Governor will further have the power to promulgate ordinances for a period not exceeding six months. Such ordinances may be renewed for a second period not exceeding six months. At any time when the legislature is not in session the Governor will have also the power, with the concurrence of the Minister, to promulgate short-term ordinances. Such ordinances will have to be laid before the legislature and will cease to operate at the expiry of six weeks from the date of the reassembly of the legislature. In cases in which the legislature (of both Chambers, where two Chambers exist) disapproved by resolution, such ordinances will cease to operate forthwith.

Any area within a province may be declared to be an "Excluded Area" or a "partially Excluded Area" by Order-in-Council as directed by His Majesty. It has already been stated that the Governor will be declared to have a special responsibility with reference to a "Partially Excluded Area." The administration of an "Excluded Area" will be under the direction and control of the Governor. It will rest entirely in the discretion of the Governor, whether an Excluded Area or a Partially Excluded Area should be precluded wholly or partially from the operation of any Act or Acts of the Federal or the Provincial legislature. The Governor will be empowered to administer such areas by Regulations, amending or repealing any Federal or Provincial Act or Acts, applicable to such areas, subject to the approval of the Governor-General. Any discussion in the provincial legislature of, or the asking of questions on, any matter arising out of the administration of an Excluded Area will not be allowed. The Governor will have, moreover, the discretion to disallow any resolution or question regarding the administration of a Partially Excluded Area.

The procedure and conduct of business in the provincial legislature will be regulated by rules to be made by the legislature. The Governor will, however, have the discretion to make rules regulating the procedure and the conduct of business in the legislature in relation to matters arising out of or affecting his special responsibilities. In making such rules the Governor will, of course, consult the President or Speaker, as the case may be, but in the event of a conflict between the Governor's rule and any rule of the legislature, the former will prevail.

The Governor, moreover, is given summary powers to suspend the Constitution, if and when, he is satisfied that it is not possible for the government of the province to be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution Act. He is authorized, in such cases, to assume to himself, by proclamation such powers as may appear to him necessary for carrying on the government of the province effectively. Such proclamation will cease to operate at the expiry of six months. But as it will have to be laid before the British Parliament, both Houses of Parliament may by Resolution prolong the period of suspension beyond six months.

The special powers with which the Governor has been invested are of so wide a character and on so extensive a scale that this at once renders provincial autonomy a nullity and responsible government a sham. It has been urged in justification of the course, now proposed to be adopted, that as the Governor will represent the King there can be no fear of any improper use of such powers. The analogy with England and the Dominions in this matter does not appear to be an appropriate one. It is true that the King possesses very great powers in the British constitution. But these powers are exercised through Parliament on the advice of the responsible minister and the cabinet. Therein lies the safety of the constitution.

In the case of the Dominions, as Sir Arthur B. Keith points out, although there are certain limitations to the powers of the Governors conferred expressly or impliedly, corresponding with the fact that the Dominions are not independent states,

> "the position of the Governor towards his ministers is closely annalogous to that of the King on which it is based."

He adds :

> "The Governor has no right to issue orders of any sort to them (the ministers); without

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their advice he is powerless to act, and has merely by constitutional usage a very limited sphere of powers to refuse their advice, if he is prepared to fill their places, should they resign in consequence of his refusal, by other ministers. "His ministers are often satisfied if his functions are reduced to those of a 'rubber stamp,' and his connection with the political side of Government becomes purely formal."

We thus find that elsewhere a policy is allowed which minimizes the chances for the use of special or emergency powers. Instead of allowing an example which has been found by long experience to be wise, a course is proposed to be adopted which would render friction between the Governor on the one hand and the legislature and the ministers on the other inevitable unless the latter choose to be his slaves.

The scheme of reforms in the provincial sphere has been so devised that not only will the unremovable British Indian bureaucracy be enabled through the Governor, the Governor-General, the Secretary of State for India, the British Cabinet and Parliament to interfere in the adoption of progressive measures as also to initiate a policy of retrogression, in almost every matter of vital importance; but that many such matters in which Indians, through their executive councillors, ministers and legislatures have now an opportunity to influence policy and take appropriate action will be shut out from their purview. The actual significance of all this, in plain words, is, that the autonomy of the provinces will be of a most impalpable and intangible character. There will thus be hardly any material advance from the present very unsatisfactory position; in fact, the conditions are likely to be much worse than at present.

This view is very aptly illustrated in Sir Arthur Keith's observations in *The Constitution, Administration, and Laws of the Empire.* He says:

> "In the case of the Dominions efforts by the Governor to direct executive action are consistent only with a State where responsible government is yet imperfect, or where Imperial forces are required to preserve order, a condition signifying that local autonomy is temporarily ineffective."

And again:

> "But it is also plain that no man can effectively serve two masters in the same capacity; to attempt to do so would merely lead him to violate his duty to one, or more, probably both, and to render ineffective his responsibility."

VII—SECOND CHAMBER IN THE PROVINCES

The institution of a Second Chamber in some of the provinces is another device which, it is feared, cannot but have the effect of retarding progress and hampering the development of genuine democratic institutions in the country. The main purpose of a Second Chamber is that it impedes the passing of ill-considered and hasty measures and the introduction of radical changes with the sanction of chance majorities. So long as full dominion status is not conceded to India, this check already exists in the extensive power of intervention that rests with the British Parliament, as also with the Governor, the Governor-General, and the Secretary of State, along with the Federal Legislature in certain matters.

The establishment of a second chamber would, therefore, serve as an additional clog to progressive legislation and inevitably delay the introduction of progressive administration. This would not only aggravate the present feeling against the powers that be, but would further serve as an incitement to those who advocate the enforcement of change by revolutionary means. When India attains dominion status, then will be the time to consider whether it would be advantageous to have a revising Chamber in the provinces.

The working of the new constitution would also show whether a Second Chamber is really needed in the changed conditions. The choice of U. P., Bengal, and Bihar for the establishment of Second Chambers may be taken to have been made for the protection of certain special vested interests. But the constitution of these Councils as proposed in the White Paper shows that they will principally be the replicas of the Assemblies in the three provinces and would hardly serve even these interests. Moreover, such councils would scarcely be able to check the onrush of democratic forces. A very difficult, and at the same time, delicate question in this connection will be the allocation of powers to the two Chambers.

The creation of a Second Chamber will have the effect of accentuating differences, where differences do not exist and thus make the situation much more complex and difficult to deal with than is the case at present. It would be extremely invidious and unwise to force a Second Chamber on a province like Bengal, especially when the proposal has been rejected by a majority in the Provincial Legislative Council, and when it is opposed even by such public opinion as exists in the Province, after the indiscriminate and ruthless suppression of the Congress and the independent Press under Ordinance rule.

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VIII—AUTONOMY OF THE PROVINCES

In any discussion of the merits of the scheme of autonomy for the provinces as embodied in the White Paper, it is difficult to refuse to acknowledge the obvious fact that any measure of autonomy without central responsibility cannot but be very imperfect and shadowy. The special and extraordinary powers with which the Governor is proposed to be invested make him nothing short of a veritable dictator. If he so desires he may not be less relentless than Adolf Hitler, not less hazardous and overpowering than Signor Mussolini, not less stolid and retrogressive than the Czars of former days.

The proposed scheme of reforms makes the legislature a wholly ineffective body in many matters of vital importance. It will, of course, enjoy infinite facilities for pompous and magniloquent though vacuous and inane talk. Further, with an attenuated measure of responsibility, an unwanted Second Chamber, magnified and extended communal electorates, a strengthening of the citadels of reaction and of vested interests, a sedulous and adroit incorporation of methods with a view to dispossessing the public-spirited, enlightened, and progressive elements of their due and proper share of representation, and by divesting the legislature and the people of powers hitherto possessed by them, it is not difficult to imagine how hard it will be, in some of the Provinces at least, to achieve any substantial measure of progress so long as the proposed constitution is allowed to remain on the Statute Book.

The demand for autonomy for the British Indian provinces has a long and chequered history behind it. It will be remembered, now, perhaps, with melancholy satisfaction, how John Bright fought for this idea three quarters of a century ago, when the government of India was transferred from the East India Company to the British Crown. That great Englishman put forward his case before the British people with his unrivalled eloquence and never-failing zeal for a righteous cause. The more he considered the subject, the more he discussed it with members of that House and with gentlemen connected with India, the more he was convinced, said John Bright, in the course of a speech in the British House of Commons in 1858, that they would not be able to make a single step towards the improvement of India unless they changed the whole system of government, unless they gave to each Presidency a government with more independent power than was possessed by it then.

"What we want to make," he explained in another speech in the House in the same year "is to make the Governments of the presidencies, Governments of the people of the presidencies; not Governments of the civil Servants of the Crown." He added: "If we were to go on for a century or more, there would be five or six Presidencies of India, built up into so many compact states; and if at any future period the sovereignty of England should be withdrawn, we should leave so many presidencies built up and firmly compacted together, each able to support its own independence and own government, and we should be able to say, we had not left the country a prey to that anarchy and discord which I believe to be inevitable if we insist on holding these vast territories with the idea of building them up into one great empire."

The meaning of these words are plain and unambiguous. And although the demand that John Bright made has been repeated, both in England and in India, all these years, the result is that we are now confronted with an arrangement suggested by the British Government which is designed to keep the Provinces in all matters of material importance tied to the leading strings of the Secretary of State and his agents. The Provinces will remain, in fact, as far off from any measure of genuine autonomy as ever.

For close upon a century it has been urged that if the people of this country are to be allowed to realize their destiny, to attain the full stature of manhood, this cannot be done under the unmeasured and interminable tutelage of a foreign bureaucracy. They should be given the power of popular self-rule, if they are to be enabled to achieve progress in the various spheres of national activity. Can it be said that the proposals relating to the provincial constitution embodied in the White Paper fulfil this test even to a partial extent? The late Mr. Montagu's scheme of reforms, whatever might be its defects and shortcomings, aroused some amount of enthusiasm because there was a tacit acknowledgment of this important fact in his numerous speeches and writings on the subject. Sir Samuel Hoare's proposals show in the clearest possible terms that the power to control the activities of the provinces in respect of almost every important matter is proposed to be kept in the powerful grip of the British official and administrator.

To ensure that those elements of the people who are unenlightened, opposed to change and wedded to sectional and vested interests should have the ascendancy, whatever may happen to the country, should in no case, be the objective of a living constitution. Yet, even a cursory examination of the constitutional proposals now placed before us leaves no room for doubt, at least so far as Bengal is concerned, that no effort has been spared to secure this end. The constitution, in fact, is proposed to be framed in such a way, that it will be very difficult for the progressive sections to acquire adequate strength and convert itself into an effective power.

It will be remembered that the Secretary of State for India in defending his scheme of

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eforms against the attacks of Mr. Winston Churchill and his followers mentioned it as one of its merits that unless there was a landslide there was no chance of the progressive elements —"extremists" was the word he used—to gain any power either in Bengal or in the Federal Legislature. If British statesmen are not able at this juncture to show the courage and the statesmanship that the situation demands by acceding to the wishes of the people and modify the proposals of the White Paper on a generous scale, the result will, it is feared, inevitably be to stimulate the growth of such elements as are a menace to peace, progress and prosperity.

IX—FRANCHISE PROPOSALS

The relation between the governed and the Government would depend largely on the constitution of the electorate, to whom the executive will be ultimately responsible. The reality of popular control over Government constitutes one of the characteristic features of democracy. The White Paper proposals, looked at from this end-point, appear highly unsatisfactory, halting and, in many directions, retrograde even when compared to the universally disliked present system of franchise. "Classes excluded from a share in Government have always been classes excluded from a share in benefits," says Laski, and we may add that classes given special powers will work the undoing of the edifice of democracy as well as the better interests of their own.

The White Paper franchise scheme is based on the Lothian Report, the Communal Award and the Poona Pact. The Lothian Report observed that the property qualification "is well-understood in India, where it has been in force for local bodies for nearly two generations. It was accepted by the Southborough Committee . . . and . . . it is now well-established and commands general approval." The White Paper has accepted it as the basis of franchise, with a tincture of educational qualification. Both these qualifications would differ in relation to different communities, in order to maintain their respective proportional strength. Neither the consensus of progressive opinion against the continuance of a predominately property qualification, nor the need of an early adoption of an adult franchise as a *sine qua non* of democratic government (even in some such form as was recently adopted in Ceylon), has been given the consideration they deserved.

For the lower house of the federal legislature the present provincial franchise, with some modifications in the case of Bihar, Orissa and the Central Provinces will be adopted. The present ratio of women to male electors will remain unchanged. This is expected to enfranchise seven to eight millions of people, *i.e.*, a population of 2 to 3 per cent for the whole of British India.*

The Lothian Committee urged for at least 300 seats for British India in the Federal Assembly. While the seats reserved for special interests are going to be the same as on the basis of the Lothian Report, the total number has been reduced to 250, with the result that the area and number of electors per candidate has been increased to abnormal proportions and the general seats will be reduced in number. Every candidate in a general constituency will have to approach approximately a maximum of 47 thousand and a minumum of 16 thousand and odd electors.

Regarding the provinces the details of franchise qualifications will vary from province to province. The White Paper proposes to enfranchise, as in the typical case of Bengal, 15 p. c. of the total population and 29 p. c. of the adult population. The ratio of men to women enfranchised will be approximately 7:1, as compared with the Lothian proposals which would have brought it to 4:1. Almost half the male population is thus expected to be enfranchised.

Electors are to be of 21 years of age; and the minimum age of members of the Federal and Provincial Assemblies shall be 25 years, and of the Council of State and provincial Councils, 30 years. In the electoral roll approximately 10 per cent of the so-called "depressed class" population for the Provincial Assembly and 2 per cent for the Federal Assembly shall be included, except in provinces where their number is negligible. "Seats will be 'reserved' for the Depressed classes out of the general seats... Election to these seats will be by joint electorates in plural-member constituencies subject to the following procedure. All members of the Depressed classes registered in the general electoral roll of a constituency will form an electoral college, which will elect a panel of four candidates belonging to the depressed classes for each of such reserved seats by the method of the single vote, and the four persons getting the highest number of votes in such primary election will be the only candidates for election by the general electorate qualified for the reserved seat."*

This system of election, endorsed by the Poona Pact, will hardly remove the objections to a separate electorate, as it retains the method of separate electorates only with a joint electorate

* The existing ratio of electors to the population in Governor's provinces, excluding Burma is 2.8 p.c. The proportion of male electors to the adult male population being 10.4 p.c. and of female electors to the adult female population 0.6 p. c. (Simon Report, Vol. I, page 191).

* *White Paper*, page 75.

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super-added. It is doubtful whether Mahatma Gandhi has won the principle of joint electorate by his fast. Moreover, the earmarked representation for the depressed classes has been criticized as unwarrantably large in the cases of Bengal and the Punjab, where the problem is much less acute and extensive.

Messrs. Tambe, Chintamani and Bakhale in their minute of dissent to the Lothian Report suggested that a "statutory provision should be made for an increase of the electorate after every ten years, so as to lead to adult franchise throughout the country in a period not exceeding thirty years." They also recommended the introduction of adult franchise in all cities with a population of one lakh or more whose number is not more than thirty in the whole country. None of these very moderate proposals find support in the White Paper. The goal of adult franchise remains as distant and as much hedged about with special claims and their ramifications as the question of the transfer of responsibility.

The Communal Award of His Majesty's Government through the Prime Minister of August 17, 1932, underlying the details of the Franchise scheme is itself open to serious objections. Mr. Kelkar, Pandit Nanakchand and Sardar Tara Singh in a memorandum submitted to the Third Round Table Conference on behalf of the Hindu and Sikh communities of India criticized it on the following main grounds:

(*i*) It concedes special electorates "not only to Mahomedans who demanded them, but also to Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians and even Indian women, who never asked for them."

(*ii*) It assures majorities in the legislatures to the majority communities on a communal basis and reinforces the system of special electorates for Depressed classes and Indian Christians,—proposals unacceptable even to the Simon Commission.

(*iii*) Hindu minorities in the Bengal and the Punjab do not receive representation on a population basis, which has been accorded to the Muslim minorities elsewhere.

(*iv*) It would make it "impossible for the legislatures in any province effectively to control the Executive Administration, because of group rivalries."

In spite of the grave objections to communal representation, repeatedly pointed out, notably by the Montagu-Chelmsford and Simon Reports, and by distinguished British and Indian public men, this retrograde, anti-national and undemocratic system has not only been continued but also been extended and diversified through newer channels of application.

Commerce and industry would secure more than adequate representation on the Federal Assembly. While the Lothian Report granted them 8 seats, the White Paper has increased the number to 11, of which a majority is allotted to Europeans. The dice against democracy has thus been over-loaded in favour of the capitalist interests in the country, who would get further representation through landholders' seats, etc. There is no danger of commercial and industrial interests going unrepresented without this special representation. In fact, it had been suggested, the Lothian Committee approving, that European and Indian representation in commerce and industry could be combined.

Labour has been alloted 10 seats only as against the 11 for commerce and industry. This has been so in spite of the fact that labour organizations demanded 10 per cent *i. e.*, 25 seats and the Lothian Committee advocated equality of representation of labour with commerce and industry. Again, the distribution of labour seats is on a provincial and not on industrial basis as suggested by the Lothian Committee. The Trade Unions were made the constituencies for labour by the Lothian Committee, but curiously enough the White Paper says that "it is most likely that in most provinces the labour constituencies will be partly trade union and partly special constituencies."

The rising spirit of nationalism, especially amongst the younger sections of minority communities and the growth of an economic consciousness amongst the masses, will, in spite of the numerous anti-democratic devices of the White Paper, cut through the system of separate electorates, joint electorates working through a previously elected panel, special constituencies and the intensified representation of propertied classes through the provincial Councils in the three provinces where the Permanent Settlement prevails.

The system of cumulative vote was recommended by the Lothian Committee for the multiple-member constituencies. The *mukhi* system of group voting and indirect election, which was suggested at the first Round Table Conference has also not been fortunately found acceptable either to the later Conferences or the Lothian Committee. No modern system of representation, especially for the various functional groups in the country, or for the matter of that, the large body of India's illiterate yet highly intelligent masses, has found favour with the framers of the White Paper scheme. On the other hand, vested interests have found all manner of protection.

A franchise that does not allow all those who have the ability, the intelligence and the public spirit chances of equal and free participation in the conduct of the affairs of the State is of dubious value. Mahatma Gandhi in pleading for adult franchise was agreeable to certain compromises, if the principle were adopted. But the proposals in the White Paper make the small advances towards an extended franchise extremely complicated. The proposed

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system will creaty formidable barriers whenever a fresh advance towards the extension of the suffrage will have to be made.

The franchise proposals are not only unprogressive and reactionary, but by their very nature they will also hinder the progress of democratic government and the development a national outlook. Definite provision should, we think, be made in the Constitution Act for the extension of the franchise as soon and as often as the federal and provincial legislatures may think fit. The situation demands a complete recission of the policy underlying the present retrogressive system of franchise.

TWO POEMS

By VERRIER ELWIN

I

WINDOW'D RAGGEDNESS

A baby girl, not four years old,
Dwelt in the distant hills ;
Her timid eyes already told
Of many human ills.

Few joys of childhood come to her—
The new discovery,
Unfolding knowledge that can stir
A baby's ecstasy.

She cannot go to school, for now
She grinds the stubborn corn,
And running fetches home the cow,
And works from early dawn.

The luscious sweet she cannot taste,
No toy she'll ever see ;
A scanty rag about her waist
Is her sole finery.

And once I saw her stagger home
Beneath a load of wood,
Laid on her back, so burdened that
I thought upon the Rood.

Before that little child I saw
The form of One who bowed
Beneath another load, and walked
Amidst an angry crowd.

II

NO MORTAL BUSINESS

Among the hills there dwelt a child—
The strength of hills he knew ;
And gathered from the forest wild
A spirit fine and true.

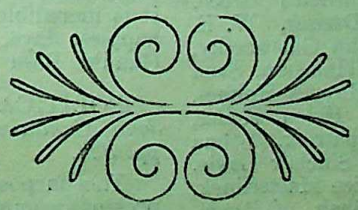
But he was lame, and ever fought
The pain that laughter dims ;
Till loving hands a magic wrought
Upon those fragile limbs.

He came to school, a place of joy,
To find a wonderland—
Such love and freedom as the boy
Might quickly understand.

One day upon his slate he drew
Lines, crosses, figures free—
The only writing that he knew—
Then told the mystery.

It was, he whispered, shy and low,
The prayer of poverty.
"O lotus-feet of God, bestow
Some happiness on me."

O blessed little child, shall we
That gentle prayer deny,
And sit in careless luxury,
While you in hunger die ?



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BOOK REVIEWS

BOOKS in the principal European and the Indian classical languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

THE GOLDEN BOOK OF TAGORE : *A Homage to Rabindranath Tagore from India and the World, in Celebration of his Seventieth Birthday. Edited by Ramananda Chatterjee. Published by the Golden Book Committee, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Secretary, Calcutta, 1931.*

This is an astonishing book. First, the very size of it : a foot long, nine inches wide, two inches thick, weight surely ten pounds ; it is not a volume that you will want to hold up in bed. Second, the format : a binding of rich blue leather and silk-covered boards. Within, 384 pages, noble in preparation and design, perfect in typography ; and thirty plates, mostly in colours, reproducing, some of them, the finest paintings of Abanindra Nath Tagore, Nanda Lal Bose, and other Asiatic painters, Hindu, Chinese, and Japanese. These paintings were a revelation to me ; I had seen some work of the Calcutta school, and had not cared for it ; but the reproductions in this majestic volume seem to my uneducated eye to indicate work as fine and subtle as anything in Rossetti, with a spirituality slightly suggestive of Fra Angelico, but essentially unique.

The book is composed of essays, poems, paintings and messages contributed by the admirers of Tagore from every quarter of the world. I do not remember seeing elsewhere such an almanac of intellectual nobility. Here is a sample of names caught in a glance over a vast table of contents : Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Romain Rolland, Albert Einstein, Jagadis Chandra Bose, Jane Addams, James Barrie, Laurence Binyon, Benedetto Croce, G. Lowes Dickinson, Theodore Dreiser, W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Havelock Ellis, John Galsworthy, Patrick Geddes, André Gide, Knut Hamsum, Sven Hedin, William E. Hocking, John Haynes Holmes, Laurence Housman, Julian Huxley, Helen Keller, Hermann Keyserling, William A. Kilpatrick, Selma Lagerlof, Harold Laski, Sylvain Lévi, Sinclair Lewis, Thomas Mann, John Masefield, Maurice Maeterlinck, Gilbert Murray, Yone Noguchi, the Shah of Persia, the King of Siam, the President of the Czechoslovak Republic, Ernest Rhys, Edwin Arlington Robinson, Bertrand Russell, George Russell, Cyril Scott, Vida Scudder, Upton Sinclair, Jan Smuts, J. T. Sunderland, Louis Untermyer, Paul Valéry, W. B. Yeats, Stefan Zweig—was there ever such a roster of talent and genius in any book before ?

This is the International of the Mind at its best, scholars and poets, artists and thinkers from all and semi-civilized nations of the earth—France and Germany, Austria and Italy, Russia and America, China and Japan—forgetting frontiers and making a kind of transcontinental obeisance to the greatest poet of our time ; and Englishmen, true to the finest English tradition, taking off their hats, almost in war-time, to the beloved bard of the foe. Their contributions are too brief to be absorbingly significant, but even in the compass of a page or two many of them strike elemental notes. Gandhi expresses his homage, and adds, "The other ties and memories are too sacred to bear mention in a public tribute." Rolland sends a little drama, almost Hindu in its mystic grace ; and Einstein contributes a little essay oh free will that might have been written by Spinoza himself.

It is a book whose leaves should be turned over leisurely, while the eye feasts on the beauty of the page, the woodcuts that adorn the headings, the Bodoni-like precision of the type, and those strange paintings of unfamiliar scenes and faces which begin to express India today almost as her poets and philosophers have expressed her in the past. It is a book to be saved for, to be bought as a lifelong possession, and be transmitted as some proof to our children that not all the world was insane in 1931. It is incredible that a nation which, even in its happiest days, can produce such men as Tagore and Gandhi, Bose and Raman should not soon be free.

POLITICAL INDIA, 1832-1932. *Edited by Sir John Cumming. Oxford University Press, London, pp. 324.*

The purpose of the book is declared to be to present a comprehensive survey of British rule in India for the last hundred years. It is a scrappy compilation of twenty papers by twenty Britishers, most of

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om sometime or other have been office-holders in India. Among the writers, I find an ex-Viceroy and brace of former Governors. The point of view they represent is the old familiar one: India is not a nation; it is a congeries of races; Englishmen are devils and Indians are devils, etc., etc. The whole tone of the book is highly condescending.

In their discussions of Indian political questions the writers have virtually left out the economic problems, and devoted themselves most joyously to "minority communities" and party squabbles. They literally foam at the mouth when they refer to what they call the "wave after wave of invaders" in India; but they are discreetly silent about the floods and inundations of foreign invaders of British Isles. As fit former office-holders, they comfort themselves with thinking that they are the saviours of India. Beware of Englishmen bearing gifts.

The book is an apologia for English regime in India. Massacres are referred to only as "incidents," non-violent passive resistance movement as "special methods of political controversy," and Mahatma Gandhi is described as a man possessed of "fanatical convictions." What an ugly puddle of ink in this! What a tomb for muck-raking words!

The present compilation is a piece of dull propaganda. And though rather juvenile in spots, it is aimed chiefly for the consumption of Americans who are supposed to be hungry for "facts." But to one who has lived in America the greater part of his life and has survived the epidemic of propaganda during the Great War, it is apparent that even the long-suffering Americans are beginning to rebel against "English-made" facts. After all, what Americans are primarily interested in is not facts, but truths.

SUDHINDRA BOSE

SOCRATES PERSISTS IN INDIA: *By F. L. Brayne. Oxford University Press, price Re. 1-4.*

This is a book on the reorganization of the village life of India. Mr. Brayne is not new in the field. This is an experienced hand in the work of this nature. Already he has several other books on this subject to his credit. The present work keeps up the reputation which previous books have brought to the author. As the District Officer of Gurgaon, Mr. Brayne did his best to reconstruct the village life of that area. In the course of his activity in this field, he gained some experiences and it is in the light of these experiences that he makes suggestions of reorganization in this book. He brings home to his readers his hints and suggestions by way of dialogues and stories. The book makes an interesting reading and will certainly help to a considerable extent the cause of healthy living in the villages. The book is very neatly printed and excellently got up.

THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT IN BENGAL, *(A study on its economic implications) By Sachin Sen. M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta, price Re 1.*

Mr. Sen has done well to bring out a brochure of this nature at a time when Permanent Settlement is under the fire of criticism. He is an advocate of the system of land tenure as it exists in the province of Bengal at present. Permanent Settlement inaugurated in 1793 is sacred in his eyes and should not on any account be violated. Neither the tenantry nor the Government has in this Permanent Settlement what under the Cornwallis Regulations. The standing objection against the Permanent Settlement consists in the supposed defrauding of the public treasury. Gross rental of Bengal amounts to about sixteen crores of rupees. Out of this, the Government of Bengal gets only three crores while the net income of the zemindars exceeds ten crores and a half. In view of the financial stringency of the Government and the consequent holding over of many essential reforms in the province, many people are now clamouring for the abrogation, at least for the modification, of the arrangement come to under circumstances that have long changed.

Mr. Sen tries to prove that the income of the Government from the source of land revenue may be limited to three crores of rupees, but simply because of the continuance of the Permanent Settlement the Government is compensated for the loss thus incurred in other ways. From stamp duty, for instance, the Government has an income of three crores and a half. Mr. Sen calculates that this income will dwindle by at least sixty per cent if the Permanent Settlement is done away with. He is also of opinion that the huge income which the Government derives from the source of Income Tax in Bengal will considerably be adversely affected if the Permanent Settlement is gone back upon. Much of the income of zemindars is invested, he thinks, in industrial and commercial firms. Once the Cornwallis Regulations are modified, the flow of this capital will be stopped. This argument of Mr. Sen is inconsistent with the doleful picture he paints of the financial condition of the general run of the landlords in this province. By way of countering the charge that the zemindars roll in wealth while their tenants cannot make both ends meet, he asserts that "most of the landlords are heavily indebted" and their supposed wealth is only a figment of popular imagination. If most of the zemindars suffer from this chronic indebtedness, it is difficult to understand how they can invest so large an amount of money in industry and commerce so as to swell the income tax roll of the province.

Mr. Sen seems to be ill at ease when he compares the position of the landlords in 1793 with their position in the later nineteenth and the twentieth century. While in 1793, they had to make over to the Government 90 per cent of the gross rental and keep to themselves only the residue of ten per cent, at present the table has practically been turned upon the Government. The net income of the zemindars is more than three times that of the Government through this source. Mr. Sen tries to justify this reversing of the position by asserting that this swelling of the rent-roll in Bengal is absolutely due to the improvement which the zemindars have made of their estates by clearing the jungles, building public roads and bridges, excavating tanks, establishing schools and colleges and setting up charitable dispensaries. I am afraid this glowing description of the charity and enterprise of the Bengal Zemindars is too liberal and too optimistic to be true.

On a controversial subject like the one Mr. Sen deals with, there must be differences of opinion. But it must be admitted that he has made out a good case for the continuance of the system inaugurated by Lord Cornwallis.

NARESH CHANDRA ROY

THROUGH WONDERLANDS OF THE UNIVERSE: *By R. K. Golikere, pp. xviii+400; D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay, price Rs. 6-4.*

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The author in his preface says, "The chief aim of this book is to convey concisely and as simply as possible an idea of the principal features of the various divisions of the material universe and of the more striking phenomena occurring in them. It is not a learned treatise, but a simple elementary study, a modest attempt to awaken a taste for science among those who ordinarily take little interest in it." And he has succeeded exceedingly well. Drawing his materials from books, encyclopædias and magazines of acknowledged worth the author has assembled a most interesting, instructive and valuable array of facts. It is not a mere catalogue of the "greatest" or "largest," or "the least" or "the smallest," such and such, but a scholarly development of scientific ideas based on facts. Each postulate is clearly and precisely stated, and is followed by explanatory and source data in a pleasant style.

An idea as to the variety of its contents can be gathered from some of its chapter headings: —the Earth and its interior; the ocean; Earth's land surface; atmosphere; volcanoes; planetary region; the Sun; the Moon; Physical conditions in other worlds; asteroids and comets; Stellar and Nebular regions; Outer space; Space and the Universe; Weight of the Universe; Hindu Cosmogony and cosmography.

Throughout the book, facts and descriptions of interest to an Indian (as opposed to a Western) reader are given; for example, the description of the cave shrine of Amarnath; the bubbling springs of Kedarnath etc., etc.

Our regret on finishing the book—it reads like a novel, was that the author has not given us more. Our only criticism is that if some fine illustrations or photographs were included, *e. g.*, photo of the surface of the moon, the value of the book would have been enhanced ten-fold; and we hope our suggestion would be accepted in the next edition.

JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

THE THREE TATTVAS: *Being the Criticism by Sri Ramanuja of the Theories of Oneness. Translated into English by Diwan Bahadur V. K Ramanujachari. Published by the author from Kumbakonam. Pp. xxxvi+346.*

This is a translation of that portion of Ramanuja's commentary on the Vedanta-sutras in which he enters into a systematic polemic against the Advaita theory. Though the original is not exactly a dialogue between the disputants, yet the translator has chosen the dialogue-form to exhibit the arguments and counter-arguments on the subject. Perhaps his choice has not been altogether wrong. For, it has given a human touch to the controversy and made it more intelligible. And the departure from the original is only formal.

The translation is carefully done. There is an excellent glossary of Sanskrit terms at the end. The printing and get-up of the book also is good.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

RAMDAS. *Translation of Mahipati's Santavijaya. By Justin E. Abbott. 1932. Price Rs. 2.*

With the late Dr. Justin E. Abbott, study of Hinduism was not a mere means to an end, an acquaintance with the poet-saints of Maharashtra just for the sake of Christian service in India, it was something more; it was a help towards broadening one's outlook and sympathy. It is greatly refreshing to find him declare the result of his studies of the great men of Maharashtra: "I was not aware of the flood of light that has come to me through the close contact with the saints through their histories and writings." He brought with him the true spirit; the feeling of humility; the abnegation of all sense of all-knowingness. Dr. Abbott considered Ramdas the greatest saint of India, a true lover of nature with whom he lived completely at one, so that even the wild beasts of the forest were his friends.

The translation consists of 25 chapters from Mahipati's Santavijaya, detailing forth accounts of the saint's birth and childhood, his running away from home, life in the forests, trials and temptations, *kirtans* and pilgrimages, his sturdy common sense and wonderful miracles, etc. Many of the *abhangas* that occur in the middle have been left out; their renderings would have added to the excellence of the book. For the European readers, a glossary has been appended, containing a number of Marathi word used in the translation. Like its predecessors in the series the book will have wide publicity and be highly appreciated by all Indian scholars interested in the mediaeval culture and faith of the country. The work, of which the interest is considerable, should be attentively pursued and made known in the different vernaculars of India: that would be giving the book its fitting recognition.

Dr. Abbott passed away at his home in his 79th year, leaving generous donations for Indian and American institutions, educational, social, charitable and entrusting the task of completing the series inaugurated by him to Rev. Mr. J. F. Edwards who has contributed a foreword to the book under review, and who may be depended upon to discharge the duty faithfully. But Dr. Abbott's greatest bequest, and most valuable too, was the spirit of sympathy and service which will last the longest and serve the best interests of Indian culture.

EKNATH: *A Maratha Bhakta. By Wilbur Stone Deming, Ph. D. Karnatak Printing Press, 318A Thakurdwar, Bombay 2, 1931.*

Eknath (1528-1609), like Ramdas, is one of the great poet-saints of Maharashtra. In the handy survey prepared by Dr. Deming we find a short sketch of his life followed by a discussion of his teachings and of his position both as a poet and a saint. The writer is evidently in love with his subject, and the following is but a *resumé* of his appreciation: "To read his poetry and to become familiar with his life cannot be but a benediction to all earnest students of religion who are seeking to know more of the spirit of God in the life of man." We receive but what we give: and the writer's catholicity of spirit has resulted in a rich harvest of spiritual appreciation in which we his readers may freely and gratefully share.

The get-up of the volume is good while the glossary of Marathi words and the index are additional recommendations.

Some errors or unsound observations have crept into the book and these deserve a passing notice. On p. 4 the author remarks: "There is no sensual note in the songs sung by the Pandharpur saints. Their thoughts centred upon the nobler phases of Krishna's character." This remark is blind to the nature of erotic mysticism which has been appreciated in theory and practice by some of the noblest minds in both east and west. "Namdev's uncompromising

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references to idolatry are an indication that he came under Muhammadan influence and this is not surprising as Muslim influence was very powerful during that period" (p. 8.) It need only be remarked that all along through the course of Hinduism protests have been made against idolatry by the Hindus themselves. Then, "It is probably true that Gandhiji has drawn more upon the Sermon on the Mount than he has upon the teaching of the *bhakti* poets in shaping his political programme and methods" (p. 17). Nobody can question the influence of the New Testament on Mahatmaji but the problem of weighing the various influences on him is still untackled, and in the absence of any answer to it such assertion is meaningless. On p. 32, there is a reference to a garland of *tulsi* and *manjari*; but *manjari* is not a different flower, but the blossom of *tulsi*.

In the glossary, *Divali* has been explained as *New Year*; it is not that; literally it means 'a number of lights' or illumination, and refers to the night before Kali Puja. On p. vii. the *Vaishya* has been explained as "mercantile class"; it ought to include the agriculturists as well. *Shloka* is *not* generally of four lines' but of two lines with two different parts.

In spite of such minor blemishes, the book will serve a very useful purpose, and it indicates what a vast field lies untilled for the Indian vernaculars.

GANDHIJI IN ENGLAND, *and the Proceedings of the Second Round Table Conference. Messrs B. G. Paul & Co., Madras. Re. 1-8. 1932. 241 pp.*

VIEWS ON UNTOUCHABILITY *by Mahatma Gandhi, being extracts from his speeches and writings. Edited by Mukul Behari Lal, 1932. Price 3 annas. 52 pp.*

THE BLEEDING WOUND *! Compiled by Shri Ramnath Suman. Price Re. 1-8, 1932. 226 pp.*

MY SOUL'S AGONY, *M. K. Gandhi, Bombay Provincial Board Servants of Untouchables Society. Price Annas Eight only, 1933. 154 pp.*

Mahatmaji's doings in the second R. T. C. are matters of recent history; they deserve to be carefully studied by every student of the political movement in India; one may say, without claiming to be a prophet, that they have a far-reaching consequence. In the political squables of today, a whisper may be heard about the propriety or otherwise of Mahatmaji's responding to the olive branch offered by Lord Irwin but that is simply ignoring the high ground on which Mahatmaji has always placed his politics. The volume before us affords striking proof that the leader of India is no blind idealist but a practical one, making his voice heard as he raises it whenever he thinks it. It will ever be refreshing to read and re-read the pathetic appeal: "For Heaven's sake give me, a frail man, 62 years gone, a little bit of a chance," the assertion, "we do not want bread made of wheat, but we want bread of liberty"; and, what is a warning to all seekers after comfort: "the dignity of human nature requires that we must face the storms of life." The book is thus a permanent contribution to contemporary history and will be suitable for use as a reference manual.

Views on untouchability is an unpretentious compilation (made on the eve of the Epic Fast last year) of pertinent extracts from the speeches and writings of Mahatmaji, arranged under different headings. Babu Rajendra Prasad's foreward sets off the value of the work.

The next, composed after the fast was over, is more ambitious and gives, in larger type, extensive passages from Gandhiji's speeches and writings on the matter of untouchability, the "hydra-headed monster" detailing not only ideas but also particular incidents showing what man has made of man, and containing replies to questions put to him by critics of the movement, hailing both from Bengal and from orthodox camps. The incidents of the Great Fast, resulting in the Poona Pact, the eight statements issued by Mahatmaji have been all given in the Appendices and reviewed by the compiler, whose energy has been well bestowed on the editing of the book, and who has already secured the blessings of Rabindranath, Mrs. Besant, Sir P. C. Ray, Sj. Bhagvan Das, Sj. Chintamani, Sj. G. D. Birla,—and of Mahatmaji himself who wrote a special message from Yeravda Central Prison last November to say that: "The more I think about untouchability the more I feel that it is a deadly poison which not only corrupts Hindu Society but spreads its infection far beyond its pale.

The last book consists of 19 statements, a few interviews with newspaper representatives, and some correspondence, published in remarkably clear type, along with the text of the Yeravda pact in the appendix. It is a most suitable manual for a study of the movement which has arrested the attention of all Indians and even outsiders, casting into shade for the time being even the civil disobedience movement, the aggressive fight for Independence. The different provinces should translate it into their vernaculars and distribute it broadcast for the success of the anti-untouchability movement.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

SANSKRIT

SUKTIMUKTAVALI: *By Baladev Upadhyaya, M.A., Sahityacarya, Professor, Hindu University, Benares. Published by Haridas and Company, Muttra. Price Re. 1-12.*

Commendable attempts are being made by Mr. Baladev Upadhyaya for popularizing Sanskrit poets and their writings. One such attempt in the form of a Hindi work called *Sanskrita Kavicarca* has already been noticed in a previous issue of the journal (October, 1932). One more similar attempt of his is illustrated in his latest publication, *e.g.*, the work under review. This is an anthology of Sanskrit verses compiled by Mr. Upadhyaya, classified according to subject-matter and elaborately explained in Hindi. In the long introduction in Hindi the learned author draws the attention of his readers, among other things, to the characteristic features of Sanskrit poetry. One thing that strikes an inquisitive reader as he goes through the work is the absence of reference in the case of individual verses to the sources (anthologies, original works or hearsay) from which they have been taken. No indication is also found to have been given of the authors of most of the verses, though many of them happen to be known (as in the verses at pp. 137, 149, 190, etc.) Of the few poets who have been indicated as authors in the index of the first lines of the verses quoted no information has been given. Of the poets mentioned, Sharif and Rahim appear from their names to have

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been Muhammadans, but we know nothing of them or of any other works that quote any verse of them.

The author does not note any variant. But one version of the first verse at p. 105 (though perhaps it is the more exquisite one) deserves notice. It describes the hard lot of a supplicant who has to seek favour for the first time in his life.

JAINA STOTRASANDOHA (PART I). *Edited by Sriman Chaturvijay Muni. Published by Sarabai Monilal Nawab, Nagaji Bhudharni Pol, Ahmedabad. Price Rs. 5, 1932.*

This is the first publication of a new series called the *Jain Prachin Sahityoddhar Granthavali* presumably started, like a few others of the type, with the commendable object of bringing to light old Jain works which are little known even among the world of scholars. The volume under review is a collection of 127 old Jain *stotras* which were hitherto unpublished. The work is of interest not only from a religious point of view. It possesses enough literary interest even for the general student of Sanskrit literature. *Stotras* consist not merely of prayers and invocations, of philosophic doctrines and spiritual concepts but they often bristle, along with these things, with literary embellishments that appeal to and attract people in general. It is this characteristic of *stotra* literature—Brahmanic, Buddhist and Jain alike—that has divested it of its sectarian character and endeared itself equally to all, irrespective religious professions. Of *stotras* in the present volume that have sufficient general interest from the literary point of view, mention may be made of the *Vardhamanasattrimsika* each stanza of which gives the name of the metre in which it is composed and also of the *Jinastutipancasika* the stanzas of which keep the finite verbs concealed. The appendix at the end of the work which gives the *Pratikas* of the first lines of all Jain *stotras* so far published is of immense bibliographical interest. This will, *inter alia*, give an idea of the huge quantity of this branch of literature. A classified index according to names or subject-matter of *stotras* would have, however, been all the more welcome.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

GIOVANNI PAPINI

BY P. N. ROY

THE classical tradition in literature that was revived by Carducci in Italy in the latter part of the nineteenth century and that was strengthened by the brilliant group of writers who regarded him as their master, was declining with the turn of the century. The twentieth century saw the rise of a generation that revolted against docile acceptance of the supremacy of the foreigners in matters intellectual and tried to get rid of the opiate influence of the ancient tradition by coming into grip with newer realities. The young generation was intransigent in matters political as well as literary. They were feeling the weakness of the national pulse and tried to stimulate it by introducing new ideals in all domains of the country's activity.

In the literary field the leader of the new generation was F. T. Marinetti, who, having already served his apprenticeship under the French decadents, ushered in the new school with his celebrated Futurist Manifesto, containing the literary principles of the younger generation, in 1909, but the revolt was manifest even earlier in the writings of another man, Giovanni Papini, who became the most [illegible] and propagator of new ideas in Italy in the first quarter of this century.

His literary activity covers various fields. He has written autobiographical novels, lyrics, polemical works and philosophical treatises. But his two most important works, worthy of a place in every good modern library, are "*L'uomo Finito* (1912) and "*Vita di Cristo*" (1922).

"*L'uomo Finito* is a book of confession in which Papini, in exquisite language, tells the story of his life. The title of the book is significant. It means a man who has tried everything. But it is not a mere biography. It is the story of the spiritual adventures of a man, of a human bacillus moving to and fro in the midst of world-culture.

Papini is a man who has constantly changed. In no two decades of his life has he been quite the same man. He has gone through all the various moods of boyhood, youth and manhood and hence his development has a character of fulness about it. He has met with all the problems of life and tried to solve them in his own way. He took nothing for granted, he tried everything,—he was as he called himself the "uomo finito." But the value of the book increases from the fact that Papini not only writes his own life, but that of a generation and as such there is an epic element in it.

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Papini's friend Prezzolini describes him as follows:

"He is like those pears which are coarse to the touch but sweet to the palate. At first sight he is not good looking; his features are ugly. Speak with him, if you can get over the initial rudeness which marks his attitude almost always towards strangers, and you will see how in conversation his whole face lights up, you will become conscious of the spirit glowing within him, and he who might remain coarse and common to vulgar eyes takes on the noble aspect of a man whose soul is alive with genius—a man whose queer, misshapen exterior stands for nature no less strange and exceptional."

The purpose of the present article is to sketch the spiritual physiognomy, the brief history of the evolution of this strange and exceptional personality.

From the pen-portrait which he has drawn about himself, we learn that from boyhood he was of a serious turn of mind and was more given to reading and thinking than to games and the lightness of mood natural to the age. He not only used to pour over books but shut himself up in his room and wrote and wrote. He says that at that time the reality for him lay in his books. "In those books I found the first urges for reflection." Even at this early age the critical faculty was so much developed in him that he reasoned out and succeeded in convincing himself that God never existed.

With this critical faculty was combined a high ambition which even at this age manifested itself in his attempts at writing critical treatises on various subjects. From the very beginning he wanted to know all. His motto was all or nothing. "Only to know, to know everything or nothing." This desire for encyclopaedic knowledge led him to the discovery of the fact that a complete and perfect encyclopaedia did not exist and so he intended to write an encyclopaedia that would supersede all the other encyclopaedias.

He set to work at once and continued it for two months, then gave it up and thought of writing a universal history and prepared himself for this. After proceeding a little he gave this up as well and began to write a criticism of the genesis. When he was tired of this, his next project was to write a literary history of the world. All these puerile attempts may appear amusing to us but they show a mind in ferment, and its development which was, as he himself describes:

"From everything to special things—from the universal history to the criticism of religion—from this to comparative literature of the world—then to the literature of the Latin countries and then to one single literature.....And all my life, even afterwards, has been so—an eternal movement forward towards everything, towards the universe and then one movement backward towards nothing or behind the back of a hedge of orchard."

We spoke about the ambition of Papini, about his effort to appear before the world as an intellectual hero, but the boy who planned so mightily had also an excessively sensitive mind. He has been extremely proud from his boyhood, in this respect showing a striking similarity with his great compatriot, Mussolini. Indeed, there are several points of similarity between these two powerful personalities of present-day Italy. Both were born of poor parents and after a joyless childhood passed in obscurity and gloom, have succeeded in obtaining glory and success. Both have, according to their tastes and abilities, contributed to the regeneration of Italy. But Papini's great independence of mind, his dislike for all shams and the bluntness of manner in which he speaks unpleasant truths upon the very face of a man, have made him generally unpopular with the Fascists, though there are some among them who have succeeded to rise above their prejudices and appreciate his genius. But we were speaking of his pride. Yes, his pride, his ambition and his ugly appearance made his early days very miserable. He was a little precociously self-conscious boy. As is the case with such boys, he naturally revolted early against the world. He writes:

> It was a sultry August Sunday. Time 4 P. M. I was walking melancholy and without companion, as usual, along one of the longest and widest streets of my native town. I had in my hand a journal .....I was walking with my head bent, tired, annoyed, enraged at the heat and the men. It was the time when people rise from their siesta and go out with ridiculous hope of a breath of wind and evening freshness.... I was feeling ill at ease there. I did not know anybody and hated everybody. I was ill-clad, ugly; I had the stern air of a malcontent. I felt that nobody loved me, nobody could love me. Whoever looked at me, despised me ...Fine living was denied to me: I was alone, without love, without fortune.....And then all on a sudden, I turned back: 'no, no!' I cried within myself, I must not be so! I too am a man, I too wish to be great and happy.....you will see what I will do! I want to be more than you, more than all, above all.....And when I shall pass by all will look at me and the beautiful women will then have a look for me, the great man, the genius, the hero!"

Proud words! Expressive of the strong, rough, ambitious personality of the man. These words reveal the main impulse of the life of Papini, the *leit motif* of his activity. He intends to live up to an idea of personality and to impose that personality on the world. He intends to attract the attention of the world upon himself—the great man, the genius, the hero. For this he will grope hither and thither, ransack the store of human knowledge, break old idols, welcome new ones, side with new movements and express the different phases of this process of egotistic evolution in the form of books.

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This solitary, melancholy, grave boy with a heart hungry for love and sympathy but proud enough not to beg it of anyone, had one companion who comforted him, solaced him, soothed his troubled mind and gave it joy and spiritual support. He always took delight in the company of nature, and whenever he wanted serenity of soul and calmness of mind he left human habitations and took a lonely path until he arrived among green corn-fields filled with twilight shadows and roamed there.

> "The countryside educated me as much as the library. A certain determinate country, whatever is poetic, melancholy, grey and solitary in me I have had from the Tuscan countryside, from the countryside that surrounds Florence—the sentimental countryside of my childhood, the exciting and moral countryside of my youth; the Tuscan countryside made of serene and strong stones, of resolute cypresses, of modest and common flowers, seemed to me more beautiful than the famous countrysides of the south with palms and oranges and figs....."

Several years pass and we find Papini at the threshold of his youth—still solitary, melancholy, introspective, ambitious and proud. When such a soul comes in contact with the world, it gives a shock, and Papini, in his youth, gave a shock to the world by his strange opinions, thoughts and manners. His range of reading increased, he became acquainted with the scientific and philosophic writings of his own and of foreign lands. He passed through various phases of rapid transformation. Now he became an idealist of the school of Berkeley and Kant. Then he became an initiate into the pessimistic philosophy of Schopenhauer, then he became an agnostic of the type of Herbert Spencer and a great admirer of Max Stirner. He read Walt Whitman and Baudelaire with delight, devoured the writings of Flaubert, Dostoievsky, Anatole France and Ibsen. He dabbled in art, politics, sociology and what not. But among all these writers the influence of Max Stirner was the strongest.

> "At that time I came across Max Stirner and it seemed to me that I have at last found the sole master of what I could not at least do. I became anarchic and I saw no other aim, worthy of me than the complete liberation of myself and then of others. In what way? By starting a journal."

This journal was "Leonardo" (1903—1907). The part it played in Italian life and letters was not a mean one. The journal was named after the great sculptor and painter Leonardo da Vinci, a man with a fiery and enigmatic soul, who had particularly sought truth, had thought and written profoundly about life and beauty, who had dreamed of the divine power of man. The young enthusiasts whom Papini led (he had by this time spread his ideas among certain young men and gathered a following) were inspired by the life of the artist and wanted to do something of the kind that he did in the fourteenth century Italy and as a token of their admiration for and devotion to him they so named the journal.

The critic Pellizi says: It was a journal of letters and thought—imaginative, polemical, Bergsonian and pragmatist, containing philosophic or pseudo-philosophic randonées, always advocating concreteness, simplicity, practicality, objective and detailed study of problems, fighting against rhetoric, against academy, against every slow-moving professional spirit."

Prezzolini says:

> The "Leonardo" was mystic, even when it became, with the collaboration of Giovanni Voilati and Mario Calderoni, the organ of Italian Pragmatism, because it always made appeal to the intimate forces of personality against reason; it was the true organ of romaniticism which was lacking in Italy, and which seemed to arrive at the coast of a sunny country full of classical and solid felicity, a little like a shipwreck and a little like an invader."

But did Papini really feel joy and satisfaction in doing what he wanted to do? There was no doubt some satisfaction in playing the role of a destroyer of old ideas and propagator of new ones, but the joy of realization was not there. Even in the midst of his enthusiasm and activity and the sympathetic collaboration of his friends, he remained solitary and dolorous, because arriving now at an age when with the one hand he was to welcome manhood and with the other take leave of his youth with its dreams and phantoms of imagination, he felt the approach of a crisis, a sort of soul-quake, which all his philosophy, thought and art, his vision of reality and the world began to tremble and tumble.

Internally he was now fatigued. He began to lose confidence in himself. He felt terror at the glimpse of the new reality at which his fastly approaching manhood hinted and he had not the courage to meet it and greet it, because he did not find the projection of his own personality, of his own ideals there. It was an epoch of severe trial for him and the trial proved that Papini the hero was nothing but a coward at heart. He fled before the new reality and attempted to protect himself from its onslaught by developing a philosophy of negation. His writings of this period are "The other half" (1912) "24 Brains" "Words and Blood" and "Un uomo Finito" (1912). All these books reflect the crisis of his life and reveal the change that came upon him. There is even now no humility, but the attitude is less rabid, the spirit of the author less polemical. It has come down to a lower level and the last chapters of "Un uomo Finito" are full of lyrical wailing at the fall.

But the demon that was in him and that once urged him to undertake mighty enterprises was not to be so easily killed. It recovered a little while after and urged him to accept new

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thusiasms. It was at this time that the futurists were making a great noise in Italy. He joined their ranks and made wild attacks upon the personality of Christ in "Lacerba" (1913-15) which he had founded with Ardengo Soffici. During these years also he wrote his furious "Stroncature" (1916) and "Buffonate" (1914). The rabidness of his attitude is that of a man of talent who, trying to live up to an idea of personality, felt that he was failing and attempted to conceal that by taking a supercilious attitude towards the maxims of history, faith and myth. His attack on the personality of Christ particularly seems like an irony of fate and indicates his approaching collapse, because we shall within a few years see him kneeling down before the Son of God and praying for salvation.

At this time he took up the question of Italian intervention in the war with great enthusiasm with Marinetti and others. It is difficult to say what possibilities of reform, what hopes of realizing his ideals he found in the war. But the war-days proved to be the period of the mortal ripening of that flower of egotism in him which blossomed upon the ruins of his long 'stroncature.' There is now an increase of a calm and serene lyricism which began faintly in his pre-war writings after the crisis. After the war he virtually retired from life and took shelter behind the walls of the Catholic Church.

Papini's conversion to Catholicism is regarded by many as an event of first-rate significance. It is considered to be the first symptom of the advent of a new era of a recovery of spiritual values in art and life. Catholic Papini is regarded as the representative of thousands of people who are tired of the noisy civilization of today and are conscious of the futility of mere scientific culture.

No doubt there has been a change in the angle of vision in Papini's outlook on life and this is reflected in the language and style, the increased lyricism of his later works. But has Papini's conversion been a clear case of conversion ? or a natural passage from one phase to another like other transition in his life in the past ? Did he look upon the war as an opportunity and found it to be a calamity and thought that the salvation of man lay in rushing into the bosom of the Catholic Church ? The proof that is wanting in his celebrated *Story of Christ*. There is no Christian humility revealed in that book, there is no prayerful mood. His *Story of Christ* (1923), *Dictionary of a Man* and *Bread and Wine* (1926) are full of his old sins of pride and intolerances.

How are we, then, to explain Papini's conversion ? To us it seems that his conversion is the culmination of that slow spiritual collapse which began in his early manhood. The intellectual glutton had done with all the thought-food that was catered by the thinkers of his time and of the past and was already somewhat conscious of a void within him, but his talent found new food and nourishment in futurism and the war. After the war, which had accomplished that task of demolition which he wanted to do and revealed beyond its red flames an immense fearful abyss, he felt the void within him with greater keeness and tried to blunt that sensibility with the anodyne of the Catholic dogma. We do not, however, deny the possibility of the war exerting some influence upon his conversion as it did upon that of so many others in other lands, and this influence might have been strengthened by his study of the mediæval mystics for reasons of style. But what we have said explains why the old prejudices of Papini continue even after his return to the Catholic fold. Christian humility is possible when there is a penitent soul. But Papini had no occasion nor reason to be penitent. His is the case of an unemployed talent that wants to do something in order to be distinguished, to be popular, to be the idol of the age. His post-conversion writings betray the crippled egoist.

How has Papini retold the story of Christ ? Well, it has the stamp of a book written not by a devotee but by an artist. There is neither learning nor ingenuous interpretation, but only emphasis and collaboration. Papini just tells the story in his own words, with personal observations, accepting even what the theologians reject. The strength of the book consists in the descriptive passages of nature and historical epochs.

The question as to how far Papini's *Life of Christ* has influenced others is difficult to answer. The book has been translated into many languages and hailed and read with delight by churchmen all over the world. But we do not know of any genuine case of conversion as a result of the study of this book. The book is fine reading, but when we read it our interest centres not round the personality of Christ but round that of Papini. That is the chief obstacle in the way of the book exerting any deep influence upon a soul. If a wounded soul is to seek solace from the teachings of Christ, he will not go to this book, but to the Bible itself. In fact, the importance which Papini's admirers attach to his conversion and the book, dwindles away when we take into consideration the acerb criticism made against him by many Italian critics of today. Italy is no doubt enthusiastic about the Catholic Church, but it is adored only as a national institution, the symbol of Roman primacy. Italy is in no mood to follow Papini into its halls.

Even by his other writings Papini could not influence other men. Had he been able to do so, we might have expected some influence from his conversion as well. His philosophy

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has never been a philosophy at all because he has never been faithful to any idea. But for the fact that he has exhausted his reason for existence, who knows, he might have proved unfaithful to the Catholic dogma. Such a man can arouse admiration, but cannot be trusted as a guide in the journey of life. As the critic Camillo Pellizi says :

> "Of all the scandals launched or made by Papini in the field of thought and criticism nothing remains. Not the light of an idea, nor the glimmering of a genuine theoretical preoccupation lingers. There is nobody who has done ten minutes of intellectual labour under the impulse and guidance of Papini."

But though nobody has done ten minutes of intellectual work under the guidance of Papini and though there is now a vast *diminuendo* of his appreciation, we should not forget the indirect influence which he has exerted on the mental life of his country. Time has already winnowed the chaff from the grain in his writings and revealed the permanent essences of his work. These essences consist not in his polemical works, but in those books of poetry, the fruits of his serene maturity, that are replete with scintillations of pure beauty. But by his polemical writings he quickened the rhythm of spiritual life in Italy and helped in the restoration of that aesthetic taste, that sense of culture and art which was, for a long time, in a state of perversion. As he himself says :

> "We did not destroy only, no We were the first in Italy, to speak about many men of our country and of other lands, men who were forgotten but are now cited by all ; and we spoke about them with reverence, love, enthusiasm. We were the first or almost the first to diffuse recent ideas, to make known tendencies of thought that were unknown or in formation, schools about which nobody cared or thought. We reawakened the passion for the old mystics ; we discussed problems that appeared to be very remote from our national culture."

When the history of modern Italian culture comes to be written, Italy will not be able to forget Papini and his services.

ITINERARY OF THE PERSIAN TOUR

By K. N. CHATTERJI

THE descent into the plains of Mesopotamia was attended with the physical discomforts usual during the transit from a very mild to an extremely hot climate.

On the psychological side (in the broad sense of the term) the curiosity and interest aroused by the imminence of a visit to the cradle land of the far-famed civilization of Sumer-Akkad and of Assyria and Babylonia, together with that of the later Arabic culture of the Caliphate, more than counterbalanced the physical sensations.

The ceremonies attendant on the departure of an honoured State guest took place at the frontier post of Kachal-Kachal. Messages were sent and received and after receiving and returning farewell salutes and wishes from the Persian officials the Poet and party crossed over to the Iraq frontier. Here a large group of officials and non-officials was waiting to receive the Poet and to bid him welcome in the kingdom of Iraq. After a few short speeches the party

The Poet's official reception on the Iraq frontier

entered the attending automobiles and then drove over beautiful roads to the rail-head at Khaniquin, distant by about 13 miles from the actual frontier. Here a large crowd assembled to see the honoured guest.

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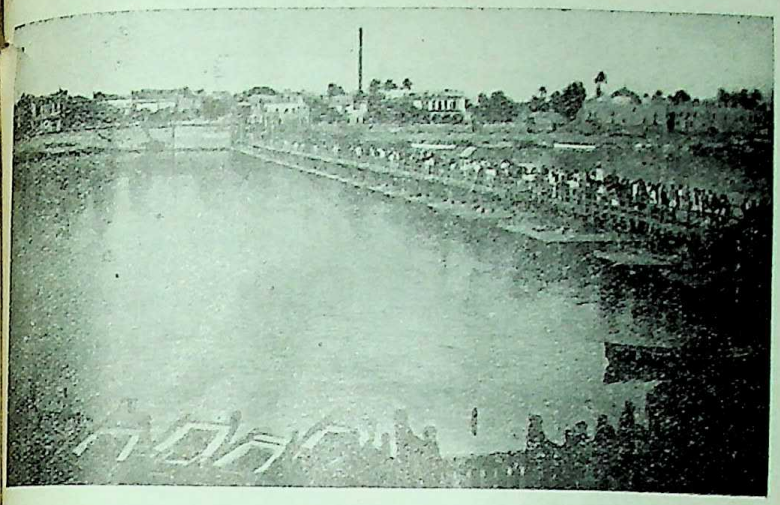

Baghdad. Maude Bridge

After light refreshments had been taken e boarded the train and started on our rney to Baghdad.

* * * *

The distant blue hills of Persia slowly minishing and merging in the gray of the rizon made one feel a nse of loss, all the re poignant due to ling of kinship with e hospitable people of t beautiful country, o had been so nsiderate and warm their reception. On e Iraq side we had w a view of the rren and undulating sert, burning under e noonday sun of sopotamian summer, ieved by fleeting mpses of a blue eam winding its way rough equally barren ls, with occasional sters of date-palm ves adorning its res. We caught sight of a tall slender morial column on a lonely site on the er bank, marking the spot where a British cial lost his life during the '22 rebellion.

With the advance of the day, the human element came gradually to the fore in this barren vista. A few camels, a short cultivated patch, and gradually small villages and townships appeared on the wayside. At such an wayside station near a small town a remarkable crowd overflowed the platform— even climbing the trees outside the station —to see the Poet.

Towards the evening the sky became overcast, the sun assuming a coppery hue, There was not much wind, but even after the train halted at a station, fine sand came drizzling out of the atmosphere; the heat became very oppressive and we became very interested in aerated waters and other soft and cool drinks. We were told that sandstorms like this had become very frequent of late due to the poor rainfall they had in the preceding winter.

The reception at the Railhead at Khaniquin

* * * *

Near the evening the shadowy forms of minarets and domes set in a pale grey mass of masonry appeared on the horizon. Later the train went past endless graveyards and

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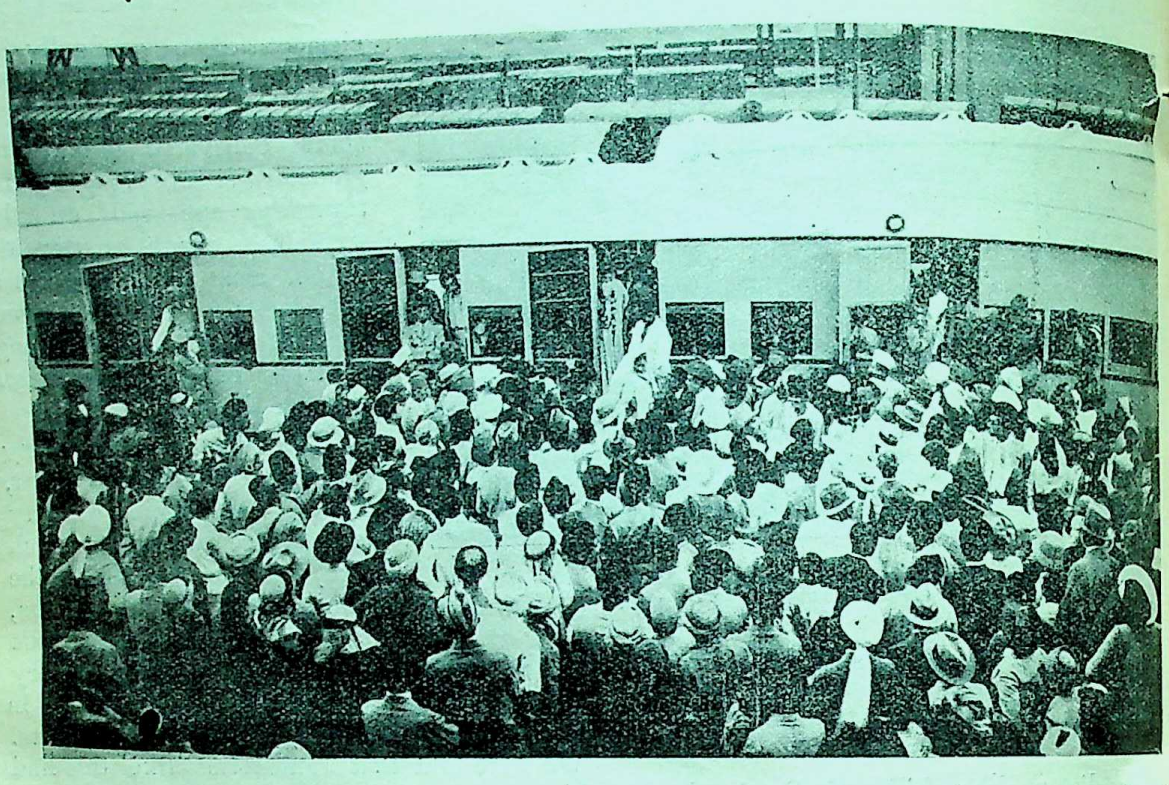
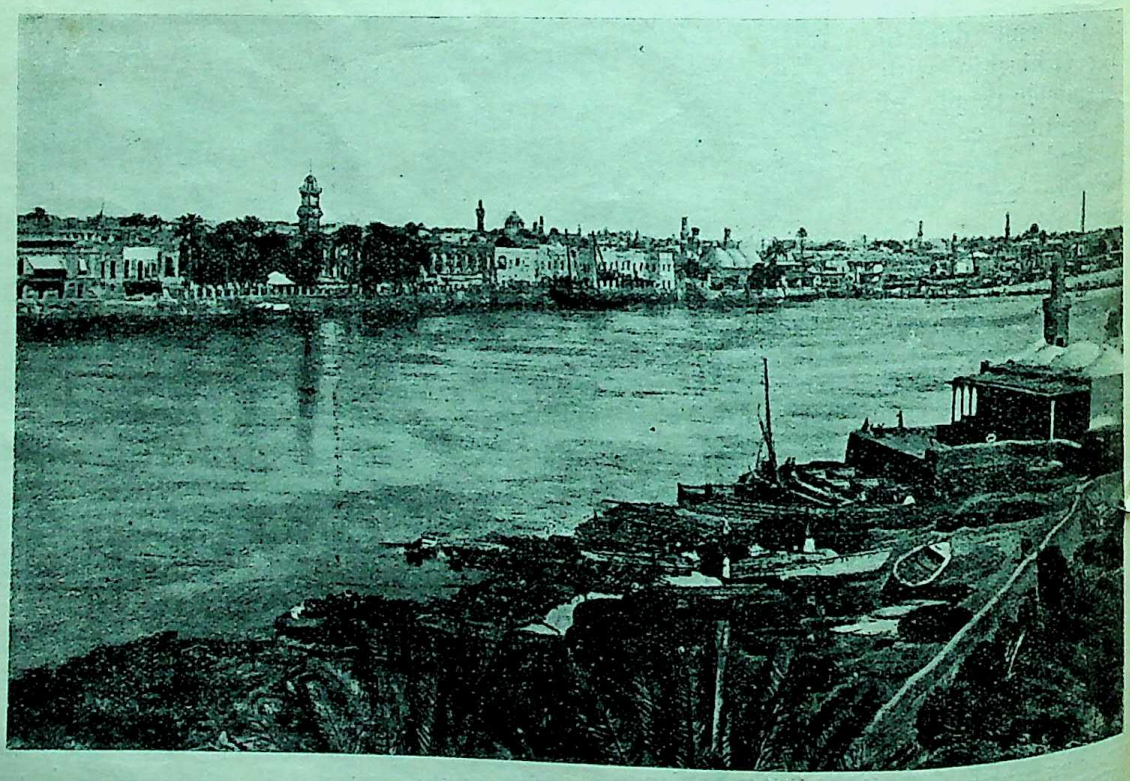


The crowd attending the Poet's arrival at Baghdad North Station



The City of Baghdad on the banks of the Tigris

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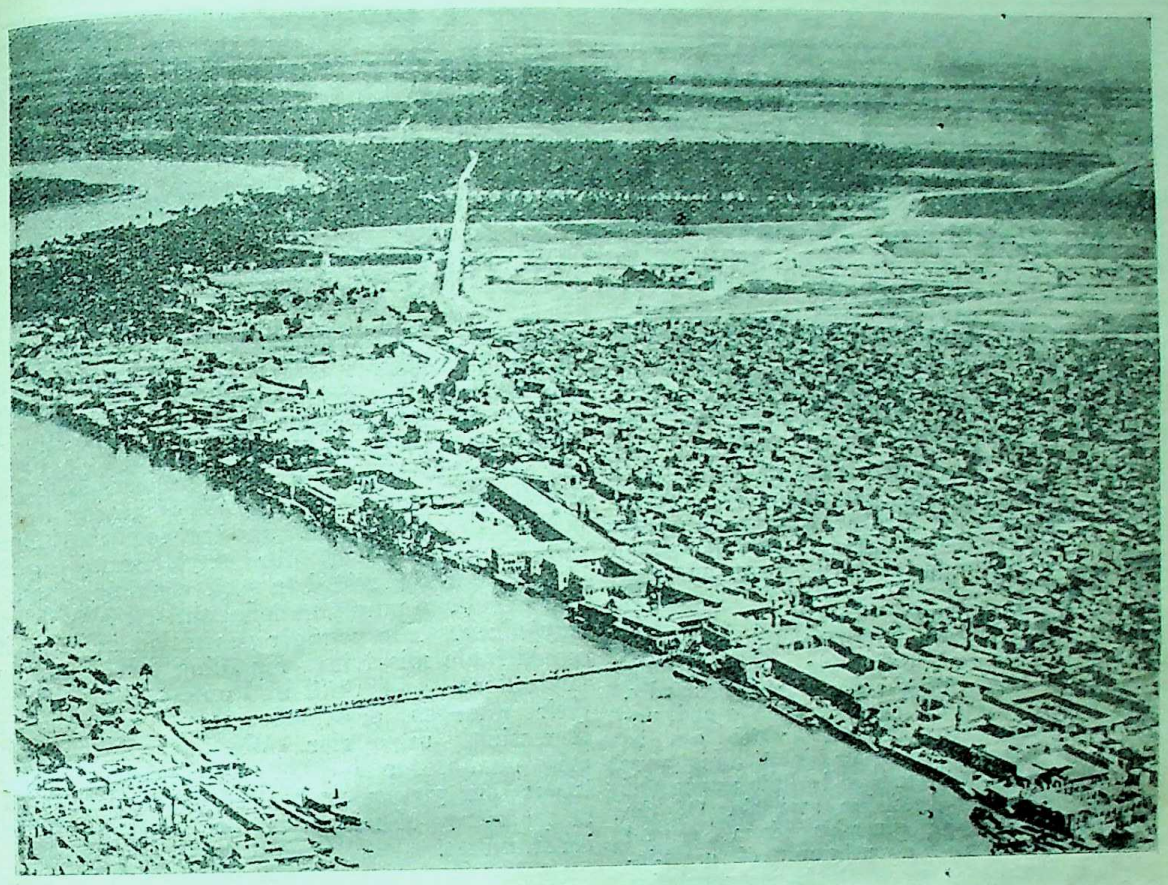

Baghdad from the air

potters' furnaces. The houses and mosque with their coloured domes now took shape, waving date-palms but a decorative and relieving element to the uniform drab of the buildings. The train came to a stop ; the station was huge ; a seething mass of people came to welcome the Poet. Bearded Sheikhs, "glengarry" capped young men in smart west end suits, men, women and children—with a good sprinkling of Indians—jostled one another to catch a glimpse of the Poet. After the crowd had viewed and cheered the Poet at the train-compartment door, a way was cleared and we got into the waiting automobiles. A long motor procession, quarter of a mile in length, went winding through the picturesque streets of the city and finally we came to the Tigris Palace Hotel where suitable arrangements had been made for us.

On going out to the terrace built on piers driven in the river bed and looking upon the light-studded river with its gleaming banks, we realized that at last we had indeed arrived at the fabled capital of Haroun-al-Raschid.

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INDIANS ABROAD

By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

Indian Education in Zanzibar

The British Resident in Zanzibar while performing the opening ceremony of the New Aga Khan School building, said :

"The Indian community has shown itself to be very much alive to the advantages which their children derive from education. They are anxious, I know, that provision should be made for more advanced courses of instruction than are provided today either in private schools, in grant-aided schools and in Government schools. I hope and believe you all know that the Government is exceedingly anxious to provide fully for the educational needs of the community generally. But education is an expensive matter and, unfortunately, the amount of money which can be found from general revenue for education is very limited, and there seems to be little prospect of any greater amount becoming available. Of the total expenditure on education from general revenue 12 per cent is given by way of grant-in-aid to Indian schools, while the Indian population is 7 per cent of the Arab and African population. You will understand how difficult it would be in these circumstances to devote additional public funds to the needs of the Indian population."

This is really disappointing. We would like to know what percentage of the Government revenue is derived from the Indian settlers in Zanzibar. But we object to this method of invoking statistical aid to refuse help to Indians for higher education. There should be a high school in Zanzibar where children of all races could get the necessary education. We entirely agree with His Excellency as regards his advice to the Indians to avoid multiplicity of communal schools. "The Indians Abroad Directory" for the year 1933 gives the following facts and figures regarding Indian education in Zanzibar.

Schools.	Number of Pupils
The Sir Even Smith Madrassa for boys	439
The Aga Khan Boys School	328
Madressa-el-Mohammediah for boys	186
Do. Do. girls	145
The Aga Khan Girls school	278
The Hindu Free Girls school	129
The Arya Samaj Girls school	143
Datoo Hemani Khoja Ithnasheri Girls school	100

Most of the schools are state aided up to 23 per cent of expenditure.

Considering the fact that the population of Indian in Zanzibar is only 15,246 these figures are quite encouraging. But we are definitely against the idea behind communal schools. Our compatriots in Greater India should not imitate our vices in India. Is it really impossible to have a first class girls school instead of having three—one for the Khoja girls, another for the Hindu girls, and a third for Arya Samaj girls? Can the girls educated in such communal schools ever develop a purely national outlook ? We doubt very much. The younger generation in India has considerable misgivings regarding these communal institutions and until and unless they change their methods drastically they will become increasingly unpopular. We must fight against this mania for so-called religious education, for it puts our young people of impressionable age at the mercy of narrow-minded bigots of different communities.

Expulsion of Four Indian Banker from Indo-China

The *Hindu* has published the following extracts from the memorial submitted to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India by Nattukottai Nagarathar, bankers doing business in Indo-China :

The memorialists, have been always ready and willing and anxious to give every facility to their debtors, and not to force any sort of coercive measures which will result in very serious hardships to debtors and with little benefit to themselves. According to the civil laws that prevail in Indo-China, the creditor who first proceeds to the court against the debtor and attaches the property of his debtor after obtaining a decree, enjoys a preferential right over that property often to the exclusion of other creditors, who later, may prove in the courts of law a right to proceed on the same debtors for their just dues. A system of ratable distribution such as obtains in British courts where the civil decree holders can all have their shares from the attached property, is not known to the French law as it prevails in Indo-China.

In consequence of this peculiar system of law, the humble memorialists who would have naturally preferred to give as much time as possible to their debtors, were obliged to seek their remedy in the civil courts and strictly according to the laws prevalent in Indo-China, when they found that

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other creditors were pursuing their remedies with promptitude and getting the benefit of the attachment of the properties of debtors to the detriment of the memorialists. The memorialists, however, about the beginning of March, were singled out by the authorities for special treatment and were asked to accept a very small portion of their dues and to give full acquittance to the debtors, in many cases, the percentage suggested being between 20 per cent and 30 per cent of the total amount due by the debtors.

The memorialists beg to submit that the overwhelming number of insolvencies pronounced by the commercial courts, have been granted at the request of creditors other than the memorialists. That all other creditors banks, companies granting loans, merchants and private people—all except the memorialists—are permitted to sue and bring into auction all their mortgages and that there is no trouble either from the people or from the authorities so far as such creditors are concerned. That your memorialists were further informed some months back that no decree should be executed without the permission of the President of the Long Terms Credit Society (Pret Foncier a Long Terme). And the memorialists have received such permission from time to time for every auction of theirs connected with their debts.

That, notwithstanding all these facts, suddenly orders were served under the authority of the Governor-General, by the Police, expelling four of the Chettiar Bankers doing business in Indo-China...

The memorialists desire to point out that the entire community doing extensive business in Indo-China is in a paralysed state at present, utterly unable to comprehend the reason of such drastic orders passed against them alone and not knowing where to look for assistance and help in their sore need. The memorialists beg to submit that until the order of expulsion is cancelled and the four externees are readmitted, the community will not feel secure and confident of their future...

We do not know if the Government of India has made any representation to the White Hall on this subject and if so, with what result. The case requires urgent action at the hands of the Indian Government.

Indian Abroad Directory, 1933

We heartily congratulate Mr. S. A. Waiz, Secretary of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, compiler and editor of the Directory named above. There are about twenty five lakhs of Indians settled abroad and the Indian public has been hearing of their grievances from time to time. The treatment accorded to Indian settlers in different parts of the world has been for the most part so unjust and humiliating that we have often found ourselves protesting and protesting in vain against it. Neither the Indian public nor the Indian Government have ever thought of having a definite emigration policy of a constructive type and consequently the work for Indians abroad has been done in a spasmodic manner. Possibly that was inevitable under the circumstances. But now the time has come when we must take up the problems of Indians overseas in a more business like and methodical manner. The number of our educated people that intend to go to foreign countries has been increasing and we receive many letters every month asking us to give them information about one colony or the other. This has been a difficult thing to do but now, thanks to the effort of the Imperial Citizenship Association, this difficulty has been removed. Those interested in the problem of Indians abroad will find in this Directory a mine of authentic information and we would recommend it to every newspaper office as a reference book of great importance. In a book like this containing more than five hundred pages there are bound to be some errors of ommission and commission specially when it is the first attempt of its kind, and the editor Mr. S. A. Waiz will be grateful if they are pointed out to him. Sir Purshottam Das Thakur Das, Chairman of the Council of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, has written a short preface to this book and there is an editorial note in the beginning. The information that is given is on various subjects and will be useful not only to the students of the problems of Indian overseas but also to merchants and travellers. For example there are forty-eight pages of matter about Ceylon under the following headings:

Recruitment of Labour—Flow of Immigration during the last 100 years—Immigration and Emigration of Indian Estate labourers during the years 1930-31—Total Indian population 1931. Occupation—Minimum Wage Ordinance. Repatriation—The Labour Ordinances—General Economic condition of Labourers—Education Languages—Estate Hospitals and Dispensaries. Charitable institutions—Land acquisition and Indian Estates—Exports and imports—Principal Industries in Ceylon—Political status—Registration of Indian Voters—Indian Associations and Institutions—Newspapers and periodicals owned by Indians—Public buildings donated by Indians for the benefit of the public—Hotels, Cinemas and Theatres owned by Indians—Indian Residents in Ceylon—Indian physicians and surgeons—Indian lawyers and Indian firms.

The book is neatly printed and costs Rs. five only. It can be had of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association : 235, Hornby Road, Bombay.

Unhappy Experiences of Mr. A. C. Nambiar

Mr. A. C. Nambiar of Berlin has published his experiences at the hands of Nazi hooligans and they make very painful reading. Not only was Mr. Nambiar savagely assaulted by Nazi Storm Troopers but all his papers were confiscated and he was left stranded without a penny in

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his pocket after being kept in jail for three weeks. Mr. Nambiar writes :

"On the afternoon of 25th March I was told I was free to go and a paper was handed over to me with instructions to leave Prussia within eight days. No reason whatsoever was disclosed to me for the raiding of my flat. No charge was brought against me. No explanation given for keeping me in custody for twenty-six days. The articles removed from my flat were not returned to me, excepting an empty box and a small bundle containing some old magazines. The twenty-one marks I had on me at the time of my arrest, I was told, had gone to cover the cost of my transport and stay in custody ! I asked the official across the counter to give me at least twenty-five pfennige (about two pence) for tramfare, having to go to some miles from "Alex." This was firmly refused."

It is to be noted that Mr. Nambiar has lived and worked in Berlin for more than nine years and has done a good deal for the promotion of Indo-German cultural relations. As a result of his writings a number of Indian students visited Germany for study and practical training and his activities in this direction were appreciated even by the German authorities. Mr. Nambiar writes : "Though I do not view the action against me from the side of the German Foreign Office as one representative of a policy against India or Indians, the incident perhaps is not entirely without a political background and in view of the general issues raised by it, I feel that it is not out of place to mention here certain facts . . . It may be recalled that some time back Herr Hitler in his capacity as the supreme Nazi leader, a position which he still holds, in a statement to the British Press in Berlin referred in what must be viewed as hostile terms to India's struggle for the right to manage her own affairs. Herr Hitler went out of his way to refer to India's movement for self-determination as a development not good or desirable and declared that any weakening of the British hold on India would be a calamity."

In the light of this fact we can now understand the humiliating treatment meted out to Mr. Nambiar. There have been several cases of Indians being insulted by Nazis. We had never expected this sort of unjust and unjustifiable treatment as the hands of the Germans, but we have to live and learn.

TAGORE TO GANDHI

I

Darjeeling, May 9.

Dear Mahatmaji,

Evidently the telegram which I sent to you some days ago has failed to reach its destination, though it has appeared in some of the papers.

You must not blame me, if I cannot feel a complete agreement with you at the immense responsibility you incur by the step you have taken. I have not before me the entire background of thoughts and facts against which should be placed your own judgment in order to understand its significance. From the beginning of creation there continue things that are ugly and wrong—the negative factors of existence—and the ideals which are positive and eternal ever wait to be represented by messengers of truth who never have the right to leave the field of their work in despair or disgust because of the impurities and imperfections in their surroundings. It is a presumption on my part to remind you that when Lord Buddha woke up to the multitude of miseries from which the world suffers he strenuously went on preaching the path of liberation till the last day of his earthly career. Death, when it is physically or morally inevitable has to be bravely endured, but we have not the liberty to court it, unless there is absolutely no other alternative for the expression of the ultimate purpose of life itself. It is not unlikely that you are mistaken about the imperative necessity of your present vow and when we realize that there is a grave risk of its fatal termination, we shudder at the possibility of the tremendous mistake never having the opportunity of being rectified. I cannot help beseeching you not to offer such an ultimatum of mortification to God for his scheme of things and almost refuse the great gift of life with all its opportunities to hold up till its last moment the ideal of perfection which justifies humanity.

However, I must confess that I have not the vision which you have before your mind, nor can I fully realize the call which has come only to yourself and therefore, whatever may happen, I shall try to believe that you are right in your resolve and that my misgivings may be the outcome of a timidity of ignorance.

With love and reverence,
Yours,
Rabindranath Tagore

II

Darjeeling, May, 11

Dear Mahatmaji,

I am trying clearly to find out the meaning of this last message of yours which is before the world today. In every important act of his life Buddha preached limitless love for all creatures. Christ said, "Love thine enemies" and that teaching of his found its final expression in the words of forgiveness he uttered

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for those who killed him. As far as I can understand, the fast that you have started carries in it the idea of expiation for the sins of your countrymen. But I ask to be excused when I say that the expiation can truly and heroically be done only by daily endeavours for the sake of these unfortunate beings who do not know what they do. The fasting which has no direct action upon the conduct of misdoers and which may abruptly terminate one's power further to serve those who need help, cannot be universally accepted and therefore it is all the more unacceptable for any individual who has the responsibility to represent humanity.

The logical consequence of your example, if followed, will be an elimination of all noble souls from the world, leaving the morally feeble and down-trodden multitude to sink into the fathomless depth of ignorance and inequity. You have no right to say that this process of penance can only be efficacious through your own individual endeavour and for others it has no meaning. If that were true, you ought to have performed it in absolute secrecy as a special mystic rite which only claims its one sacrifice beginning and ending in yourself. You ask others actively to devote their energy to extirpate the evil which smothers our national life and enjoin only upon yourself an extreme form of sacrifice which is of passive character. For lesser men than yourself it opens up an easy and futile path of duty by urging them to take a plunge into a dark abyss of self-mortification. You cannot blame them if they follow you in this special method of purification of their country, for all messages must be universal in their application, and if not, they should never be expressed at all.

The suffering that has been caused to me by the vow you have taken has compelled me to write to you thus—for I cannot bear the sight of a sublimely noble career journeying towards a finality which, to my mind, lacks a perfectly satisfying justification. And once again I appeal to you for the sake of the dignity of our nation, which is truly impersonated in you, and for the sake of the millions of my countrymen who need your living touch and help to desist from any act that you think is good only for you and not for the rest of humanity.

With deepest pain and love,
Rabindranath Tagore
[*Associated Press.*]

THE MAURYA ROCK-CUT HERMITAGE AT BARABAR

By K. P. JAYASWAL

THE Maurya emperors, Asoka and his grandson Dasaratha, gifted rock-cut hermitages to recluse philosophers of a school different from the Buddhists in the Barabar hills of the Gaya district, the ancient hill fortress of Gorathagiri mentioned in the Mahabharata. A part of the hill bore the name *Khalatika*, owing evidently to the very *slippery* nature of the boulder. Cave-houses as shelters for the rainy season, seven in number, were cut by the Maurya emperors. They are in the possession of the Archæological Department which is an imperial department of the Government of India. In March 1933 (on the 13th) I visited four of these caves in the company of the Tripitakacharya Maha Pandita Rev. Rahula Sankrityayana, Mr. Sham Bahadur, Barister-at-Law, and Mr. K. K. Ray. There is no *chaukidar* or care-taker attached to the caves, and the caves are left open to the mercy of men and beasts. In one cave numerous recent marks, made by stones pelted by boys, have been made, and some villager or vagrant had recently cooked his food by the polished wall wherefrom the brilliant polish with pieces of stone had chipped off, still lying on the floor. Two of the rooms were covered with smoke and soot deposited as a result of cooking. The walls of the cave next to the cave with the Maukhari inscription were covered with writings in chalk made by visitors in 1933, and the *Santaras* (stone-cutter) *Ramkisun* has chiselled his name on the polished surface of the doorway. No civilized administration should neglect these ancient monuments in this manner. In no other country under a civilized government their neglect in this manner would be tolerated. There is tno placard, no notice for the guidance of the public to trace and see the caves and the inscriptions. If the caves are not protec ed from wanton destruction, their value will go on decreasing.

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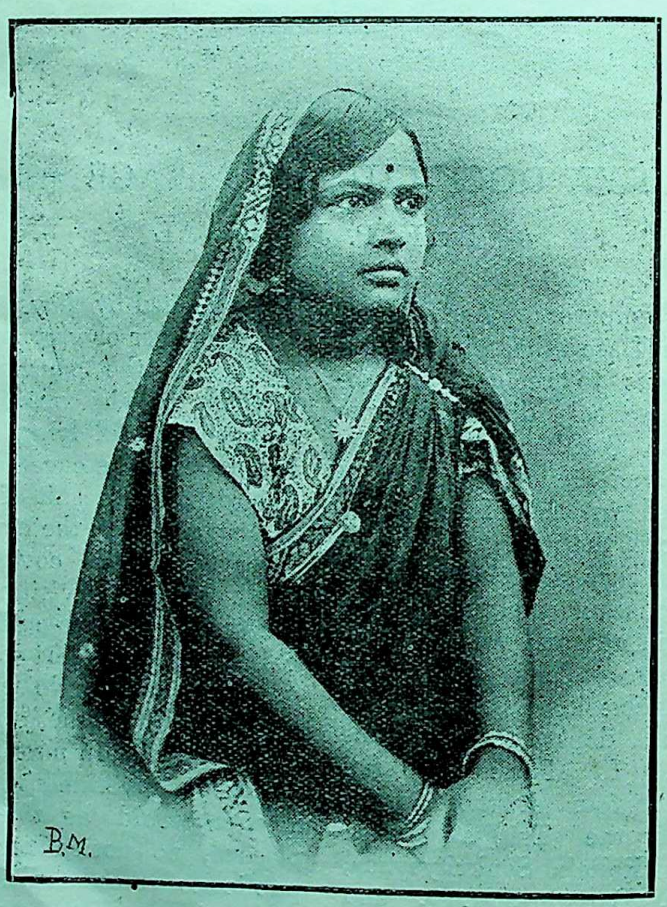
INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Dr. Miss Maitreyi Basu, M. B. (Cal.), who went to Munich in Germany for further medical studies on receipt of a scholarship given by Die Deutsche Akademie, has obtained the M. D. degree of the Munich University by submitting a thesis based on original research.

Srimati Snehasobhana Devi, B.A., B.T., wife of Professor Binoybhushan Rakshit of the Pithapuram Maharaja's College, Coconada, Madras, has been appointed as a tutor in English in the same college. She is the first lady to be appointed on the teaching staff of a mixed college under the Andhra University. She has also been recently nominated as a member of the Board of Secondary Education, East Godavari District. Formerly she was in the Bengal Educational Service as an Assistant Inspectress of Schools.



Srimati Snehasobhana Devi, B.A., B.T.

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THE FORTY-EIGHTH EXHIBITION OF THE MADRAS FINE ARTS SOCIETY

THE singnificance of the last exhibition lies in the fact that there for the first time emerges a definite Madras school of painting. It is embodied in the productions of the Madras School of Arts which constitute the most considerable single factor in giving character to the present exhibition. The prominence here achieved by the Madras School of Arts must be ascribed to the influence of the present Principal, Mr. D. P. Roy-Chaudhuri, himself a Bengali, and trained mainly in the famous Bengal School of Abanindranath Tagore, who has contributed about half a dozen pictures, some of which are of outstanding excellence. Nearly a quarter of the total number of pictures hung are the work of the staff and pupils of the Madras School of Arts and seven out of the ten "sculpture" exhibit are from the same source. Painting from the school are found both in the "English Water Colour" section (of which they constitute one-quarter) and in the "Indian Water-colour" section (of which they form one-third).

Blind Girl
By D. P. Ray-Chaudhuri

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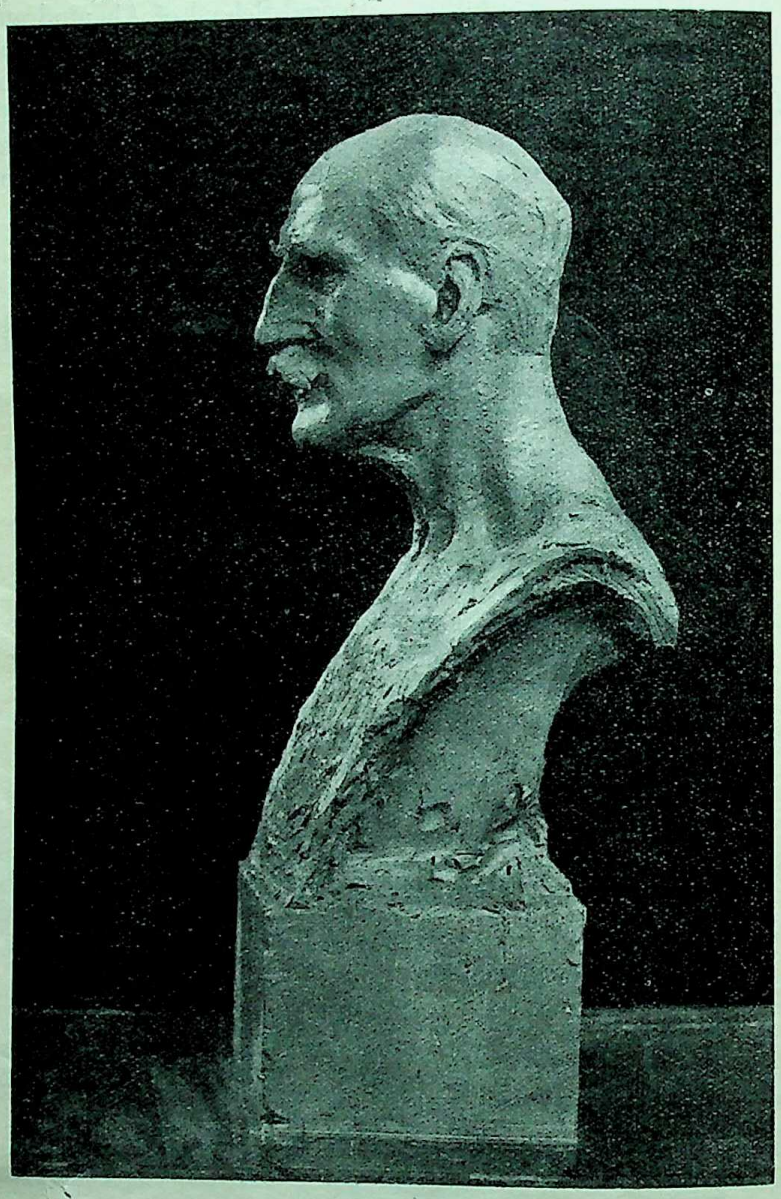
This overlapping of styles (for many of the pupils contribute to both the schools) gives perhaps the clue to the principal characteristic of the School, which is a blend, not accidental, nor capricious, but instructed and deliberate, of Eastern and Western modes. In the "English" pictures from this School is reproduced the brilliance of colouring usually associated with the Indian style; while the "Indian" paintings from the same source show a tendency to depart from the traditional flatness of treatment of the School, and the subjects indicate a liberation from the conventional style and an approach to the realism of the West.



A Bust of Sir George Frederick Stanley, Governor of Madras
By D. P. Ray-Chaudhuri

Students and devotees of art throughout India will find value and interest in watching the development of this Madras School.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Discovery of Iron Ores at Gorumahisani

In his reminiscences in *Tisco Review* Mr. amathanath Bose tells the story of his covery of the iron-ore deposits in Mayurnj. He says :

I retired from the Geological Survey of India November, 1903, and began to work from next nth as Geologist of the Mayurbhanj State. In course of my work, I found the rich and ensive iron-ore deposits of Gorumahisani and other ces and described them in "the Records of the ological Survey of India" Vol. XXXI, Part 3. My nity has been tickled by being described as their coverer. Well, to compare small things with at, I discovered them in the sense that Amerigo spucci is said to have discovered the continent ich is called after him. But, as I have shown in "Epochs of Civilization," for many centuries fore him it was well known to the Asiatics, and Chinese and the Japanese had probably small tlements there. All that Amerigo and Columbus ew years before him did was to bring it to the tice of the Europeans. The iron ores of Mayurnj had long been worked by the smelters of the te before I came upon them. All that I did was make them known to the industrial public.

Mr. J. N. Tata with highly commendable enterprise s at the time investigating the iron ores of India th a view to work them on a large scale on dern methods, and I lost no time in recommending Mayurbhanj ores in a letter which I wrote to him the 20th February, 1904. In that letter I pointed t their richness, enormous extent and proximity the Raniganj and Jharia coal fields. The ores the Raipur district on which Mr. Tata's prospectors re engaged at the time I wrote my letter, had en found and reported upon by me in "Records of Geological Survey of India," Vol. XX, Pt. 4. Being ell acquainted with them and other ores of the entral Provinces, I was in a position to declare phatically in favour of the Mayurbhanj deposits hich have the great advantage of being situated ear suitable coal.

Mr. Bose took an important part in effecting e contract between the Maharaja of Mayurhanj and the Tatas.

The Maharaja of Mayurbhanj left the settlement the terms and conditions which led to the undation of the Tata Iron & Steel Co. to me, d I did my best to arrange them so as to be dvantageous to it as well as to the State. It is ry sad that he did not live to see the fructification my humble efforts on behalf of his State. onsidering that the Tata Iron & Steel Co. was to a new industrial venture for India, I readily dopted the suggestion of Mr. Perin, one of the most vel-headed business men I have come across, to fix the royalty on a sliding scale. I rejoice to find he is continuing his beneficent connection with the Tata's. It opened an interesting chapter of the iron industry of India on modern methods. Various attempts had been previously made to start it, but had all ended in failure except in the case of the Baraker Iron Works, the operations of which, however, have never been on such an extensive scale as those of Jamshedpur. In fact, in the beginning of the present century, the reports of several European specialists were unfavourable to the establishment of large iron works in India.

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Science and Unemployment

Cannot science come to the rescue of the unemployed ? We pause to think when we read the following from a paper by Dr. S. K. Datta in *The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon* :

There is one more consideration to which I shall direct your thoughts. You ask for work, for you believe it is an exchangeable commodity for food, clothing, housing and education. The economist insists that it is human labour that creates value, but it seems to me that before very long, we shall be compelled to revise and modify some of these classical opinions. A group of American engineers and scientists have recently worked on what is termed an "Energy Survey of North America." As a result, it is stated that the tremendous technological advance which has been made in industrial processes during the past century, and particularly during the past twenty-five years, has rendered all existing social and economic mechanism obsolete and futile. Technocracy (as this new science may be termed) claims that scientific discovery and engineering skill have now armed mankind with powers which would ensure it a life of leisure and plenty if only they were properly employed. It asserts that, given a proper application of existing technical knowledge, the adult population of North America could supply all its material wants by working only four hours for a four-day week. The facts of technical advance are astonishing beyond words. "Machines," it is said, "are being built which have nine million times the output capacity of the average human being working an 8-hour day. Thus between 1920 and 1929 the manufacturing power of the United States increased 36 per cent. But during the same period 6 per cent less of workers were employed—mind you, this was the boom period. We are told that in the State of New Jersey an artificial silk-yarn factory has just been created which runs 24 hours and has completely eliminated human aid. We are also told by a writer in the London *Times* of January 5th, 1933, that a hundred men working

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5 modern brick plants "can manufacture all the bricks that the United States can use." While, on the one hand, there have been tremendous technical advance, the world is industrially manufacturing 8 per cent less than it was in 1913—the year before the War. What does this mean? Nothing less than this, that even though international recovery came with a great demand for goods, these might be produced without reducing the number who are unemployed today. But on the other hand, manufactured goods need purchasers who, if not employed, could not enter into these exchange transactions. Their labour is of no value. These and other considerations will compel us to rethink the chapter of the very foundation of our economics, which our capacity to produce as the result of every possible attention and encouragement has enormously increased. We have failed to rethink the problems of distribution. In the technical language of the technocratist, prosperity can never be achieved until individualism has been discarded, and an entirely new system of distribution on "energy certificates" has been instituted. The world must set up a real technocracy which will bring about a proper synchronization between moderation and consumption, so that all human needs are fully met and the necessary amount of human work equitably divided.

—

Literature on the Manasa Cult

A literature has grown in Bengal on the Manasa (the Serpent-Deity) Cult. *Manasa-Mangal*, the poem containing the story of Manasa's wrath on Chandl Saodagar and the sufferings of the latter's family, is still sung and played in the villages of Bengal. Mr. Janardan Chakravarty narrates the story and gives a brief summary of the poems composed by different poets of Bengal in *The Calcutta Review*. He says:

A beautiful and interesting literature sprang up in our country to celebrate the glory of Manasa and the triumph of Behula's devotion. Nearly three score authors have been discovered up to now who wrote upon the same theme; many more have got to be discovered yet. The earliest known Bengali writer on this cult was one Hari Dutt, who is mentioned in the famous 'Padmapurana' by Vijay Gupta rather slightingly as a blind poet ('अंधमे रचिल गीत काणा हरिदत्त') and broken fragments of whose writings are found incorporated with some of the early 'Manasa-Mangal' poems. The most important and popular amongst the writers of *Manasa-Mangal* was Vijay Gupta of the village Fulla-Sri in the district of Backergunje, which was a *Panditanagar* or a seat of learning and culture in the poet's time. Vijay Gupta makes a respectful mention of Emperor Hushen Shah (1494-1525) and gives us a date, which is probably the date of the composition of his work.

Vijay Gupta's Padmapurana is a voluminous work, comprising seventy-six chapters, in which, besides giving a preliminary account of the birth of the deity, he has worked out the beautiful legend, given above, in masterly details. In the delineation of the pathos, underlying the story, Vijay Gupta has far excelled his contemporaries and successors.

Another important poet of East Bengal, Narayan Deva by name, wrote upon the same theme. He was an inhabitant of Boragram in the district of Mymensingh and has been supposed to be a contemporary of Vijay Gupta. The poet's ancestor lived in Magadha and it is significant to note that the queen of Chand has once been referred to, in this work, as the daughter of a King of Behar ('बेहारिया राजार कन्या')

Sasthivar and Gangadas, father and son, who were inhabitants of Jhinardi in the district of Dacca, also jointly composed a 'Manasa Mangal,' along with many other works including Bengali adaptations of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. They composed their poem, it has been supposed, in the earlier half of the sixteenth century. Another illustrious writer of a 'Manasa Mangal' poem was the Brahman-poet Vamsidas of the village Patoair in the Kishorganj subdivision of Mymensingh. This Brahmin scholar, it is believed, composed his work in collaboration with his scholarly daughter, Chandravati, a poetess of no mean order, whose recently discovered Ramayana is an excellent addition to the Bengali versions of Valmiki's great epic.

The next important writer of a 'Manasa Mangal' was one Ketakadas Ksemanando of whom, it has been held, Ksemananda was the name, Ketakadas being the title meaning 'a servant of Ketaka or Manasa.' He was a poet of West Bengal who is supposed to have composed his work at some date later than 1640, the poet having referred to Bara Khan as the ruler of Selimabad in the district of Burdwan.

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Sufferings of the Indian Political Prisoner

The Theosophist publishes an article by "Twice-in-gaol" on jail life in India. The following extracts from it show how the "C" class political prisoners in India suffer very many disabilities which can be easily removed by the powers that be :

Accommodation. Very often the prisoners are huddled together like a flock of sheep when there is a "rush" of prisoners to the permanent jails ; sometimes more than double the usual number is sought to be accommodated in the wards. This causes great inconvenience and hardship to the prisoners. Regarding camp jails, one had better say nothing. The principle guiding them seems to be that Indians can be made to live in any way they, *i.e.*, the authorities, choose. Already the standard of life in India is so simple ; and in the jails the adaptability of the prisoners is tried to its utmost limits.

Clothes. The general prisoners are given two pairs of half pants, rather quarter pants, one sleeveless *kurta* or shirt, one towel, one cap and three blankets. This set has to last at least six months. During the cold season one more blanket and *kurta* are added but no shoes. One finds this set scanty, imperfect and inconvenient. The three blankets—to serve as mattress, cover and pillow—are so loosely woven that they keep shedding bits of yarn which look like human hair and always keep flying about throughout the ward and the jail compound. The result is that it is seldom possible for a man to eat or drink anything that does not contain some hairs from the blankets.

Utensils. To each prisoner are supplied two iron

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owls, one smaller than the other. He eats in one and drinks out of the other. These vessels rust quickly, so that within half an hour water gets coloured; and food in contact with the metal walls gets so coloured that the prisoner has to be careful to leave the last coatings of food in the bowl. Recently they have improved the vessels supplied to A and B class prisoners, who in place of iron bowls are given aluminium plates, cups and tumblers.

Sanitary arrangements. In the toilet arrangements all sense of human decency has been practically done away with. The latrines are in rows and open at the front. Water (used in India instead of toilet paper) is kept at another place to which the prisoner must walk and at which he must wait for his turn, for only one or two tin mugs are kept there for the use of a large number of prisoners. As water may not be taken into the latrines, each visit to the latrine is divided into two places. This arrangement is barbarous and needs immediate reform.

Medical aid. As has already been pointed out, in our jails medicine is only used to avoid risk of life and not to cure diseases; and often there are very poor arrangements even for such aid. Especially is this the case with political prisoners who have to be herded together in the jail by thousands. Due to insanitary camp jail conditions hundreds of prisoners are always ill and generally there are only one or two sub-assistant surgeons to take care of them. The stock of medicine stored is small, and there are generally only four or five dozen cots for the most serious cases to lie on, while the others have to lie on the ground. This serious cause of complaint and dissatisfaction among the prisoners is common.

Letters. The C class prisoners are allowed to write and receive one letter in three months. The letters are delayed for days and weeks in being censored. Little imagination is needed to see how sad this is and that there should be more frequent and quicker exchange of letters.

Interviews. Here again, an interview is possible only once in a period of three months. For A and B class prisoners the periods are fifteen days and one month respectively. Reform in this respect also is needed to ameliorate the condition of the C class prisoners, not only as regards the period, but also regarding the method. For the usual method of interview is that the prisoner and his visitor do not meet, but only see each other through the metallic screens of two windows in the two opposite walls of the office room. And this interview is permitted for a few minutes only. Humanly speaking, arrangements should be made for more frequent interviews, longer interviews and real interviews—not a mere glimpse with two walls between. In this connection it is also necessary to note that there is practically no place for interviewers to stay or wait till the interviews are arranged. They come and sit or stand in the blazing sun and sometimes even in the rain for hours together. So some arrangement for them is essential.

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The Middle Class Unemployed

The educated wage-earner in America goes by the name of "White-Collar." Mr. Eralil A. Varghese prefers to call the educated unemployed in India "White-Collar." He says in *The Indian Review* that American Universities help the white-collar unemployed by keeping a register of their alumni. A similar method may be followed in India to relieve the distress of the Indian white collar, to some extent at least. He says:

So unemplyment in India narrows down to the "white collar." I have searched in vain to ascertain the exact figures of India's educated unemployed. The universities and colleges of India do not unfortunately keep, so far as I know, even the elementary statistics in these matters. They are "through" with the student as soon as he is ground out of their mill and labelled (or libelled) with a degree. The American universities take a more personal interest in their intellectual offspring. They follow up the careers and have well-organized Labour bureaus and exchanges which act as a clearing-house to place the students in various positions. They are in touch with big business to discover openings for their alumni and each year publish accounts not only of the number who obtained work through them but also how much they earned. The School of Business of the Columbia University published this year the salaries of their students in the past year, varying from $500 (Rs. 1,500) to $10,000 (Rs. 3,00,000) which was obtained by one of the most distinguished of their old boys. No wonder many Americans pride in their *alma mater*. *Alma mater* means my mother but Indian universities are step-mothers.

The Indian universities can by proper organization of labour bureaus and exchanges solve the problem of her white collar unemployed. But there are limits to their resources. The real and lasting solution must necessarily come from among the educated people themselves.

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Swadeshism

Mr. Jamshed Nusserwanji has these instructive words on Swadeshi in *The Young Builder*:

One of the well-known writers of America, Mr. Kalhil Gabrian, in one of his stories—so full of understanding—states that once a clean white sheet of paper desired that it should be always kept clean and white and pure. At this statement, the ink on the table smiled and kept quiet. On the same table there were some coloured pencils. They also heard this statement made by the white paper and smiled and kept quiet. The writer remarks at the end of this story, "No doubt the paper thus remained clean and white and pure, but it also remained empty."

This lesson can be well learnt in our movement of Swadeshism. Swadeshism must remain empty unless it gets experienced, coloured and inked. Experience to make everything nice, to make the quality good, to bring the picture out in perfection as beautiful as possible, as economical as possible and as useful as possible, should be the definite effort of those who are interested in Swadeshism. To expect people to buy merely because a thing or article is Swadeshi is to fight against the nature of mankind. Patriotism for the motherland is one side of human nature, but there are other sides also which cannot be neglected, and that is economy, usefulness and the aesthetic sense of the people....Let us copy the example of the sons of other mother-lands. Let us watch

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and admire their '*tapasya*' for research, their sacrifices to beat the records of other countries. They give up all to make articles as good, as useful and as cheap as possible. They go deeper into the sources of raw materials, business organization and the art of advertising and produce a serviceable article to help all concerned. My mother once told me that in the city of Heidelberg in Germany where she was taken for an operation, she found young doctors sitting day after day in quiet corners of laboratories to find out one germ of disease or one cure for a disease, and it was said that they spent years, and practically their whole life in these researches. They did not care for money, they did not care for any other ambition, but to find out the truth, and to produce something which would help the people and the humanity. They were true *sanyasis* as my mother said, in all the senses of the word.

Therefore, if in Swadeshism we can inculcate this principle, if for the sake of motherland some would devote their life to researches, some to industries, some to business organization, salesmanship and the art of advertising, if there is co-operation at the back of the minds of all, our Swadeshism would succeed, otherwise it must get destroyed. We have started Swadeshism from the days of Lokmanya Tilak, and even before. The emotional waves have come and gone. If we do not understand the truth, the emotional waves of the regime of Mahatma Gandhi will also pass away. I mean no insult to the great man or his followers. I am putting the facts and the experience of the past before you.

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Education of a Librarian

Libraries play an important rôle in the scheme of education. Hence proper education of the librarian is imperative. In a paper in *The Modern Librarian* Sarah C. N. Bogle discusses the nature of intruction given to the librarians of America. We take the following extracts from the article :

Librarians and educators are generally agreed that the preparation of a school librarian should include, in addition to professional training in librarianship, courses in education that will provide the background necessary for successful service in the school situation. In 1926, Dr. D. F. Russell, Dean of Teachers' College of Columbia University, surveyed the school library situation in twenty large cities and concluded that "the properly trained librarians must have all that a good teacher has, and, in addition, library training." Few librarians or educators, however, seem to believe that the school librarian should perform the duties of the teacher, but they believe she should understand the methods and techniques utilized by the teacher, the objectives of the school as a whole, its plan of organization and administration. Professional training in librarianship should enable the school librarian to adapt library methods to the exigencies of the school organization without losing sight of the objectives of service held fundamental by all libraries wherever they may be found. The Director of one library school, devoted exclusively to the preparation of school librarians, has written as follows :

"...If the student who enters the special course for the school librarian is to have a basis on which she may later build, she should have courses which would give her the fundamentals of all types of library work. This does not necessarily mean that she should duplicate the exact number of semester hours required for a certain course in the general library school, for even among themselves the library schools vary widely in the relative value placed on courses. It does mean, however, that she should be given the general principles underlying the particular phase of the work and then have special emphasis placed on the application of these principles to school work.....

".....It might be said in general that the course for the school librarian which might be the same as those in the general library school are classification and cataloguing, reference and bibliography, book selection. This would leave as the courses, which would need special emphasis for the school librarians, teaching the use of the library ; organization, administration, and library management, and the place of the library in the school. These must have special emphasis and the field work should undoubtedly be as broad an experience as the local situation can supply, for an understanding of all phases of library work is essential to the general school librarian."

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The Library Movement in Baroda

In the same paper Mr. Newton M. Dutt summarizes the activities of the library movement in Baroda in its Country Section as follows :

The most important function of the Country Section is the subsidizing and control of the town and village libraries. As far back as 1906 His Highness commenced giving subsidies to the rural libraries. Four years later, on Mr. Borden's recommendation rules were laid down under which the Department has been running ever since. When a community has succeeded in collecting Rs. 100, Rs. 300 or Rs. 700—the sum depending on whether it is a village, an ordinary town or the chief town of the district—a similar sum is granted by the Library Department and another similar sum by the District Board. In some cases the Municipal Board also gives contributions. If a library building is required, the people have only to find one-third of the cost, the remainder being contributed in equal quotas by the Government and the District Board. Finally to provide a nucleus for a new village library, the local committee can purchase for Rs. 25 only, a collection of good Gujarati books worth Rs. 100, the rest of the money being found by the State.

The people have not been slow in taking advantage of these liberal facilities for self-culture. Up to now all the 45 towns and 888 of the villages have been provided with free libraries which can boast an aggregate stock of 612,406 volumes, and a great circulation of 425,811 volumes amongst 79,406 readers. There are also 119 newspaper reading rooms. This is an encouraging record for 20 years' work. Moreover, no less than 119 libraries now possess buildings of their own. Rules are laid down for the proper management of these libraries. The libraries are visited by the Assistant Curator, who also gathers groups of town and village librarians at convenient centres to give courses of study in library management, and to discuss with them various practical problems. Directions and hints and lists of good

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ooks are published by the Department in the *Pustakalaya*, a Gujrati monthly magazine devoted to library interests. During the rainy weather library classes are held in Baroda. Although not left without guidance, yet the libraries are given a large amount of autonomy, and the people thus learn to take a genuine interest in the local library, which often become the centre of social and cultural activity for the village or town. A good example of a small but successfully run library is the library of Chalala, a village of som 3,000 souls, the Honorary Secretary of which is a school teacher. The circulation of books is pretty large, and although the ladies do not visit the building, yet their needs are not forgotten, for books are sent to their houses through the headmistress of the girls' school. On the walls of the library are found displayed all the interesting informations and statistics about the village; number and extent of farms, number of ploughs and bullocks and the like. There has of late years sprung up a demand for separate ladies' and children's libraries; 3 of the former and 4 of the latter have already been instituted, besides 3 ladies' reading rooms and 5 children's reading rooms.

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Trends in Recent Bengali Literature

Mr. Humayun Kabir has some just criticism to make about the trends in recent Bengali literature, in *Tribeni*. After explaining what realism in literature means, he proceeds:

Recent Bengali literature cannot, therefore, be regarded as realistic in its technique or its aim. Those who have hailed as anti-romanticism its absorption in the questions of sex have failed to see that what we have here is merely the substitution of one romanticism for another. Instead of the soft and sweet things of life holding the centre of the picture, we have today minute studies of ugliness and evil. But life is not all soft or sweet, neither is it merely evil and ugly. An undue preoccupation with either aspect alters the complex and delicate organization of life in its contrast of light and shade, and gives us a picture which is essentially romantic.

This fact can be seen in another way. We have referred to the unhealthy interest in all matters sexual, but we have before our eyes the day-to-day struggle of common men to eke out a bare existence, the poverty and squalor, the lack of education and hope, the absence of health and happiness in which our peoples live have found little or no reflection in the literature of the day. The political subjugation of the country does not come with humiliation to the hearts of our *litterateurs*, and the movement for emancipation that is sweeping through the country today finds no echo in their writings. The merely political aspects of the movement may have little to do with art, but the urge of life that rises from the depths of the nation's soul should have its reflection in the literature of the day. We expect in the artist an acute sensitiveness and power of response to his environment, but what are we to think of his passion and imagination if he remains dead to currents that stir the ordinary man from the routine of his daily life?

The Romanticism inherent in us has many forms. It is in its essence an escape from life and may largely be attributed to the fact of our political slavery. We are not proud of what we are, and therefore we seek to compensate in dreams for the deficiencies of our actual lives. That is again why we are so impatient of criticism, for we lack sufficient confidence in ourselves to accept criticism for whatever it might be worth. We boast of our past and dream of future glories, but in this constant attempt at self-delusion we forget that the present with all its harshness cannot be imagined away. The result is that our literature is shot through and through with unreality, and nowhere is this unreality more marked than in our drama. False in emotion and in the conception of character, our drama exhibits extravagance masquerading as heroism, and sickly sentimentality playing the role of deep and strong emotions. But then we can say of this drama that it has, at any rate, no pretensions to realism.

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Merits of a Goods Standard

Gold standard is being given up by nations one after another. Dr. B. Ramachandra Rao propounds the merits of a goods standard in *The Mysore Economic Journal*.

The scheme of the goods standard consists in expanding basic currency along with production and creative business requirements of the community.

It aims at the circulation of currency in the hands of masses. This coterminous increase in the quantity of goods and credit (the latter of which is based on the constant circulation of the standard yard-stick currency) would fix values, stabilize prices and aid the maintenance of prosperous business conditions.

The resort to barter basis of trade on which the scheme is conceived is already in existence under the gold standard scheme. The Canadian Dominion has been bartering away excessive wheat for the unwanted coffee holdings of the Brazilian Republic. Russia is supposed to be organizing similar exchanges between its oil and Brazilian coffee.

It makes provision for the control of the expansion and contraction of currency and credit by the central Bank. It takes away this control from the hands of the money-lender and dealer who control the monetary metal, *viz.*, gold. The real producer now stands as the controller and creator of basic currency. The control of gold over nations and men has been a tyrannous feature depriving every human being of a fair profit and the means to live in comfort during the transitory period of life on earth. As all the monetary gold at present mined would form if melted into a block or cubic mound thirty-one feet long, thirty-one feet high, thirty-one feet wide, it is apparently insufficient to act as standard monetary metal for vastly increasing business requirements of the modern scientific world. It is no use pyramiding credit on a small pin point of gold until it becomes top-heavy and crashes to the ground. The true ideal of banking, namely, the permitting of the entire business of the nation to run on smooth lines, will be secured under the scheme.

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Indianization of Christianity

Nobody denies the fact that the Christian missionary has done much good to the country. Still he has been kept at arms' length, and that not without reason. He decries the cherished

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ideals and customs of the people. Some missionaries as well as the converted Indians have begun to feel that an orientation in their outlook is needed most at present. It is therefore interesting to note the following endeavours for the Indianization of Christianity, in *The C. S. S. Review* :

The Indianization of Christianity is not a mere dream. It has well started on its career and has some achievements to its credit. The greatest achievement of this movement is no doubt to be found in the remarkable change of outlook that has come over most of the Indian Christian communities of today. The Indian Christian has definitely ceased to take a step-motherly attitude towards Indian religions and culture. He is now becoming more and more eager to explore these rich fields and appropriate into himself all elements of value. He no longer looks upon Hinduism as a thing of darkness but as a tower from which he can catch a better glimpse of our Lord. The Christian Literature Society of Madras has published an excellent series of books which have done much to speed the message of Indianization. "*Jesus the Avatar*" and "*Jesus and the Cross*" by Mr. V. Chakkarai and "*Christianity as Bhaktimarga*" by Dr. A. J. Appasamy are all attempts to interpret Christian thought in the light of Hindu religious experience. All over India are springing up little *Ashrams*, centres of religious inspiration and faith, where foreign and Indian friends are trying to interpret Christianity in the light of the Indian ideals of simplicity and self-sacrifice. The Christian *Sadhu*, clad in saffron, wandering bare-foot over the hills and dales of India carrying the message of his master is no longer an unfamiliar figure. Sadhu Sundar Singh and Narayan Vaman Tilak were the living symbols of the Indianization of Christianity and their lives will be a perennial source of inspiration to all those who are working in this field. Much, I say, has been done but much still remains to be done. Before the Indian Church lies this glorious opportunity.; will it fail us in our hour of need?

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Improvement of the Conditions of Labour Not Yet Effected

The Royal Commission of Labour, popularly known as "The Whitley Commission," presented its report some years ago. The Labour condition in India is such that immediate steps should be taken to improve it. But the provincial governments are giving effect to the recommendations of the Commission very tardily. The following extracts from *The National Christian Council Review* will make clear our contention :

The Royal Commission expressed grave concern about the illiteracy of Indian workmen. They wrote : 'In India nearly the whole mass of industrial labour is illiterate, a state of affairs which is unknown in any other country of industrial importance. It is almost impossible to over-estimate the consequences of this disability, which are obvious in wages, in health, in productivity, in organization and in several other directions.' Among the measures suggested for remedying this state of affairs was the application of compulsion, and in this connection it was recommended that the upper age limit for compulsory education should be raised to 12 years, the minimum age for factory employment. The Provincial Governments of Madras, Bombay, Panjab have accepted the recommendation and have taken steps to introduce the necessary amendment in their Primary Education Acts. In Bengal compulsory primary education having so far been introduced only in the Chittagong municipality the necessary legislation may have to wait till a larger number of municipalities introduce compulsory education under the provisions of the present Act. The U. P. and the C. P. Governments have the matter still under consideration and the Bihar and Orissa Government while not prepared to disagree with the recommendation consider it not feasible to take any action at present.

Under this head [Health and Welfare of Industrial Workers] the Royal Commission made some important recommendations. One was that the Adulteration of Foods Acts should be in force in all Provinces, that local governments should endeavour to make their provisions more widely applicable, that severer penalties should be provided and that a clause regulating importation and sale of condensed skimmed milk should, if possible, be incorporated. Madras, Bengal and United Provinces show commendable progress in giving effect to this recommendation. For instance, the Madras Prevention of Adulteration Act has been extended to Madras city, 16 mufassal municipalities and one *panchayat* board in the Presidency. It is proposed to extend the Act to about 38 more local areas. The rules framed under the Act are elaborate enough to prohibit the sale of condensed milk if not up to the prescribed standard of purity. The rules now under revision are expected to be more effective, particularly in the matter of the sale of adulterated *ghee*. More or less similar Acts are in operation in Bengal and United Provinces. Bihar and Orissa, the Central Provinces and the Burma Governments have the matter still under consideration.

Another recommendation under this head is that comprehensive Public Health Acts should be passed in all Provinces. In making this recommendation the Commission wrote : 'It is generally recognized that the first comprehensive Public Health Act, brought into force in 1875, made possible the marked advances in public health which have taken place in England since that date. Although sections dealing with public health matters find a place in every municipal and local boards Act in India, these are in many respects disconnected and incomplete, and public health legislation requires considerable amendment and addition.' The Governments of Madras, Bengal and United Provinces are taking steps for enacting Public Health Acts as recommended. The other Governments have the matter still under consideration.

A third recommendation under this head is that 'maternity benefit legislation should be enacted throughout India on the lines of the schemes operating in Bombay and the Central Provinces.' A non-official Bill on the lines of the Central Provinces Act has been introduced in the Madras Legislative Council. But in other Provinces the question of introducing the legislation proposed is still under consideration.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

"The New Republic" on the Trial of the British Engineers

The New Republic has the following editorial note on the trial of the British engineers in Russia :

Were these engineers, and their Russian confrères, actually guilty ? Were they spies in the employ of Great Britain, or of someone else, engaged in deliberate sabotage upon machinery they themselves installed, and in the collecting of military information such as might be useful to the enemy in case of war ? It is impossible at this distance to answer these questions. Russia is a strange country ; things happen there which would be impossible anywhere else. International espionage does go on ; a striking picture of British spies at work in Russia is given in the recent book, "British Agent," by R. H. Bruce Lockhart, who was himself part of the organization. It is true that Sir John Simon denied categorically that these men were English agents ; but it is also true that if they had been spies, great pains would have been taken to keep Sir John from knowing it, and he probably would have been encouraged to make just the statement he did. Though all countries engage in espionage no country ever officially admits it ; when a spy is caught, either his government lets him shift for himself or it loudly proclaims his innocence. The proceedings in the Russian trial seem to indicate pretty clearly that at least one and probably two of the Englishmen were guilty of some, at any rate, of the charges.

If the evidence, as reported by newspaper correspondents, was much less convincing than supporters of Russia would have wished, it must be remembered that much of the most important material was undoubtedly brought forward at the secret preliminary hearing which, in Russian procedure, is often more important than the trial itself. It must also be remembered that some of the evidence may have been suppressed by the Russians for military reasons. Finally, even the bitterest foe of the U. S. S. R. must recognize that that country had everything to lose and nothing to gain by alienating England just at this time. Her trade treaty with Great Britain was about to expire. Relations with Germany, her other chief customer, were becoming impossibly strained because of Hitler's crusade against Communism. True, the United States was growing more friendly : but it was to Russia's obvious advantage to play off one Anglo-Saxon power against the other. To believe that Russia in such a situation would deliberately cook up a spy scare for internal purposes—in order, for example, to distract attention from the domestic food situation—is to suppose that the leaders of that country are crazy. A much more sensible hypothesis is one which says that confronted by what they regarded as overwhelming evidence of guilt, the Soviet officials felt impelled to order the trial no matter how deplorable the political consequences might be.

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Britons Can Do No Wrong

The People's Tribune of Shanghai comments on the same trial from another point of view :

The arrest, trial, and sentence, by the Soviet Government, of the British technical experts of the Metropolitan Vickers Company for espionage, and other underground activities in Soviet Russia have attracted considerable attention in China even at the present stage of the national crisis.

A disinterested and impartial observer could not help being surprised at the actions taken by the British authorities in their attempts to bring pressure upon Moscow to set free the prisoners, actions which amounted to a demand for extraterritorial jurisdiction for British subjects in Russia. The demand for the immediate release of the British engineers, accompanied by the threat of an official boycott of Soviet goods, found no parallel in contemporary history except possibly in China, although the circumstances here are considerably different. That the British Government should become so indignant over the arrest of the six suspected Britons is, to say the least, inexplicable unless it be assumed that Britons could do no wrong in Soviet Russia. It is a matter of common knowledge that suspected British subjects are frequently placed under arrest by foreign Governments, in Japan, in France and in any other country except China, where they can always find protection under the unilateral system of consular jurisdiction and extraterritoriality. As a matter of fact, almost simultaneously with the arrest of the British suspects in Russia, two British subjects were arrested in Germany under precisely the same charges. The latter incident, however, has received no publicity and little is known of the subsequent developments. The Soviet authorities, therefore, took the only proper action in detaining the British suspects, if for no other reason than that the British Government, by its threats, has publicly challenged the competency of the Soviet judiciary, just as it has, time and again challenged China's judiciary. The British insinuation is that the Japanese, French, German and the governmental authorities of other countries are competent to deal with British culprits according to law, but not the Soviet nor Chinese authorities. In view of the circumstances, Moscow had no alternative but to detain the British suspects and give them a proper trial in accordance with the laws of the U. S. S. R.

The real reason at the back of the British Government's altogether ridiculous and childish action, however, is not far to seek. Certain pledges were made by the British Delegation, at the Ottawa Conference, to Canada and other British Dominions,

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which could not possibly be carried out so long as the Anglo-Soviet Trade Agreement remained in force. Negotiations for the revision of the Agreement have been in progress for some months past, although it was apparent from the start that Great Britain was not likely to succeed in inducing the Soviet Government to accept her terms. An excuse, therefore, must be found for terminating the Agreement, and no more suitable and appropriate occasion there could be than the arrest of the British engineers by the Soviet Government.

In connection with the above-mentioned trade relations, it is interesting to note that the British Embargo Bill effects only 80 per cent of the usual Soviet importations into Great Britain, these being mostly grain, lumber, butter and other produce which Canada can well supply.

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Where Is the "Modern' World

Contemporary novelists, essayists, and other writers often claim that human society is passing through a moral revolution, referring chiefly to the relation between the sexes, and assert that the moral behaviour of men today is different from what it was in the last century. The Rev. R. A. Edwards vigorously denies this statement in the *Hibbert Journal* and says that the world of the so-called new morals exists only in imagination and books. He says:

Many times as I have read the works of these modern writers and have got from them a picture of a world sexually mad, I have been perplexed on reflecting that somehow I have missed finding this strange new world. The people whom I meet seem to me fundamentally not very different from the people who lived "before the war." Certainly they dress differently, most women ride astride to hounds now-a-days, and girls appear in trousers and bathing costumes that would no doubt have surprised their grandmothers; certainly boys and girls mix and play together with a freedom that they used not to possess; certainly there are birth-control shops now in Oxford Street, and not only in the neighbourhood of Charing Cross. But does the difference really go very deep? Is the arrival of an illegitimate child now hailed with approval? Is the break-up of a marriage frankly accepted as honourable? Are all these hikers who stride along our roads in the summer indulging in bursts of free love when I am out of sight? Are those innocent-looking tents along the foreshore really the scene of unprintable doings? Do those girls who plunge so radiantly in the spray, or who put up so excellent a game with their male opponents at tennis or golf, snatch immediately, when the play is over, at the "new claim by women to imitate the vices of men?" It seems odd to me to reflect that perversely I cannot point to these families where the children are at loggerheads with their parents. Have I moved in the wrong world? Has this world that roars and groans over its sexual problems and has adopted a new morality passed me while I was negligently looking the other way?

I took my problem the other day to a group of my clerical brethren, feeling that their experience might be different from mine, but to my astonishment they shared my perplexity. They, too, had not found this brave new world peopled by care-free folk who have solved the puzzle of the conquest of happiness by doing what they will. They could only affirm that the ordinary working world in which they moved was much the same as ever, a world in which ordinary men and women, even if they did not often come to church, did their best in very difficult economic circumstances to live the old moral life in the old way. Could it be that we had all missed the modern world, moving in some cloistered seclusion away from the hurly-burly of the market place? Or could it be that the whole thing was a fiction a world constructed out of "cases", a world of the lamp and the typewriter, a world called into being by dons in their common rooms?

When all is said and done, even modern youngsters are likely to feel that there is something rather specially wonderful, even if they hesitate to say sacred, about the birth of children; it is likely that even a modern girl must know that even the best birth-control methods are not entirely "safe," and might wish, to put it at its lowest, to have a husband just in case things went wrong and even, in spite of the new freedom and the offers of the stud farm, to have his love and care when her time drew near. Most fathers still appear to have, shall we say, an affectionate interest in their children, and as we look round at our acquaintances it is surprising to find how few of them are divorced. These young people may laugh uproariously, and rush about in motors and even smoke and drink more than is good for them, but the general run of the facts of life is against the probability of there being any widespread sexual license as an accompaniment of the new freedom. Do these writers really know the modern world?

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Is a Communist Revolution Possible in Western Europe?

Reinhold Niebuhr's *Moral Man and Immoral Society* is an outstanding book of this year. Among other things, he says in this book that "the success of the Marxian revolutionary formula in Russia has given rise to confusions and hopes which could be realized in Western civilization only through the rarest concatenation of circumstances." His arguments on this point are summarized by Mr. Middleton Murry in course of a review in the *New Leader*:

First, the middle-classes are far more firmly based in the modern social structure than Marx imagined: the disinherited white-collar worker does not turn to revolutionary Socialism; he turns to Fascism. Second, the agricultural labourer is not revolutionary, he is instinctively anti-collectivist. And third, the cultural and religious opposition to the proletarian negation of culture and religion, exemplified in the undiminished strength of the Centre Party in Germany, is much stronger than it was in Russia.

Add to this, fourthly, the division in the proletarian ranks themselves. The skilled, semi-skilled worker, the worker in the sheltered trades is "more collectivistic than the white-collar worker, but is in many respects, less revolutionary".

Niebuhr's final conclusion—and it is one of the

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utmost importance, both in its negative and positive implications, for a realistic Socialist strategy—is this :

Western civilization will not be ripe for proletarian revolutions for many decades, and may never be ripe for them, unless one further condition of the Marxian prophecy is fulfilled, and that is that the inevitable imperialism of the capitalistic nations will involve them in further wars on a large scale. Such a war would not necessarily result in communistic revolutions, but it would shatter the authority of some States sufficiently, and create enough social chaos to make some kind of revolution possible.

That is a sober and sobering analysis of the actual power-factors for and against a Leninst revolution in a Western industrial nation. It is no wonder that as Niebuhr says, realistic Marxians "do not give themselves to the romantic illusions current among certain classes of intellectuals, who think that a revolution is an easy achievement."

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The Scottsboro Case and the Position of the Negro in the United States

The famous Scottsboro case is a typical case illustrating the disadvantages of the Negro's position in the United States. *The Christian Register* makes the following comment on this case :

The outstanding facts in this distressing case are as follows: Two years ago eight Negro boys were convicted in Scottsboro, Ala., of having criminally assaulted two girls in a freight car in which they were making a trip from Stevenson to Paint Rock, Ala. They were sentenced to be hanged.

The case was taken to the United States Supreme Court and. in November, 1932, the court ruled by a vote of seven to two that the trial had not been a fair one, as the courthouse was surrounded by a howling mob creating terrorizing conditions under which a just and impartial verdict was rendered almost impossible. The case was returned to the Alabama courts for retrial.

By change of venue, the new trial was held in Decatur, Ala., on April 9, 1933, only one of the accused being tried at that time. Similar conditions of mob excitement and threatenings prevailed. The only direct evidence was that of the two girls, both of unsavoury reputation. One of them held to her previous testimony. The other stated under oath that her testimony at the first trial, charging assault, had been false and was made in the hope of escaping arrest and in fear of further trouble to herself. She testified that neither she nor her companion had been assulted. The lawyer in the defense brought out the fact that in spite of jury regulations no Negroes were ever selected for jury panels or allowed to serve.

The judge was fair-minded and endeavoured to conduct the trial in a fair and orderly way.

But the jury brought in a verdict of guilty and recommended the death sentence. The other boys were hurriedly taken to Birmingham for safety. They will be tried separately and doubtless convicted and sentenced, although the trial has been temporarily postponed. The next move on the part of the defence will be to appeal the case again to the Supreme Court.

The prominent part in the defence was taken by the International Labour Defence, a communist organization, with which the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, though it had prepared the briefs used and had done much of the preliminary work, found it impossible to continue. It is, however, deeply interested in bringing the case and the problems involved before the Supreme Court and is quietly raising money and working toward that end. The Associotion announced on April 12 that although it still differed with the International Labour Defence on certain methods of procedure and on political philosophy, it has put these differences in the background and shall use all its energy in raising funds for the defence.

Such being the story (in bare, dispassionate outline), what concern is it of ours ?

It points to the extreme difficulty of the Negro's obtaining impartial justice in many of our American Courts today or even fair treatment, and impartial opportunity, in most American communities. The failure of democracy in this respect is most lamentable, nay, disgraceful. We criticize the South, but we of the North are very far from being guiltless.

The Negro people have yet a long hard road to travel, but can we not as churches, communities, or individuals do something more, nay, *much* more, to create a friendly feeling and to open the doors of industrial and professional opportunity as more and more become fitted for such work? Can we not demand justice, taboo prejudice, and apply to every race the test "a man's a man for a' that" and give to each his just due? Shame on a country that bestows citizenship and denies rights ! Shame on a community that proclaims freedom and neglects conscience; that proclaims God and the brotherhood of man, and sacrifices its citizens upon the altars of Moloch or Baal, of gain or greed, race prejudice, class hatred, sectional jealousies or national pride! We condemn others, rightly or wrongly. Would it not be more to the point to amend our own ways? Where there's a good will there's a good way.

—

Women's Movement in China

In an article on "China's Changing Culture" contributed to *World Unity Magazine*, Mr. Frank Rawlinson writes :

There is, as I have noted, a strong tendency to make women equal before the law. In modernized circles there is an equally strong tendency to give them general equality. They have educational equality also for all practical purposes. In 1923 the Society for the Study of International Education issued a report. This report declared that "the importance and benefit to society of education for women was demonstrated and proved by the Christian schools." Women have gone abroad to study also. This same report declared that in the examination for those going abroad, as set by the Ministry of Education, the women proved that their ability is equal to that of the men.

When their attitudes are modernized the Chinese seem to find it easy to recognize the equality of women by appointing them to positions held by men if they are qualified by training therefor. Within the churches there is little difficulty in appointing women on controlling committees or boards when they are

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so qualified. Of course, the number of available educated women is less than that of men. In 1922 the proportion of girls in Christian schools of the lower grades was a little less than one third; the proportion was much less in government schools. All schools are now open for the training of women for most careers. In 1923 about twenty-one per cent of the students in government normal schools were women. This is a new vocational outlet for women. A few Chinese women have even taken training for the ministry. In the larger cities they are quite prominent in business houses, both Chinese and foreign. Shanghai has a successful women's bank.

As early as the beginning of the nineteenth century a Chinese advocate appeared urging equality between the sexes in China, especially as regards moral standards. The party of reform under Kwang Hsu was also in favour of such equality. In 1901 a magazine was published in Tokyo advocating the rights of Chinese women. After the Revolution of 1911 women presented a petition to the Nanking Government asking for equal rights in government education and marriage and urging the abolition of the slave trade and concubinage. Their demands were not then heeded. In 1922, however, the women students of Peking organized the Women's Suffrage Association and the Women's Rights League. These two associations spread quickly. They aimed at equality in government, education, marriage, property and inheritance and equal pay for equal work. Hunan first gave women equal rights and in 1921 elected a woman to the Peking Parliament.

During recent years women's organizations have increased rapidly. These have achieved most in Canton. In March, 1927, for instance, 25,000 women joined a public parade in that city. To these women's movements the Nationalist Movement gave great impetus. This fact explains why women's organizations have made more rapid progress in Canton than elsewhere: the Nationalist Government has been at work longer there. Women, indeed, threw themselves enthusiastically into the Nationalist Movement. A few Nationalist cadet schools for girls were also established in which girls received the same training as boys, and some girls were sent to Russia for training. The Y. W. C. A. co-operated with these women's movements in a number of ways. Some reaction against and within these movements has appeared. But women in China are moving into a new social position. They are becoming articulate. The consciousness of their own solidarity has grown.

—

Hitler and Aryanism

Daniel A. Binchy writes as follows in Dublin *Studies* (quoted in *The Catholic World*) on Hitler's Aryanism:

Hitler's study of history—one may be pardoned for wondering about its extent—has convinced him that the chief lesson to be learned from it is the vital importance of preserving racial purity. The destruction of great empires and civilizations may be always traced to some contamination of the ruling race with inferior foreign blood. Among the races of mankind history shows one to have been predominant over all others in war, politics, morality and culture: the Aryan race. But here we meet a difficulty. Hitler does not seem to know the meaning of the word Aryan: indeed, he is not even sure of the meaning which he himself intends to attach to it. Sometimes he uses it to denote the western branches of the Indo-European race (a sense in which it is never used) as opposed to the Semites—and the Hindus! But on the very next page he speaks of Slavs, Latins, and other members of the western Indo-European stock as "inferior races," denying them the august title of Aryan. The latter is usually reserved for the peoples of Germanic race, or, to use the phrase made fashionable by pseudo-ethnologists of the last century, the "Nordic" peoples. The Nordic race is the flower of humanity, the *Herrenvolk* born to rule the world. But being few in numbers compared with the swarms of "lesser breeds" which surround it, it can only hope to retain its leadership of civilization by jealously preserving its racial purity from foreign intermixture. In this task the German people have a special responsibility; for Germany is the largest Nordic country in Europe and apparently possesses the Nordic virtues in special degree. The theory is by no means new: it counted adherents in Germany long before Hitler was heard of and, ironically enough, its chief apostles were two foreigners: the Frenchman Gobineau and the Englishman Houston Stewart Chamberlain. The latter's influence is manifest in Hitler's ethnological dissertations, and I should not be surprised if his reading on the subject has been confined to Chamberlain's *Die Grundlagen des neuntehnzen Jahrhunderts*. That this extreme theory has been refuted a thousandfold by history it is hardly necessary to state. Hitler may possibly believe it; his more intelligent followers certainly do not. They merely use it as a cloak to cover their crude anti-Semitism.

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Japanese Views of a Mandate

Under the Treaty of Versailles some of the South Sea Islands were entrusted to Japan as the Mandatory Power. The secession of Japan from the League of Nations has naturally raised the question whether the mandate has not also ceased along with the withdrawal. Japan, however, has no intention of surrendering her possessions, as will be seen from the following extract from an article by a Japanese admiral in *The Japan Magazine*—an interesting commentary on the mandatory system! The admiral writes:

It is needless to say that the South Sea Islands occupy an essential position in Japan's national defence. Take a glimpse at a chart of the Pacific, and you will immediately find how strategically an important position those islands under Japanese mandate hold in the very centre of the Western Pacific, surrounding Guam, blocking the Philippines, and erecting a strong-hold against possible American invasion in Eastern waters, constituting a menace to Japan's flank.

It is only for the reason of possessing the Archipelago under our mandate that we are content with a naval ratio of 7 for the maintenance of national defence. Should one of these islands be separated from our rule so as to fall into any other power's control, thus producing a crack in the naval-sentry line of Japan's national defence, we should

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be unable to maintain our security, even if with a ratio of 10 to 10 in our naval strategy. Furthermore, in the event of any foreign warships laying anchor along the Archipelago, Japan would be perfectly blocked from the sea, no doubt practically experiencing the application to this country of the League's sanction by virtue of Article 16 of its Covenant.

Needless to say, an economic blockade will not be so easily feasible. Both blocking and blocked countries will fall into similar financial difficulties; sometimes the blocking country may even experience far greater difficulties than the blocked. Especially is this the case with Japan which is now tied to Manchukuo by the strongest bonds.

However, in case the combined fleets of America and Britain should connect Singapore, Hongkong the Philippines, Guam, Hawaii and the South Sea Islands, Japan would be doomed to absolute isolation in the whole expanse of the Pacific from the Aleutian Islands in the north to the Southern Pacific. This strong pressure would eventually force Japan to resort to disadvantageous strategy, causing politicians to interfere in the important line of naval strategy. This is the most essential ground for our logic in maintaining drastic measures in regard to the future possession of mandatory region in the South Seas.

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Life Beyond the Earth

The discovery of bacteria in a meteorite by Professor C. B. Lipman has given occasion for speculation on forms of life in heavenly bodies other than the earth. *The New Republic* writes :

The weeks which have passed since Professor Charles B. Lipman made his surprising announcement that he had found living bacteria in meteorites have not resulted in successful refutation of his claim. To be sure, his statement is being hotly attacked in some quarters by those who assert that the bacteria must have got into the meteors after they had reached the earth ; but thus far, such statements, appear to be mere surmise. The real test, of course, will come when his experiments are repeated by others. His own account of what he has done written in the careful style of the orthodox scientist, would seem to indicate that he took every possible precaution against the accidental transplanting of bacteria into his samples. Assuming that the bacteria were native to the meteorites, they could readily have survived the fiery heating of the outer surface during the meteor's rush through the earth atmosphere, the internal temperature being demonstrably quite cool. The exact origin of meteors is of course unknown, but according to astronomical theory many of them probably come from comets and others represent stray fragments, children or grandchildren of the sun's original mass, whirling arround in the solar system and finally picked up by the tidal attraction of one planetary body or another.

The discovery of life on meteors, if assumed to be authentic, would thus indicate the inherence of life in celestial matter conditioned far less favourably than are such planets as Mars or Mercury. But even when accepted with reserve, Professor Lipman's experiments cannot but raise— if only speculatively— a corner of the veil on the mystery of life and man in the great universe.

—

The Nazi Terror in Germany

A correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* (quoted in *The Living Age*) describes the Nazi terror in Germany :

There is a widespread belief that Germany has been through a period in which some deplorable but nevertheless natural excesses have been committed—natural in so far as revolutions are habitually accompanied by a certain effervescence that usually leads to disorder and mob violence. Indeed, among the supporters of the Hitlerite regime there is a certain pride—pride because the 'revolution' was carried out with so little bloodshed; and the phrase, 'unbloodiest revolution in history,' has become a favourite catchword.

The Hitlerite victory is not a revolution but a counter-revolution. There have been both revolutions and counter-revolutions less bloody, and, as for the belief that the violence of the last few weeks has been of the kind natural in a period of excitement, it is necessary to state categorically that this belief is wholly erroneous. To hold it is wholly to misconceive the character of the Hitlerite counter-revolution.

The German Government, and more particularly Captain Göring, who, no less than Hitler himself, is the dictator of Germany, by admitting a few and denying the many excesses (while designating the few as perfectly natural, indeed excusable, as Captain Göring did in his speech at Stettin on March 17) attempt not only to conceal by far the greater and by far the more terrible part of the truth, but also to make themselves and their so called 'revolution' appear unique and resplendent by reason of the kindness and the magnamity of its leaders and the prodigious decency and self-discipline of their followers. Thus they convert a thing of shame into an object of self-congratulation and boastful pride.

This they are able to do all the more easily because they have the power - there is no press in Germany, and no news that is not all obsequiousness to the will of the dictatorship can be told ; no truth can be told by the defeated opposition, and no falsehood told by the Government can be publicly denied.

The deeds of violence committed in the first period of the dictatorship were not desultory, they were not mob rule, they were systematic and purposeful. The opposition (collectively and individually) must not merely be defeated according to normal constitutional procedure; it must be broken up, demoralized, and intimidated by physical force—this, and this alone, is the true policy of the dictatorship towards the opposition.

The methods used will be familiar to all acquainted with the history of German reaction ever since the year 1918. They were used in the Ruhr in 1920. They have not changed except in so far as they have been elaborated. They consist essentially in beating as many of the opposition as can be caught, the beatings often taking the most inhuman form. They inflict extreme physical agony and sometimes death, and cause widespread fear—they are meant to cause

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fear, and to serve as an example and a warning. This, indeed, is their chief purpose, and a whole population can be kept in a state of dread by a dozen such exemplary beatings. The Polish 'pacification of the Ukraine' is a well-known instance of this method—the Brown Terror of the last few weeks is nothing less than the Hitlerite 'pacification' of Republican Germany.

These beatings—often accompanied by murder—are not disorders that are being called off or suppressed by the dictotorship in an effort to restore order. They are themselves the instruments of the very order the dietatorship is establishing. They only cease when their purpose is accomplished—that is to say, when the opposition is utterly broken and demoralized. But as the opposition may show signs of recovery at any moment, the Terror must remain in existence. Thus the beatings and the murders will recommence (they have not ceased altogether even yet) the moment the opposition begins to stir, or seems to stir, until the Terror can be legalized.

Germany is now in the period of transition between the non-legal Terror (that is to say, the beatings and the nonjudicial murders) and the legal Terror (that is to say, imprisonment or death under laws specially enacted so that the opposition may be kept in a permanent state of fear and demoralization). The non-legal and the legal Terror are both organic parts of one permanent terroristic system, the non-legal being a kind of extemporized preliminary to the more ordered legal Terror, which, although even the more unmerciful of the two, is at least as effective and does not appear so barbaric in the eyes of the world.

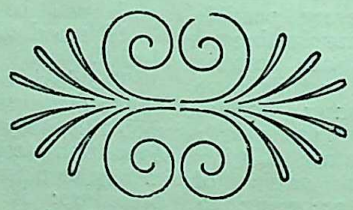
Of the non-legal Terror many instances have been published, though not always with complete accuracy of detail, for the German authorities do all in their power to suppress or distort the truth.

The extent of the whole truth cannot be estimated. There is nothing but fragmentary news from the country generally, and even in Berlin only a fraction of the atrocities committed by the Brown Shirts can be definitely established. But even that little leaves no doubt at all that the Brown Terror is, both for the number of the victims and for the inhumanity of the methods used, one of the most frightful atrocities of modern times, and in no way comparable with the Red Terror of revolutionary Russia or France, because it is not an instrument used under the compulsion of a life and death struggle.

The alternative to those two Red Terrors was a White Terror ; but to the Brown Terror (which is a variety of the White) there was no alternative Terror, for at no time were the Nazis oppressed or in danger of being oppressed by their opponents when the latter were in power as the Nazis are oppressing their opponents now that these are prostrate.

A CORRECTION

The review of "The Golden Book of Tagore" on p. 690 of this issue is by Dr. Will Durant, whose name was omitted through an oversight.



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NOTES

Mahatma Gandhi Breaks His Fast

By his faith in God, the purity of his life and his resolve to live or die for the noblest of causes Mahatma Gandhi has been able to complete his fast of twenty-one days.

He has broken his fast.

We rejoice.

Renewed in spirit, may he live long for the loving service of his fellow-creatures.

His devoted friends, co-workers and followers have been working with great zeal during the last three weeks for the amelioration of the condition of the backward classes. It is to be hoped that this enthusiasm will be permanent. If those whose impurity was a cause of Mahatmaji's fast have repented and purified themselves, Mahatmaji has not suffered for them in vain. It is possible that some at least among the obdurate orthodox Hindus have changed their attitude towards the "Harijans."

The Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, has sent the following message to Mahatma Gandhi :

> Relieved from poignant anxiety with thankful heart we welcome this great day when from death's challenge you come out victorious to renew your fight against sacrilegious bigotry simulating piety and moral degeneracy of the powerful.

China, Japan, and India

In our last May number we quoted a cable from Shanghai summarizing a statement made by Mr. Eugen Chen, ex-foreign minister of China, in which it was said that the day of British withdrawal from India was not far distant. "after which India would be at the mercy of the Japanese fleet." The whole statement is now available in *The People's Tribune* of Shanghai. It is only prophets, if there be any, who can say whether the British will ever *withdraw* from India, and if so, when. They are preparing to rule India for a rather long, indefinitely long, period to come. If they had their way, by the time the British connection with India ceased, should it ever cease, Japan might not be in a position to invade India. But let us hear what Mr. Eugen Chen says. He begins by observing :

> The attempt of Japan to destroy the international system which hitherto has sustained the territorial and administrative integrity of China, is a matter of profound interest to India, more specially to Congress India.

He proceeds to give his reasons.

> The day must come when the British shall leave India, after completing a task which, begun in conquest, has been transformed by the forces of historical development into a trustee's stewardship. And because events are moving swiftly under pressure of revolutionary changes destined to alter the existing order of society throughout the world, the departure of the British raj from India may not be far distant. When this event takes place, the question of defending India against invasion will have to be faced.

It is stated :

> In the past, invasion has come overland from the North-west and from the West across the sea. If and when Indian independence becomes a reality and the real government of the peninsula passes into Indian hands, the overland danger, in so far as it may consist of possible irruption of frontier tribes, can be dealt with by a comparatively small and highly mechanized army whose main striking arm may be an efficient air force.
>
> But the danger from across the sea will be more formidable. It will not come from the West but from the East in the shape of Japanese naval power. India was officially brought within the orbit of Japanese naval power by the Anglo-Japanese Alliance on its first renewal in 1905, and again on its second renewal in 1911. And the connection has since been powerfully riveted, so to speak, by the striking development of Japanese trade in India as a result of the Indian boycott

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of British goods and the Chinese boycott of Japanese goods.

Mr. Eugen Chen adds why Japan would claim India.

As one form of Chinese resistance to Japan's military violence in Manchuria, the Chinese boycott of Japanese goods has been put into operation ; and the boycott is also a national necessity, if only because it would be suicidal for China to buy Japanese goods and thus supply Japan with the means of financing her war of conquest in China.

But the undoubted losses suffered by Japan through the Chinese boycott are being recouped by Japan in India. The India market today is as important to Japan as the China market, and it is likely to become so important to Japanese industrial and commercial economy that just as Manchuria is said to be Japan's "life-line." so India may, not improbably, be claimed by Japan to be another "life-line."

On this view India will face the same danger that China will face from Japanese hegemony over continental Asia. For it will then become a vital Japanese interest to prevent the industrial development of India in a manner and on a scale likely to compete or interfere with Japan's thorough exploitation of the India market. But in planning to secure the eventual domination of India, Japan has of course no intention to settle her surplus population in the Peninsula, since there is no available "empty space' in India for the Japanese. In other words, Japan's main objective in her designs on India is to capture eventually the entire monopoly of the India market and, as a necessary corollary, to prevent India from developing into an industrial State, so that Indian production shall not compete with Japanese production in the India market.

The statement concludes thus :

If then, Japan succeeds in her present war of conquest in China and possesses herself of the strategic and material resources to invade India on the morrow of the departure of the British *raj* (a development, it must be emphasized, that is inevitable in view of the neccessity of the India market to Japanese industrial power), it must be plain to India, particularly to Nationalist India, that there is a vital relation between the Manchurian question and Indian freedom and security.

Should India facilitate the Japanese conquest of China by allowing Japan to penetrate and exploit the India market, China must neccessarily and fatally suffer. But if China suffers today, India will indubitably suffer tomorrow. Whereas if India co-operate with China by instituting an Indian boycott of Japanese goods—even if this involve a relaxation of the Indian boycott of British goods (which has in reality ceased to be a necessary measure of pressure to secure Indian Independence)—there is certain to be, should the day of danger dawn, a strong China, friendly and grateful to India, on the flank of Japan's line of invasion to the Peninsula.

This is a matter of deep concern to the whole of India ; and therefore China appeals to Indian nationalists to move, through Congress action, the Indian masses to realization of the Japanese menace to Asia and to other Indians, who share officially in the work of government, to raise in Council the question of Japanese economic penetration in the sense of an urgent matter affecting the present economic security and the future defence of India.

Whether the British would *withdraw* from India and whether in consequence the Japanese would invade India, need not be discussed. But it is the bounden duty of Indians to safe-guard and develop their own trade and industries without any feeling of bitterness against any foreign nation. Luxury articles, in a comprehensive sense, from abroad India need not and should not purchase. She should purchase only those foreign articles which are necessary to make and keep her sons and daughters efficient, endeavouring all the while to manufacture them herself, such, for example, as machinery for manufacturing purposes.

Indo-Japanese Trade

Let us have some idea of the extent and variety of Japan's exports to India.

According to the *Asahi* Japan's exports to India in 1932 totalled 192,000,000 yen. India has gradually been taking the place of the China trade, which has been dwindling in recent years. In fact, the Indian market after America is the most important for Japan. Beside cotton, silk and rayon fabrics, Japan exports chinaware (3,463,000 yen in 1932), glassware (4,106,000 yen), machinery (900,000 yen), toys (1,465,000 yen), paper (1,160,000 yen), brassware (2,989,000 yen), electric bulbs (909,000 yen), hats (899,000 yen), camphor (972,000 yen), beer (694,000 yen), soap (98,000 yen), umbrellas (265,000 yen), and brushes (172,000 yen).

In 1932, as compared with 1931, Japan's purchases from India declined from 133 million yen to 116 millions, while India's purchases from Japan increased from 110 millions to 192 million yen. *The Japan Chronicle* writes :

A trade balance upset in this extraordinary manner cannot fail to cause some commotion ; and when Mr Gandhi said, something over a year ago, that Indian industries needed much more protection against Japanese competition than against British competition, he showed, for a saint, remarkable commercial insight. It is of a country that is thus open to Japanese goods that General Araki is pleased to say that the people groan under British oppression and that Asia cannot stand any more of it. Apparently Indians think that the best thing they can do with the freedom that they have is to check such a flood of Japanese goods, especially when Japan is apparently endeavouring to shut out Indian goods from her markets.

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How is the shuttting out being done ? We read in the same paper :

> Japanese writers have protested that since Japan buys Indian raw cotton, it is only a matter of reciprocity for India to take something in exchange. Statements like this are, of course, made without any regard to the facts and without any reference to the figures. Japan is now taking far more American than Indian cotton, and would be rather astonished if reproached with the fact and asked to practise more reciprocity. Tremendous efforts have been made to abolish the import of pig-iron from India. and imports of leather and rubber thence have declined. There has been some increase in lead. On the other hand, Indian imports of toys, lamps, brushes, umbrellas, machinery, iron manufactures, iron, glass, earthenware, cement, paper, jewellery, buttons, hats and caps, knitted goods, silk handkerchiefs, cotton towels, cotton blankets, silks and rayons, woollen goods, cotton goods, cotton yarns, matches, camphor, soap, fish oil, peppermint oil, vegetable oils, and beer, all showed extraordinary increases in 1932 as compared with 1931.

It has been argued that as the purchasing power of the average Indian is low and as Japanese goods are the cheapest in the market, it is best for Indians to buy Japanese goods. *The Japan Chronicle* furnishes the following reply to this argument :

> Neither in India nor in any other country nowadays is it considered, by those who have most influence in tariff matters. beneficial to buy cheaply. Rather it rouses them to the highest pitch of alarm, and they demand protection from such benefits. Any other country which had such an experience as India would do the same thing.

Great feeling has been aroused in Japan at the efforts being officially made to protect Indian industries, though it is believed that the object is not so much to safe-guard Indian interests as to safe-guard the interests of Lancashire. But no industrial nation which imposes protective duties on imports ought to be surprised at what is being done in India. Japan freely resorts to such protective methods whenever she thinks it necessary. As *The Japan Chronicle* says :

> Japanese duties are increased monstrously, and, if any objection is raised, it is pointed out that this is necessary in order to enable the home industry to get established, or to redress the adverse balance of trade, or to check luxurious tendencies,—all of which are regarded as perfectly good reasons, though it is forgotten that they are likely to be as good for other countries as for Japan. At one time, the plea used to be made that Japan was only a beginner in the industrial arts, and that if her actions seemed to lack reciprocity that might well be overlooked ; but it is much the same now that her industries are causing alarm among her competitors.

"The Asiatic League of Nations!"

Of all people in the world some Japanese gentlemen recently held a preliminary meeting in Tokyo to form an *Asiatic* League of Nations! The other League of Nations, of which Japan has ceased to be a member, has not approved of what Japan has been doing in China. But is it not also true that it has not done anything or has not been able to do anything to thwart Japanese ambitions? Perhaps the gentlemen referred to above expect that the *Asiatic* League of Nations, if and when formed, would not only not do or say anything which is distasteful to Japan or against Japanese interests but would also positively approve of whatever Japan might say or do.

The sponsors of the Asiatic League of Nations appear or profess to believe that India is waiting for Japan to deliver her from oppression, though in the meantime the oppressed country feels constrained to practise a little economic self-defence against her would-be deliverer !

Europeans have found it extraordinarily paying to play the role of the "trustee," the uplifter, and the bearer of the white man's burden in the East. No wonder, some Far-Easterners, too, should think it good business to play the role of deliverers of Asia from Western oppression. "Asia seems to be singularly ungrateful for the benefits of this great ideal, and is seeking protection from the flood of cheap goods from Japan," says *The Japan Chronicle.*

Japan and India

It is right and proper for every nation to protect and safe-guard its own trade and industries without injuring the legitimate economic interests of other nations. If by the abuse of political power or by 'dumping' any foreign nation obtains economic superiority in a country and then claims that it is legitimate for it by every means in its power to continue to exploit that country, such a claim cannot be allowed. Economic supremacy in a country, just like political supremacy in it, legitimately belongs only to its nationals. If this is admitted as it should be and if the economic

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autonomy and supremacy of the nationals of a country is not sought to be destroyed, directly or indirectly, by unfair means, every nation ought to be allowed to carry on commercial intercourse with other nations.

Indians have no desire to pick a quarrel with other nations. They want to maintain friendly relations with all other nations. They wish to do this while maintaining their self-respect and safe-guarding their own interests in their own country and abroad, just as other nations do. Hence they desire to be on friendly terms with Japan. This, though difficult, should not be impossible, considering that the best minds in Japan and India owe allegiance to the highest spiritual ideals of Asia. Such friendship is also necessary from the worldly point of view, because India and Japan are among the best customers of one another. If India had been self-ruling, trade relations between the two countries could have been sought to be placed on a satisfactory basis by conference between representative Japanese and Indians. But situated as India is, Indo-Japanese trade relations would be determined by Englishmen. If any Indians be employed to carry on negotiations between the two countries, they will not be free to seek the interests of India alone or primarily, but must see to it that British interests are safe-guarded above all.

Nevertheless, Indian men of business should make their views known to Japan, Britain, and the world in general.

Japanese Efficiency

Japan is at present engaged in actual warfare in China in defiance of what international opinion exists, as well as in economic warfare in India and several other regions of the earth. Whatever the moral and spiritual aspects of this twofold fight may be, it betokens a state of great national efficiency. It speaks highly of Japan's military organization, equipment and strategy and of her industrial efficiency and commercial organization. Underlying both is the ardent, uneffervescent and persistent patriotism of Japanese men and women. While in India orthodox Hindus are still fighting against some castes entering the temples where images of gods and goddesses are kept, though cats, rats, mice, worms and insects enter them and touch the idols, in Japan the Samurai, the highest caste, voluntarily gave up their privileges and put an end to the caste system there.

Japan's industrial and commercial success is explained in part by the depreciation of the yen. This is true so far as recent months are concerned. But Japan had been capturing Indian and other markets before the fall of the yen. And though the depreciated yen helps her in her export trade, it is somewhat of a handicap in her import trade. Japan's economic progress is due to her remarkable industrial and commercial organization, to the Japanese carrying on both cottage and large scale factory industries, to the general and technical education given to the men and women employed in factories and shops, their healthy housing conditions, their plain living and frugal habits, the comparatively low wages given to them, their efficiency, their habits of hard continuous work and their patriotism. And of course, there is also the great factor of national independence, which enables Japan to erect high tariff walls wherever and whenever needed. India's industrial and commercial magnates are loud in their prayers for protective tariffs. But should they not also bear in mind the other factors which have made for Japan's industrial and commercial advancement?

The Sino-Japanese War

There are talks of truce between China and Japan. If the two countries agree to the cessation of warfare, third parties have no business to demur. But it is permissible to state that no people can willingly accept subjection and that no truce under hostile military pressure can be lasting which is born of the despair of resistance of a people's leaders for the time being. Some leaders may consider further resistance impossible. But there may be others—particularly the mass of the people, who may have a different opinion. The Chinese cannot have exhausted

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all possible methods of resistance. Moreover, even if the entire population of a country bend their necks to the yoke of the stranger, that mood cannot be everlasting. The human mind has great buoyancy. It refuses to remain depressed for long. And should the generation which accepted defeat have entirely lost its resiliency, the same can never be said of its successors.

Japan may succeed for the time being in practically annexing not only Manchuria and Jehol but other parts of the Chinese republic also. But such success will not make that right which is morally wrong. And in the long run Japan may find her acts of aggression in the Asiatic mainland detrimental even to her material interests.

Disarmament Talks.

Talks of disarmament, or rather of reduction of armaments, have been springing surprises upon the public as day succeeds day. If independent nations can agree to the reduction of the armaments to any extent, the consequent reduction of their military expenditure will enable them to spend more for the amelioration of the condition of the proletariat and the advancement of civilization. If direct and indirect attacks on the civilian non-combatant population, war upon women and children, and warfare by means of poison gases and bacteriological infection be tabooed, that would be no mean gain.

Germany rightly insists on equality as regards arming or disarming. Either all nations must disarm or she must be allowed to arm herself like others.

If armies be reduced to the real level of domestic police and President Roosevelt's suggestion that armies should not be sent beyond the frontiers of a country be followed, India's military expenditure may be reduced to some extent. But as India is a subject country, some subterfuge may be found to keep the present strength of the army in India intact.

Whatever reductions there may be in the armaments of independent nations, the enslaved position of subject nations will remain unaltered. For the independent nations which possess dependencies, will be able to retain masters of their subjects with even their reduced armaments; because the dependencies have no armies and armaments which they can call *their own.*

And reduction of armaments will not lead to the cessation of war. In days gone by peoples fought for years and decades at a stretch, though they did not possess modern weapons of destruction. As George Bernard Shaw has said, people will fight with their legs and teeth and nails and fists, though they may not have even primitive weapons. For the cessation of war, greed and hate have to be curbed. The birth and growth of inter-popular and inter-racial amity and co-operation, born of the conviction that we all rise or fall together, can alone lead to that much desired consummation. Such amity and co-operation pre-suppose the cessation of economic warfare and the limitation of that large scale of manufacture of which the object is the capturing of markets anyhow and everywhere.

Disarmament and the Example of Japan

We have grave doubts as to whether Europe and America, far from disarming themselves, will even reduce their armaments to the domestic police level. The governments and peoples of Europe and America have their eyes and ears about them and have also sufficient political sense. They find that Japan, armed to the teeth, has been able to defy the League of Nations and its Member-States jointly and severally and America to boot. Nobody has yet had the temerity to ask Japan to disarm or reduce her armaments. Is there any guarantee that, after becoming mistress of the resources of Manchuria and Jehol and after consolidating her power to exploit the human and material resources of the rest of China by compelling that country to become a subordinate ally, Japan will respect the imperialistic "rights" and interests of Europe and America in their dependencies, colonies and spheres of influence? We do not think the U. S. A. and the great powers of Europe will be so free from mutual jealousy and suspicion and the jealousy and suspicion of Japan as to reduce their armaments to the point of running any risk.

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Subject Condition and Pacifism or "Ahimsa"

Individual *ahimsa* or pacifism we appreciate as highly spiritual, particularly when a person who is able to fight chooses not to have recourse to physical force. Similarly we appreciate collective pacifism or *ahimsa*, specially of virile nations who are able to fight. For that reason we think it is the great warlike powers which ought to set the example of *ahimsa* or pacifism. It is their *ahimsa* or pacifism which the world will accept as the genuine thing.

We do not mean that weak peoples should go in for *himsa* or the use of physical force individually or collectively. That would be ineffectual and unwise. But what we certainly do say is that weak peoples should not boast of their *ahimsa* or non-violence. Let them develop their strength. And then they may be proud of their non-violence.

But this is a digression.

What we wanted to ask ourselves is, what should be our attitude or duty in view of the pacifistic propaganda carried on in America and some countries of Europe. Undergraduates of Oxford and some other British universities have passed resolutions by big majorities that they will not fight for king or country. There are older pacifists, too, in Great Britain and other European countries and in America. At the same time, in many of these countries and in Japan there is military training for students—even for girl students. There is a very weak and mild movement for the military training of Indian students. Should we denounce it or try to make it very very strong? We know, of course, that even if the agitation in favour of the military training of our students became very strong, the British Government would not give all our physically fit young men the most up-to-date training with the most up-to-date weapons. And it is not practical politics to suggest that there can or should be any non-official independent movement for giving them such training.

What should we then do? Make a virtue of necessity and declare that, as we Indians are an ancient race which has attained the highest degree of spirituality, we should prevent all our students from joining the University Training Corps or other similar bodies, and go on boasting of our innate pacifistic spirituality? If we choose to do so, we should also fervently thank the British Government for fostering the spiritual tendencies of the vast majority of Indians. But if our young men choose to go in for military training in order to acquire self-respect and self-confidence, they should do so without being subject to the delusion that it would be of such kinds and character as to enable them to defend their country from any possible foreign invasion in future. But they can certainly look forward to the next best thing, namely, the ideal of offering some resistance to the future invader, which, even if ineffectual, would be better than sheer servile acquiescence in every fresh future subjugation of India, after the British people have agreed to the discontinuance of their domination here.

We are, therefore, of the opinion that, whilst the militarist Governments of the independent countries of the world should go in for pacifism, our Government should encourage the military spirit in all provinces of India. In the world as a whole, those who are too bellicose should become pacifistic and those who are too pacifistic should become capable of fighting—and both the processes and tendencies should receive encouragement from the respective Governments of the bellicose and pacifistic peoples.

Malaria and British Rule

Dr. Caleb Williams Saleeby, M. D., writes in his work on *The Progress of Eugenics* (Cassell and Co.), page 228:

> According to Sir Ronald Ross, malaria is a racial poison, and I have elsewhere cited the evidence of the Cambridge historians, which suggests that the introduction of this disease may have been responsible for Athenian decadence—the greatest tragedy in history. Great Britain is responsible for malaria in India and the hour will come when we must deal with it. Florence Nightingale fought during decades for sanitation in India, and now we know that nothing could serve the Indian people so well as measures against the malarial mosquito. It will remain to be seen how the reduction of this racial poison will affect the natural vigour of the inhabitants of the peninsula, and whether,

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without malaria, which is probably our best ally there, they will be content to remain under our rule.

We do not know what data have led Dr. Saleeby to conclude that "Great Britain is responsible for malaria in India." But as the British people exercise supreme power over India, it is certainly their bounden duty to eradicate this "racial poison." The task has not baffled human endeavour in some other countries and will not baffle it here, if undertaken in real earnest.

Japan Swallowing China

The Manchester Guardian writes :

The Japanese campaign marches by the formula which the Germans made historic in 1914 : according to plan. The plan has a double face, diplomatic and military. In order to defend herself Japan attacked China, occupied Manchuria, established Manchukuo. Having rested, and in order to defend Manchukuo, she invaded Jehol. Having rested again, and in order to defend Jehol, she has crossed the Great Wall and occupied a triangle of ground near the coast which includes Chinwangtao. How far will Japan have to advance into China in order to defend herself sufficiently ? To Tientsin, to Pekin, to Nanking ? There was no truth in her contention that self-defence forced her to make war in Manchuria in 1931, but it is true enough now that her military position is weak. However far she goes, the continuance of Chinese resistance, the presence of substantial Chinese forces in the field, threatens the safety of her advanced army and irresistibly draws her on. Jehol is a Chinese base against Manchukuo ; the area immediately south of the Wall is a base against Jehol ; the Peking-Tientsin region is now a base against the new positions which Japan has seized south of the Wall. Japan must seek military security. Her soldiers, who rule the country, may like war, but no soldier desires indefinite war with the same enemy. From his own point of view, the professional soldier's, that means failure, with however many victories it is decorated. If he is more than a mere soldier, he knows that it also means a strain on his country which will be serious if there are economic and political weaknesses in the home front.

Japan, therefore, is driven by circumstances to go on seeking military security. She is like the Indian Government which used always to dread an Afghanistan penetrated by Russian influence. But Japan's Afghanistan is not stationary ; however far she advances, it is still just ahead of her. General Araki (the same that is so anxious to free India from British 'oppression') will now announce that the Japanese army will make no further move 'unless deliberately challenged by the Chinese.' (formula used on March 16, before the advance from Jehol), but that is the diplomatic constant in his 'plan.'

The British paper points out what Great Britain should do in collaboration with the League of Nations and the United States of America.

It has been an astonishing abdication in the field of foreign policy that we have apparently never since September, 1931, realized, nor realize even now, whither Japan's absorption of Northern China is leading. Even now it might not be too late for action if we had a policy and were prepared, along with the League and the United States, to press it. But nowadays the liberal influences seem always to be passive and hesitating ; the illiberal, quick and active. The Government should urge on the United States that policy of the embargo against Japan alone which France is already anxious to adopt ; it should urge a common declaration that no financial assitance will be given to Japan. It does not matter that Japan at the moment may need neither arms nor money from abroad ; the day may come when she will need both, and in any event it is necessary to insist and re-insist that the world condemns her attack on China and will never accept its results. We ought also to assist the Chinese Government, both now and in the future, by every means in our power. China has accepted the co-operation of League advisers in her administration and is seeking more of them. We should use all our influence at the League to extend this assistance, and, wherever possible, Americans should be brought in to collaborate in it. China should be made to feel that, whatever the present success of the Japanese aggressor, the League and its friends desire to go on helping her, if she will have her help, to a better and more stable condition, and that, however long the interval may be, they will one and all refuse to recognize the results of Japanese aggression. If they would do that, the period would not be so long after all.

Influence of Soviet Government on Asia

Mr. H. G. Wells writes in his book, *What are We to do with Our Lives,* pages 90-91 :

However severely the guiding themes and practical methods of the Soviet Government in Russia may be criticized, the fact remains that it has cleared out of its way many of the main obstructive elements that we find still vigorous in the more highly organized communities of the West. It has liberated vast areas from the kindred superstitions of the monarchy and the need for a private proprietary control of great economic interests. And it has presented both China and India with the exciting spectacle of a social and political system capable of throwing off many of the most characteristic features of triumphant Westernism, and yet holding its own. In the days when Japan faced up to modern necessities there were no models for imitation that were not communities of the Atlantic type pervaded by the methods of private capitalism, and in consequence the Japanese reconstructed their affairs on a distinctly European plan, adopting a Parliament and bringing their monarchy, social hierarchy, and

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business and financial methods into a general conformity with that model. It is extremely doubtful whether any other Asiatic community will now set itself to a parallel imitation, and it will be thanks largely to the Russian revolution that this breakaway from Europeanization has occurred.

Santiniketan College

On the re-opening of colleges after the summer vacation undergraduates who want to prosecute their studies further will join some college or other. Those who have passed the Matriculation Examination will join college for the first time. Those who have passed the Intermediate Examination in Arts or Science may continue to attend their old colleges, if possible, or may join a new college.

The attention of collegians who want to join a new college and of matriculates is drawn to the advertisement of Santiniketan College in the present issue of *The Modern Review.*

The special features and advantages of this institution are known to old readers of this journal. For a liberal culture in harmony with India's national cultures studies of a somewhat wider range are required than are offered by the groups of courses in ordinary colleges. Besides such courses Santiniketan college offers its own courses of studies, for which separate diplomas are given. Moreover, students of this college can learn music, painting, etc., without extra charge. Santiniketan is free from the distractions and temptations of crowded city life but provides the amenities of town life. A great advantage is open air life in touch with Nature. As the maximum number of students admitted to this college is one hundred and as in the coming session there will be only sixty new admissions, the professors are in a position to pay attention to the individual requirements of students. The institution being residential, corporate life is a possibility and an actuality. Students from many provinces of India congregate here. Among the professors, too, there are persons from different provinces of India and from outside India. Students are, therefore, able to learn practical lessons in cosmopolitan life.

Rammohun Roy Centenary

In the advertisement section of this number the reader will find an Appeal issued by the Rammohun Roy Centenary celebrations committee presided over by Rabindranath Tagore. Preparations for the celebration of this centenary are being made in Calcutta and many other provincial capitals and other towns. Preliminary preparatory meetings have been already held in many places. For instance, an Associated Press telegram informs the public that in Lahore

> Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians joined in the birthday celebrations of Raja Rammohun Roy, the founder of the Brahmo Samaj. Tributes were paid to Raja Rammohun Roy, who was described as the father of modern India, at the public meeting at which Mr. Justice Abdul Qadir presided and also at a ladies' meeting under the presidentship of Mrs. Brijlal Nehru.

Sir Samuel Hoare on Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya

Some weeks ago Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya circulated a statement giving details of unprovoked assaults alleged to have been committed upon peaceful and non-violent delegates to the last session of the Indian National Congress in Calcutta. The statement mentioned the exact places of occurrence, the nature of the assaults, and insults, the names of many of the victims, and the dates and hours of the assaults, and gave details by means of which some at any rate of the policemen who were alleged to have committed the assaults could be identified. Twenty-four members of the Indian Legislative Assembly brought this statement to the notice of the Home Member of the Government of India, who thereupon promised to forward it to the Government of Bengal for inquiry and report.

On a question being put in the British House of Commons as to what has been done with regard to the statement, Sir Samuel Hoare has informed the House that the Bengal Government has found the statement to be false from start to finish. On a supplementary question being asked, drawing attention to the fact that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is considered to be a person who speaks the truth, Sir Samuel, using

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offensive language, said that it was to be regretted that the Pandit should have given publicity on two occasions to "very vicious and false" charges. The Secretary of State has also said that the Bengal Government will issue a *communique* on the subject. This has not yet (May 28, 1933) been published.

These questions and answers having been published in Indian dailies, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya sent a cable to the Secretary of State and some members of Parliament, saying that if a public inquiry were made he would have evidence led to establish the truth of the statement. He added that if no such inquiry were made, he would be glad to be prosecuted on the charge of having issued a false statement.

These alternative challenges are extremely fair. As Sir Samuel Hoare is a brave Englishman, it is to be hoped he will accept either according to his choice.

After the publication of the Pandit's rejoinder the *Free Press* of India has published a statement made by Mr. Gopika Bilas Sen of Birbhum, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the last session of the Indian National Congress (declared unlawful) to the effect that Panditji's statement is true to the letter and that he (Mr. Sen) was an eye-witness and victim of the assaults. So, if Sir Samuel Hoare orders a public inquiry, Mr. Sen would obviously be ready to give evidence; or if he orders Panditji to be prosecuted, Mr. Sen should also share the Pandit's fate.

Whatever happens, let us in the meantime wait for a little while for the Bengal Government's *communique*. That document would be expected to tell the public by what process that Government had arrived at the conclusion that the alleged assaults were entirely a figment of some men's imagination. Evidently the value to be attached to the official *communique* would depend on the fact of there having been no inquiry or some inquiry, and on the nature of the inquiry, if any. All officials connected with the administration of India, from the Secretary of State downwards, know that people all over the world consider the results of public inquiries more credible than those of inquiries *in camera*.

It is unnecessary to discuss the degrees of credibility of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the high British officers concerned. We do not mean to suggest that, even if the statement were proved after public enquiry to be false substantially or in detail, that would in the least affect Panditji's reputation for veracity. It would only show that he had been misinformed. On the other hand, if the statement were proved true in substance, that would not show conclusively that the Secretary of State, the Government of India and the Government of Bengal had knowingly said things which were false. It would only show that they had been misinformed.

It should, however, be added that their love of truth would remain unimpugned if either a public inquiry or the prosecution of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya were ordered.

The public would naturally attach importance to two facts. Even if the information, supplied to the Secretary of State by the Government of India and the Government of Bengal, turned out to be incorrect substantially or even in every detail, none of the august personages concerned would run the risk of even the mildest punishment or censure. But so far as Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is concerned, he has run the risk of prosecution and punishment by circulating the statement. All over the world, other things being equal, different values are attached to statements made by persons who run no risks by making them and to statements made by persons who do run risks by making them. Of course, if Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya had no record of public service and if he were a person who simply wanted to achieve notoriety by courting imprisonment, the mere fact of running a risk would not enhance the importance of his statement.

The other occasion on which, according to Sir Samuel, Panditji made himself responsible for "very vicious and false" charges, was the case of some women Congress volunteers in Benares. In relation to it the Pandit has rightly pointed out that Government has not published any reply to his

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elaborate criticism of the Benares magistrate's judgment in the case—a criticism which has been accepted by the Indian public as legitimate, cogent, fair and conclusive, and as substantially establishing the truth of the women volunteers' complaints.

Premier's Defence of British Policy in India

London, May, 25.

Referring to India in the Empire Day broadcast from Lossiemouth last evening, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald said that the Government had to deal with a position in India where its demands became the occasion for the defiance of order and peace. These were dealt with quietly but firmly. Every good government should be prepared to be terrorized. The problem in India was one of natural growth. It had parentage in the education we had given to it and in the political lessons we had taught to its people. Whatever steps we might have taken to meet it would have shown that we knew as to why the problem had arisen and what its nature was and that our way in handling it had been to provide conditions for peaceful development whilst retaining allegiance to the Crown. That was the progress which gave both life and spirit to the Commonwealth.—"*Reuter*."

Assuming Mr. MacDonanld's description of the position in India to be correct, it would not be unfair to ask who was responsible for it. Swaraj has been long overdue in India. Mr. MacDonald himself admitted long ago by implication that India was ripe for Swaraj when he prophesied that another Dominion (meaning India) would be added to the existing ones in the course of a few months. But every pledge, promise, or (as he would put it) "declaration of intention," given or made by British statesmen and royalty, has vanished into thin order. Petitions, prayers, protests, arguments, for decades—nothing has been of any avail. When, all these constitutional means having been exhausted in their opinion, some ardent patriots have adopted other but *non-violent* means, Mr. MacDonald turns round and casts angry looks on them for not remaining for ever in the prayerful mood! Let us assume that he is right. Why does he not then grant the prayers of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Jayakar and Co., who have never been defiant and non-pacific even in thought? The British premier will perhaps say that the sins of the defiant are to be visited on the non-defiant, just as in Bengal parents or other guardians are punished for the technical offences committed by their sons, daughters or other wards. To which the rejoinder may be that, as it has not been established that Messrs. Sapru, Jayakar & Co. are the guardians of Messrs. Gandhi & Co., so why should the former be punished by non-fulfilment of their payers for the guilt of the latter?

Mr. MacDonald says, "these were dealt with quietly but firmly." "Firmly," yes. "Quietly," no. Do the dealing of resounding *lathi* blows, the firing of shots, anti-Indian propaganda in Britain, Europe and America in the Press and on the platform and the raging tearing agitation carried on by Churchill, O'Dwyer & Co., convey the idea of quietness?

"Every good government should be prepared to be terrorized." Certainly, as a measure of precaution. But will Mr. MacDonald mention a few *good* Governments which have been literally *terrorized*? And is it not the previous and more urgent duty of every good Government so to conduct the administration by the timely adoption of suitable means as not to give any occasion for terrorism?

Mr. MacDonald will either admit or deny that the government of Britain is good. If he denies that it is good, how absurd it is for people who cannot govern their own country well to pretend that their government of a foreign country, India, is good! If he admits that the government of Britain is good, he will have to show that it has been terrorized and that the British Government dealt with terrorism by *lathi* charges, firing, ordinances, etc., etc.

In India of the two defiant movements, civil disobedience is far more widespread than terrorism proper. But the premier apparently includes them in the same class, forgetting that it is civil disobedience which has stood between terrorism and the Government and that with the thorough crushing of Congress the buffer between Government and terrorism would be gone.

The British prime minister says:

The problem in India was of natural growth. It had parentage in the education we had given to it and in the political lessons we had taught to its people.

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If so, instead of punishing India, the pupil, for learning its lessons well, why not punish the teachers, the Britishers ? Part at least of the punishment should be inflicted on them.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald may believe or pretend to believe that the British cabinet's way in handling the problem in India "had been to provide conditions for peaceful development whilst retaining allegiance to the Crown." In either case he may be safely challenged by any school of Indian political thought to mention those "Proposals" in the White Paper which provide conditions for automatic peaceful development. There are none.

Indians are at present powerless. But they are not unintelligent.

The Brahma Samaj, the Depressed Classes, and Untouchability.

As the Brahmo Samaj does not believe in caste, and as untouchability is undoubtedly a concomitant of caste, it would be natural to inquire what this Samaj has done to improve the condition of the depressed classes and to eradicate untouchability. *The Indian Messenger*, the weekly organ of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, has published serially accounts of what the Samaj has done in these directions in South India, Bengal and Assam, Khasi Hills, the regions inhabited by the Garos and Rabhas, Chota Nagpur, Andhra country and the Travancore State. These articles are available in book form at four annas per copy at the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj Office, 211 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. It is interesting to learn therefrom that

After strenuous endeavours for ten years Mr. Vithal Ram Shinde, Brahmo Missionary, founder of the Depressed Classes Mission Society of India, eventually succeeded in getting the Indian National Congress in its session at Calcutta in December 1917 under the sympathetic presidentship of Mrs. Besant to pass, *for the first time*, the following important resolution :—

"This Congress urges upon the people of India the necessity, justice, and righteousness of removing all disabilities imposed upon the Depressed Classes, the disabilities being of a most vexatious and oppressive character, subjecting these people to considerable hardship and inconvenience."

Proposed by Mr. G. A. Natesan of Madras.
Seconded by Mr. S. R. Bomanji of Calcutta.
Supported by Mr. S. K. Damle of Poona, and Mr. Rama Ayyar of Calicut.
Carried unanimously.

Mr. Shinde further succeeded in drawing the attention of Mahatma Gandhi to this problem in the session of the Congress held at Nagpur in 1920, and in the very next session at Ahmedabad, Mahatmaji incorporated the issue of removing untouchability as an essential plank of the Congress propaganda.

Indian States' People Condemn White Paper

A public meeting of Indian States' Subjects, residing in Bombay was held at Hirabag (C. P. Tank) Bombay on Sunday the 7th May to protest against the White Paper proposals and their detrimental effect on the interests of Indian States' People.

It was attended by hundreds of States' subjects representing Jodhpur, Junagadh, Baroda, Bikaner, Jaipur, Hyderabad, Gondal, Dhrangadhra, Limbdi, Rajkot, Morvi, Alwar, Bhavnagar, Jamnagar etc.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted :

This meeting of the Indian States' subjects condemns the White Paper proposals as they adversely affect the interests of Indian States' subjects and declare the scheme of constitution outlined therein unacceptable, unless the following amendments are made in it : *viz.*,

(1) Grant of representation to Indian States' subjects in proportion to their population and election of their representatives to the Federal Legislature on the same qualifications and through the same elective system as is to be fixed for British India under the New Constitution. (2) Declaration of fundamental rights of States' subjects as laid down by the Indian States People's Conference. (3) Paramountcy to vest in the Federal Government of India and not in the Crown.

(4) Bestowal of right of appeal on Indian States' subjects to the Supreme Court against the judgment of Indian States Courts, civil as well as criminal.

(5) Making it obligatory upon the States who join the Federation to establish such democratic and progressive Constitution as is to be granted to Provincial Units.

The President, in his concluding address, sounded a clarion call to the States People to be wide awake of their interests. He also called upon their British Indian brethren not to be a party to a Constitution which gave 33 per cent representation (which is out of proportion to the legitimate claims of States) to Indian Princes, but completely disregarded the interests of Indian States Peoples.

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Britain, Russia and India

In Russia a few Englismen were arrested with a view to their public trial for offences alleged to have been committed by them, of which some of them were found guilty afterwards after regular trial. Before they had been found innocent or guilty, the British Parliament passed a law for the boycotting of trade with India.

In India hundreds of Indians have been arrested and detained for indefinitely long periods without charge and trial. Picketing and boycott of British goods in India is considered a heinous offence by Britishers.

Social Reform in Nepal

His Highness the Maharaja of Nepal, who is the Prime Minister and *de facto* ruler, has raised the age of marriage of Brahmins in that State slightly and that of Kshatriyas still higher. It is not necessary to take any such steps in the case of Lepchas, Gurangs, etc., as there is no child marriage among them, and widow-marriage and divorce are customary among them. The Maharaja has also prohibited marriages of old men of certain ages with young brides of certain ages.

The Napalese inhabitants of the Terai were indebted to their Government to the extent of about one crore of rupees. The Maharaja has remitted these debts.

An Would-be Deliverer (?) of India

General Araki, Japan's War Minister, spoke as follows in the course of a recent address :

> India, with its population of three hundred millions, lives in dire misery under Britain's oppressive rule and faces a serious crisis. When things are in this state in the Far East, is it possible for Japan, the leader of the Far East in her own estimation and that of others alike, and whose sacred mission it is to protect her neighbours, to sit still and look on any longer? . . . The countries of the Far East are the object of pressure by the White race. But awakened Japan can tolerate no further tyranny and oppression at their hand.

General Araki should convince the world that his suggestion would not be equivalent to jumping "out of the frying pan into the fire." Deliverer and devourer have too many letters in common.

"India under the British Crown" on Allahabad

The Leader writes :

> In the book *India Under the British Crown* by Major B. D. Basu, a companion volume of the *Rise of the Christian Power in India* by the same author, just published in collaboration with Dr. Phanindra Nath Bose and Prof. Nagendra Nath Ghosh, the following interesting passage occurs with regard to Allahabad :
>
> "Allahabad forms an important landmark in the history of British India. It was to Allahabad that Clive went to receive the grant of the Dewany from Shah Alam. So the British Government of India was hatched in Allahabad. Canning must have remembered this when he chose Allahabad to announce the Proclamation of the Queen, transferring the Government from the hands of the 'Society of Adventurers' not 'Gentlemen' to the Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland. Allahabad should be looked upon therefore, as the place of hatching and rearing of the British Government of India.
>
> "The Fort at Allahabad built by Akbar the Great was considered one of the strongest in Asia. Lord William Bentinck and Lord Canning were in favour of making Allahabad the seat of the Government of India."
>
> Far from being made the seat of the Government of India, Allahabad is slowly and insidiously being divested of even the trappings of the seat of a provincial Government !

Devamitta Dhammapala

By the death of the Venerable Devamitta Dhammapala the world has lost its greatest Buddhist worker and missionary. He devoted his whole fortune and life to the resuscitation of Buddhism in the land of its birth and its propagation abroad. The Mahabodhi Societies of India and England, the Mulagandhakuti Vihara at Sarnath and other Viharas and the many schools in Ceylon bear witness to his unflagging spirit of service.

"Bodhana-Niketan"

India, so far as we are aware, does not contain any institution for the care, training and control of *Indian* feeble-minded and mentally defective children. About 80 acres of land has been obtained as a free gift from the Zamindar, known as the Raja, of Jhargram in Midnapur for establishing such an institu-

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tion, called Bodhana-Niketan. Buildings on a modest scale are in process of construction for it and qualified educational, medical and other officers have been appointed. It is hoped that the institution will be opened on the 1st July next. The inclusive charge per child has been fixed at Rs. 20 per mensem. The promoters have given contracts for the buildings relying on public generosity. They want at present only Rs. 10,000 for them. The monthly expenditure on salaries and contingencies will be about Rs. 400. Bodhana Samiti, the society which will maintain the institution, has been registered under Act xxi of 1860. Details and the annual report may be obtained from the Secretary, Babu Girijabhushan Mukherji, M.A., B.L., 6-5 Bejoy Mukherji Lane, Bhawanipur, Calcutta. Donations and monthly subscriptions will be thankfully received by him or by the President and Treasurer, Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, 2-1 Townshend Road, Bhawanipur, Calcutta.

Mahatma Gandhi on Idol Worship

In *Young India*, October 12, 1921, Mahatma Gandhi explained why he called himself a Sanatani Hindu. That explanation has been reproduced in part in Natesan's "Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi." The passage relating to idol worship runs as follows :

> I have said I do not disbelieve in idol worship. An idol does not excite any feeling of veneration in me. But I think that idol worship is part of human nature. We hanker after symbolism. Why should one be more composed in a church than elsewhere ? Images are an aid to worship. No Hindu considers an image to be God. I do not consider idol worship a sin. P. 1058.

The Modern Review is not a theological journal. Therefore the necessity and utility or otherwise of idol worship, or whether all or most idols are symbols, will not be discussed here. It may be mentioned, however, that its editor does not worship idols ; but, except when immorality or cruelty are involved, he does not consider idol worship a sin either. At the same time he does not think it necessary to worship idols.

But this is a digression. We want to point out the implications of what Mahatmaji has said, as we understand them. The implications are : (1) Mahatmaji does not say that he believes in idol worship, he only says that he does not disbelieve in it. (2) As "idol worship is part of human nature," in his opinion but as also "an idol does not excite any feeling of veneration in" Gandhiji, Gandhiji's nature must be somewhat different from "human nature." (3) "We hanker after symbolism." "Images are an aid to worship." Evidently Mahatmaji does not hanker after the kind of symbolism which, according to him, is implied in idol worship ;—evidently images are not an aid to *his* act of worship. (4) The more a man approaches Gandhiji in intellectuality and spirituality the less will any feeling of veneration be excited in him by an idol and the less will images be an aid to worship in his case.

It is not illogical and unfair to assume that Mahatma Gandhi is not against other Hindus trying to approach him nearer and nearer in intellectuality and spirituality, thereby consequently dispensing with idol worship, as he has done.

Mahatmaji says : "No Hindu considers an image to be God." According to our information, this assertion is inaccurate. If it were a question of opinion, we should have hesitated to contradict Mahatmaji. But it is a question of fact. And the fact is, there are many Hindus who in their ignorance do consider an idol to be God.

Separation af Burma from India

We have not the least doubt in our minds that, on the whole, the separation of Burma from India would injure the cause of the political and economic advancement of the Burmese. We are also convinced that the majority of politically minded Burmese are against separation and that their view was prevented from being definitely and decisively voiced in the Burma Legislative Council by the separationist Burman proteges of the Europeans taking up all the time by their long speeches.

> Independent-minded Burman M. L. C. leaders have cabled protests to the Secretary of State, the Viceroy and the Governor against the manner in which the proceedings of the special session of

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their Council were managed so as to prevent a decision against separation being recorded and an appeal that Burman 'delegates' should be associated with the Joint Select Committee, as Burma must be found a place in an all-India federation.

Futile protest, vain appeal.

Twenty-five Greatest Minds to Promote Cause of Peace

Dr. Albert Einstein wants to draw up a list of the twenty-five greatest minds in the world—intellectuals of the highest order holding liberal views and enjoying international reputation, and form a committee of them, with a view to utilizing their intellectual powers and moral influence for promoting the cause of peace. A committee of such men will no doubt be a very potent moral and idealistic force, though not an immediately effective force.

Pandit Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi

We congratulate Pandid Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi, the distinguished Hindi journalist, essayist and literary critic, on his completing seventy years of his useful life. He won his laurels as the first editor of the Hindi illustrated monthly *Saraswati*, established by the late Babu Chintamani Ghosh of Allahabad at the suggestion of the present writer. May Dwivediji live long to serve as a guide and inspirer to younger Hindi journalists and other writers.

Brilliant Success of Lucknow Lady Candidates

The three highest places in the recent B. A. examination of the Lucknow University have been won by lady candidates. We congratulate them.

Revised Agreement with Anglo-Persian Oil Company

One of the advantages gained by Persia by the revised agreement with the Anglo-Persian Oil Company is that the Company will pay £10,000 per annum for the education of Persian students proceeding to England for the study of engineering. It is no use asking what the Burma Oil Company pays for the education in engineering of Burmese and Indian students. For neither India nor Burma is independent and able to exact terms. We mention Indian students also, because India is a big customer of Burma oil and pays Government a high duty almost equal to its price.

The Aga Khan on Team Work

The Aga Khan is reported to have stated to Reuter :

> The British Indian delegation are all trying to work as a team, but we are from far too many different interests and sections, political and otherwise, to be able to start out as a real team.

The delegates have been selected in such a way as to make team work well-nigh impossible—sectionalists having been given predominance.

It was at the suggestion of Lord Minto's Government that a Muhammadan deputation, *headed by the Aga Khan,* waited upon His Excellency and urged that Muhammadan interests being distinct and separate, they should have separate representation, etc. This was the "command performance" to which the late Maulana Mohamed Ali referred in his presidential address at the Cocanada session of the Congress. Having been the protagonist of separatism, having been the first to dance to the tune of the British imperialist charmers whose interest it is to prevent a united front, having been the first to succumb to their syren song, the Aga Khan is undoubtedly the fittest man to complain of absence of team work !

World Economic Conference Entertainment Arrangements

A British Official Wireless gives an account of the elaborate entertainment arrangements made in England for the delectation of the delegates to the World Economic Conference. We hope the delegates of the independent countries, their intellectual powers and their economic nationalism will survive the banquets, parties, etc. As the independent voice of Indian economic thought will not be heard at the Conference, it is to be hoped some competent gourmets will be selected to "represent" India.

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An Anti-caste Campaign in the Panjab

In connection with the anti-caste campaign started by Jat-Pat Torak Mandal, Lahore, with special reference to the omission of caste in College admission forms by the students seeking admission to First Year class, the following note has been received from the Principal, D. A.-V. College, Hoshiarpur :—

"I have to say that long ago in the admission forms of this College the column for caste was deleted. At present in our admission forms there is no such column wherein the student has to mention his caste."

"Caste" should be omitted from all admission or other forms, wherever they exist.

Export of Gold "Beneficial to India and the World"

"I am satisfied and I believe that the Government of India is satisfied that the exports of privately-owned gold and maintenance of the link between the sterling and rupee have been of the highest advantage to India," declared Sir Samuel Hoare replying to Mr. David Grenfell (Lab.), who asked what action the Government of India proposed to take regarding representations of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce requesting an embargo on gold exports and protesting against the sterling link.

Sir Samuel Hoare also replied : "I think on the whole the export of gold has been beneficial to India and the world."

Occidentals in general and Britishers in particular are all great philanthropists and altruists. They give away all good ideas and plans for the benefit of others. Hence Great Britain, France, U. S. A., South Africa, etc., are keeping their accursed gold, whereas India is being encouraged and indirectly forced to export it.

O'Dwyer the Political Census-taker

Speaking recently at a public meeting in London Sir Michael O'Dwyer said : "Less than one per cent of the Indian intelligentsia are demanding that Britain should hand over the control of India to them." Sir Michael is an extremely clever man. By some occult process he must have taken a secret census of the opinions of our intelligentsia.

Proposed Amendment of Law of Sedition

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer, M. L. A., has introduced a bill to amend section 124 A of the Indian Penal Code, proposing that it should read as follows :

> "Whoever by words, either spoken or written, or by signs, or by visible representation or otherwise, excites or attempts to excite, feelings of disaffection to the Government established by law in British India, with intent to incite disorder or violence or the use of force in any form calculated to subvert or resist the lawful authority of the Government, shall be punished with simple imprisonment which may extend to three years, or with fine or with both."

As originally drafted the law of sedition in India was something like the proposed amendment, which would also make it similar to what it is in free countries, among which India was alleged to have been included "in action" under the late British Labour Government.

Maulana Karam Ali on Muslim Politicians

Maulana Karam Ali is the secretary of the Jamait-ul-Ulema-i-Hind. On his return from Hedjaz he is reported to have said in part :

> He noted with regret that the reins of Muslim politics were in undesirable hands instead of in the hands of sincere, true and honest men whose motto should be the service of the Motherland.

Patel and Bose on Suspension of Civil Disobedience.

When the suspension of the civil disobedience movement for six weeks was announced at the commencement of Mahatma Gandhi's fast and the fact became known in Europe Mr. V. J. Patel and Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose made the following statement to *Reuter's* correspondent at Vienna :

> The latest action of Mahatma Gandhi in suspending the Civil Disobedience movement is a confession of failure so far as the present method of the Congress is concerned. We are clearly of the opinion that, as a political leader, Mahatma Gandhi has failed.
>
> The time has, therefore, come for a radical reorganization of the Congress on a new principle and with a new method. For bringing about this reorganization a change of leadership is necessary, for it would be unfair to Mahatma Gandhi to expect him to evolve or work a programme and method not consistent with his lifelong principles. If the Congress as a whole can undergo this transformation, it would be the best course. Failing that, a new party will have to be formed within the Congress, composed of all radical elements. Non-co-operation cannot be given up, but the

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form of non-co-operation will have to be changed into a more militant one and the fight for freedom to be waged on all fronts.

As we understand the matter, the temporary suspension of civil disobedience was meant partly, if not mainly, to obtain a quiet atmosphere during Mahatmaji's fast and the subsequent period of convalescence. Therefore, this suspension in itself cannot be taken as a *confession* of failure, particularly as Gandhiji has not lost but on the contrary has reiterated his faith in civil disobedience, nor has he said that the movement would not be started again, if necessary. The announcement of the suspension itself, in our opinion, was wise.

Apart from the announcement, the movement had practically come to a standstill almost throughout the country. And it is also true that the main object of civil disobedience, namely, the attainment of Swaraj, has not yet been gained. This want of success some will ascribe to the nature of Non-co-operation itself, others will say that Non-co-operation would have been a success if a larger number of men and women of all creeds, castes, communities and provinces had become non-co-operators and if all the items of the Non-co-operation programme as originally drawn up had been given effect to. Hence the fact that the movement has not yet succeeded may be construed either as the failure of Mahatma Gandhi's policy and methods and of his leadership, or as the failure of his countrymen in general to come up to the standard of courage, sacrifice and non-violence which he expected of them.

Neither Mahatma Gandhi nor any other leader can stand in the way of the adoption of a new principle and a new method. We do not think Mahatma Gandhi is not open to conviction. He is capable of adopting new methods, if he can be convinced that they are likely to be effective and are not in conflict with his religious principles. But Messrs. Patel and Bose, while declaring that "Non-co-operation cannot be given up, but the form of non-co-operation will have to be changed into a more militant one and the fight for freedom to be waged on all fronts," also say that "it would be unfair to Mahatma Gandhi to expect him to evolve or work a programme and method not consistent with his lifelong principles." So, one has to ask, what "lifelong principles" have the two leaders in view? *Ahimsa* or non-violence is one such. Another is overtness or non-secrecy of plans and actions, which Gandhiji reiterated at the beginning of his fast. What else?

An Incorrect Charge Against Mahatma Gandhi

It is said that the tin gods of Simla are displeased with Gandhiji for having made a statement after his release which in part contained political matter. They are reported to be of the opinion that a man of honour ought not to have taken advantage of his release, which was due to a fast on religious grounds, to make an excursion into politics. But the release was unconditional. Gandhiji was not asked to give any undertaking, nor did he give any. True, he had said in effect that *the fast* had nothing to do with politics. But that could not mean that after release he would not refer to any political matter. Government released him of its own accord only to avoid an embarrassing situation arising out of the possibility of a long fast ending fatally, not on any implied or express understanding. No official had, therefore, any business to assume that, when free, Mahatmaji would not have anything to do with politics. Now that he has broken his fast, Government can clap him in jail again for the heinous offence of making a gesture of peace!

Sir Samuel Hoare at the Bombay Dinner

London, May, 26.

"One of the conditions for any great Indian constitutional change must be no commercial discrimination against British trade and industry," emphasized Sir Samuel Hoare, speaking at the Bombay Dinner.

He declared that British business people and Indian business men had much the same problems to face.

It would be much easier to find a solution if they worked together and did not try to cut each other's throats.

Sir Samuel Hoare challenged anyone to cite an instance in the history of the world in which a

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great business community had exploited to so small an extent an Empire, which its armies had conquered, and whose associations with that country had been so much of benefit to the country itself.—*Reuter.*

Every country has the natural right, which free countries including Britain have exercised repeatedly, to safe-guard its own trade and industry first of all. If this cannot be done without eliminating or weakening foreign competition, every free country does eliminate or weaken foreign competition. Sir Samuel Hoare speaks as if Britishers had a greater right than or an equal right with Indians to trade in India. It is the height of absurdity. Nationals and non-Nationals do not and cannot have the same sort of rights in a country in all matters. If Indian trade and industries cannot flourish *in India* without minimizing British, Japanese or other foreign competition, that will have to be done, and "any great constitutional change" in India necessary for economic or political progress will come to pass in spite of Sir Samuel Hoare.

It is true that British business people and Indian business men have much the same problems to face. But whereas in Britain the "Buy British" slogan is patriotic and legal and has the patronage of royalty, in India "Buy Indian" is looked upon with disfavour by Britishers as sedition, discrimination and what not.

Will Sir Samuel Hoare point out any period or occasion in history when Indian business men tried to cut the throats of British business men in Britain?

The challenge contained in the fourth paragraph quoted above is unanswerable for the simple reason that the British Indian Empire is the only Empire in which the card-wand has become the sceptre.

Whether the great British business community's exploitation of India has been and is small can be easily known from a perusal of books like Major B. D. Basu's *Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries.*

Whether the Indian Empire was acquired solely or mostly by conquest by the East India Company's armies (for which India had to find most of the men and all the money), is known to readers of Major B. D. Basu's *Rise of the Christian Power in India.*

There is no question that in some directions India has benefited by her associations with Britain. But Englishmen who speak of these benefits should bear in mind certain facts. The British connection has been far more advantageous to Britain than to India. To promote her own interests Britain had to do certain things and these incidentally benefited India. India has paid more than enough for all these benefits. It is difficult to say offhand whether India's moral and material gain or loss from the British connection has been greater. It is always a profitless task to discuss what might have been. But it is very probable that if India had not been a subject country, it would not have been less advanced in all directions in the year 1933 than it is. The intelligence, industry and the ethical qualities of her people and her ancient culture and civilization, and the Time-spirit, would not have allowed her to lag behind. It is no injustice to Britishers to say that they could have easily done very very much more to equip Indians with education and sanitation than they have done, and that they have chosen not to educate and sanitate India adequately.

Dissociation of Politics and Business

Sir Samuel Hoare concluded his speech at the Bombay Presidency dinner in London "with an appeal to cease political wrangling and keep politics out of business and business out of politics."

After the British people have succeeded in promoting their business by the exercise of their political power, it suits their spokesmen now to advise others to keep politics and business apart. Many passages can be quoted from English historians to show how in the past political power was exercised in Great Britain to promote her business interests. Two or three will suffice.

> "At the end of the seventeenth century great quantities of cheap and graceful Indian calicoes, muslins and chintzes were imported into England, and they found such favour that the woolen and silk manufacturers were seriously alarmed. Acts of Parliament were accordingly passed in 1700 and 1721, absolutely prohibiting, with a very few specified exceptions, the employment of printed or dyed calicoes in England, either in dress or in furniture, and the use of any printed or dyed goods of which cotton formed any part."—Lecky's

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History of England in the 18th century, Vol. VII. pp. 255-56.

Again. In Great Britain, it was

"penal for any woman to wear a dress made of Indian calico. In 1766 a lady was fined £ 200 at the Guild Hall because it was proved that her handkerchief was of French cambric."—*Ibid.*, p. 320.

The following passage is from *The History of British India*, by Horace Hayman Wilson, vol. i, p. 285 :

"The history of the trade of cotton cloth with India affords a singular exemplification of the inapplicability to all times and circumstances of that principle of free trade which advocates the unrestricted admission of a cheap article. in place of protecting by heavy duties a dearer one of home manufacture. It is also a melancholy instance of the wrong done to India by the country on which she had become dependent. It was stated in evidence, that the cotton and silk goods of India up to the period [1813] could be sold for a profit in the British market, at a price from fifty to sixty per cent. lower than those fabricated in England. It consequently became necessary to protect the latter by duties of seventy and eighty per cent. on their value or by positive prohibition. Had this not been the case, had not such prohibitory duties and decrees existed, the mills of Paisley and of Manchester would have been stopped in their outset, and could scarcely have been again set in motion even by the power of steam. They were created by the sacrifice of the Indian manufactures. Had India been independent, she would have retaliated: would have imposed preventive duties upon British goods and would thus have preserved her own productive industry from annihilation. This act of self-defence was not permitted her; she was at the mercy of the stranger. British goods were forced upon her without paying any duty: and the foreign manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms."

These extracts, out of many more, have been taken from Major B. D. Basu's *Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries*.

These all relate to times past. But, though Britain's present is built on her past, it is not necessary to ransack past history to show that the British people have not dissociated and do not dissociate their politics from their business and *vice versa*. The present Tory Government of Britain, misnamed "National," have legislated to impose duties or placed an embargo on foreign imports in order to ensure the sale of British goods. Why, the White Paper published by the British Government, of which Sir Samuel Hoare is a member, contains proposals for safeguarding British business with and in India. Is not this an example of politico-commercial action in relation to India? Dare England make such proposals to any independent country over which she has no political power? The Ottawa pact, so far as it relates to India, is the result of the use or abuse of England's political power over India, by which India has been made to give preference to British goods.

So far as Indo-British relations are concerned, we are prepared to keep our politics out of business provided England reciprocates by refraining from politically inserting in the Indian constitution any provisions for promoting her own business with and in India at our expense. Would Sir Samuel Hoare agree?

In this and the previous note we have commented on Sir Samuel's speech as cabled by Reuter. In the Free Press cable we find the following :

Sir Samuel Hoare concluded that the interference of politicians with trade was more harmful than anything else and wanted Bombay to end the tiresome chapter of political interference and boycotting.

When British politicians interfere with non-British trade, *e. g.*, Russian trade, Irish trade, etc., by legislative and other boycott in the interests of British trade, it is all right. But when non-British politicians and people want to protect their own trade against the competition of British and other foreign traders by non-legislative boycott, why, it then becomes positively objectionable.

Political Pickling of Untouchability

An article published in this issue elsewhere shows that to some extent caste owes its long life, strength, sub-divisions, etc., to what has been done officially for years. We are afraid the British Premier's communal decision together with its amendments by the Poona Pact would similarly pickle and preserve untouchability. The curse of untouchability has been disappearing gradually as the result of contact with the manners, customs and civilization of the West, and because of education, the conditions of railway and steamer transport, and the efforts of social reformers and other causes. But as council entry has been made comparatively easy for

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candidates belonging to castes considered "untouchable," "depressed," "socially backward," etc., and as this advantage would be lost by them as soon as they ceased to consider themselves and be considered by others "untouchable," "depressed," "socially backward," etc., there would be a tendency to maintain untouchability. This tendency would not be discouraged by officialdom.

No class in India can be said to have effective political power. But whatever the extent, degree or character of the political power which Indians have, it is natural for all classes and sections of them to desire to share it. No class or section can be or should be content with the efforts, if any, made by others to better their condition. It is the right and duty of all to secure opportunities of improving their condition by their own efforts. Hence it is necessary and proper for persons belonging to the so-called "untouchable" or "depressed" classes also to become members of the legislatures. But it would not be good for them to enter the councils as "untouchables" or "depressed" persons.

Whatever their opponents may say, Mahatma Gandhi and Congress have great influence in the country. If they consider council-entry desirable, at least for those classes whom the Poona Pact is intended to benefit, it would be better, in our opinion, if Congress selected a considerable number of its candidates from those classes which are backward in education,—not because these classes are "untouchable" or "depressed" or "socially backward," but because they are backward in education. If this were done, it would be found that the object of the Poona Pact would be gained without even indirectly helping to prolong the life of "untouchability." Educational backwardness is more easily remediable than "untouchability." If a man becomes a graduate he ceases to be backward in education. But if a so-called "untouchable" becomes even a D. Sc., unreasonable people may continue to consider him "untouchable." Therefore, it is better for people to have representatives of their own class because of their educational backwardness than because of their "untouchability." "Untouchables" may cling to their "untouchability," because otherwise they may lose a comparatively easy means of getting into the councils. But the educationally backward need not cling to educational backwardness, for if they become educationally advanced, that itself will help and enable them to enter the legislatures.

Government Communique on Pandit Malaviya's Statement

Had public opinion been strong in India and had the people possessed political power and been credited by the bureaucracy with some intelligence, the Government of India would not have published the communique it has from Simla on May 29 in connection with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's statement alleging police assaults on Congress delegates in Calcutta. "The Government of Bengal consider the statement as a whole to be a false statement. . . . The Government of India after considering the report of the Bengal Government fully endorses their conclusions." We have, however, arrived at a different conclusion after going through the document carefully. The admissions made in it show that many delegates were roughly handled and that they received injuries, though the use of force is explained away as having been involved in the discharge of their duty by the police, and the injuries are either minimized or said to have been due to a fall from a prison van. Our conclusion is that a public inquiry is necessary to find out whether the force used was legally justified, what kind and amount of force was used, whether it could produce the serious injuries complained of, etc. As Congress has never yet been declared unlawful, the arrest of Congress delegates was illegal.

The enquiry on which the communique is mainly based was made by the Commissioner of Police, the very officer whose administration has been arraigned and whose subordinates were alleged to have been the guilty party. The Commissioner has, of course, derived all his information ultimately from those subordinates of his who were alleged to have committed the assaults. Thus the same party combined in their persons the functions of the accused, judge, jury, witnesses etc.

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"Hear the other side" is a time-honoured rule observed on all occasions where truth has to be arrived at judicially. In this case this rule was not observed. We do not take it for granted that the Calcutta police are untruthful; but neither can Panditji's informants and himself be taken to be untruthful without giving them an opportunity to establish the correctness of their version of the affair.

That the Calcutta press made "general references to lathi charges" but did not give details, can be explained by the Press Officer's activities and the elastic but drastic press laws. [After writing this Note we find several Calcutta dailies give the same reason in detail.] That "these particular allegations" emanated, not from Calcutta but from Benares, was because Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya of Benares was the President-elect of the last session of the Congress and the most outstanding political personality not in jail at that time.

It was at about 7 P. M. that some of the arrested delegates are said to have "missed their steps in consequence of the darkness and fell on the ground" at the Lalbazar lock-up gate. If the place was so dark at 7 P. M., why was no light provided beforehand? And could a fall from a prison van produce the serious injuries of two delegates described in the statement? In dealing with the third allegation, the communique mentions "a dislocation of a left shoulder-bone" of one delegate and "a dislocation of two teeth" of another. These were produced by the use of the legal minimum force! It is said twice that no complaints were made to superior police officers. Non-co-operators generally do not lodge complaints and they also think that complaints are futile. And it is possible that complaints made were not recorded by the police. There is mention of such a thing in the Statement.

It is no presumptive proof of the falsity of Mr. Malaviya's statement that no M. L. C. drew attention to the alleged assaults in the Bengal Council, which was in session till April 4 last. All complaints are not voiced there; M. L. C.s. know the futility of asking questions, etc; and the like. None of the prisoners referred to in Panditji's statement came out of jail before the morning, of the 3rd some came out on and after the 4th, and hence, even if so inclined, they had hardly time to approach the M. L. C s.

Still Greater Trouble and Humiliation for Chittagong Hindus

Collective fines, curfew orders—not to speak of the raids and looting which had taken place previously—have not been considered sufficient punishment for the Hindus of Chittagong, for the offence of not being able to tell the police the whereabouts of a few absconding accused. The District Magistrate has ordered that from June 20 onwards Hindu juveniles of the *bhadralok* (gentle-folk) class aged 12 to 25 years must always have or carry with them red, blue or white identity cards. Detenus in home or village domicile will be required to carry red cards, suspects blue cards, all others white cards and produce them whenever ordered by policemen, etc. How very humiliating and irritating! The dispensers of these cards will be the all-knowing and absolutely infallible and impeccable police. Bhadralok juveniles, though suspects, are credited with sufficient honesty not to manufacture white cards and not to dress themselves as working men, coolies, peasants, Muslims, Eurasians, etc. In fact, there is a Bengal Government order that it would be a penal offence for anybody in Bengal to wear any but his usual dress. This order should be supplemented by another, namely, that Chittagong Hindu juveniles who become converts to Muhammadanism, Christianity, Sikhism and Buddhism would be legally punished.

Exit Alwar—For How Long?

When after the quelling of the Sepoy War it was found necessary to pacify and reassure the people and princes of India, Queen Victoria issued her famous proclamation, which promised among other things "We shall respect the right, dignity and honour of native princes as our own." Ordinarily, though not under Regulation or Ordinance or Ordinance-law rule, a common person is entitled to be heard in self-defence before

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being punished. The Maharaja of Alwar has not been dealt with, so far as is known to the public, under any Regulation, Ordinance, or Ordinance-law. Is his "right, dignity and honour" then less than those of common Indians that he is alleged to have been asked to leave his State within 48 hours without being heard in his defence and has been practically exiled—for two years or more ?

These big Maharajas are fond of boasting of their sovereign rights ! They will not brook paramountcy being vested in the proposed Federal Government, over which commoners may have influence !

There are politicoes placed in States like Alwar. Why does not Government advise and press the ruling princes through them to govern well and to adopt the modern up-to-date methods of limited monarchies ? Why is not warning given to them in time, when necessary ? Is the drastic remedy of "abdication" or "exile" the only remedy ?

It is a rather curious coincidence that hitherto only non-Muslim princes have been drastically dealt with. Of course, there have been in the cases of two them rebellions by their Mahammadan subjects. But that is only because Muhammadans in Hindu States and their co-religionists in British India are dynamic !

Bahawalpur

In recent years serious complaints have been heard against the Muhammadan States of Bhopal and Junagarh. Recently complaints of alleged arbitrariness, like the declaration of the local Hindu Sabha and the Hindu Yuvak Sangh as unlawful bodies, were ventilated against the Bahawalpur Durbar. These have not been investigated. And now *The Daily Herald* writes :

> Something like twelve crores of rupees are due by Bahawalpur Durbar to the Central Government on account of loans and interest incurred for the Sutlej Colonization Project. And Bahawalpur can't pay. It thus appears that not only does the Judicial system of the State require overhauling, but the Financial condition is just as rotten. There is grave need for drastic measures of economy and reform in Bahawalpur State, and one is inclined to imagine that, if His Highness did not stand on the "favourite wife" side of the picture, the Government of India would, long ere this, have taken such measures as would ensure the drastic overhauling of affairs in the State.

Hunger-strike and Death of Political Prisoners in the Andamans

A crowded meeting of the citizens of Calcutta was held in the Albert Hall on the 30th May last under the presidentship of Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu, the Mayor, to give expression to the strong feeling roused by Government's (belated) publication of news of the deaths of two political prisoners and the continued hunger-strike of 39 more, to demand an immediate and open enquiry into the circumstances leading to the hunger-strike and the deaths, to strongly protest against the re-opening of the Andaman Cellular jail for the transfer of political prisoners from India in the teeth of vehement popular feeling and against the recommendations of the Cardew Committee, and to demand their immediate re-transfer to India, "so that the conditions of jail life may be amenable to public influence and may be more effectively supervised both by the Government and the public."

Sir N. N. Sircar on Cry of "British Abdication"

Sir Nripendra Nath Sircar, Advocate-General of Bengal, has been making a few telling speeches in London. He was given ten minutes to address a gathering of about 400 Conservatives. Among other things he told them :

> If the White Paper goes through, Army and External Affairs remain Reserved Subjects, untouchable by Indian hands. They have no voice in the progress of Indianization of the Army. About Finances, as eighty per cent of the Central Revenue is eaten up by Army expenditure, Debt Service, guaranteed pays, pensions and allowances, the Finance Minister can play with only the balance, *i. e.*, twenty per cent.
>
> A voice : Is that so ? I don't find that in the White Paper.
>
> Chairman : That is quite accurate.
>
> As regards the Services : not only recruitment, but even transfer of members of the Superior Services will be beyond the power of the Ministers. The Ministers cannot censure persons who on paper and in theory are their servants.
>
> Is this abdication ?

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Sir Samuel Hoare Again on Pandit Malaviya's Statement

On May 29 in the House of Commons, replying to Mr. Tom Williams' request of an enquiry into the allegations made in Pandit Malaviya's statement and "prosecution of the utterers of untruths,"

> Sir Samuel Hoare said "We have had full inquiry. The people, who have made the charges, are entitled, if they wish, to take the charges into courts."
>
> Mr. Tom Williams suggested that as evidence seemed to show that the statements were wholly untrue it was the duty of the Government of India to prosecute Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and others.
>
> Sir Samuel Hoare : "It is quite unnecessary to take such steps. I am satisfied, as also the Government of India, that there is no ground for these charges."—Reuter.

"Full inquiry" indeed! Sir Samuel knows that Non-co-operators do not generally take charges into British courts. Is that the reason why he wants them to take the charges into courts? It is not enough that he and the Government of India are satisfied. They are always disposed to be satisfied with what their executive and police underlings do. He should have the courage to take up Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's challenge and prosecute him.

Amendment of the Calcutta Municipal Act

The bill to amend the Calcutta Municipal Act, about whose origin and occasion something was said in the last issue of this Review has two ends in view : first, to deprive all persons who have been convicted of political offences of their employment in the Calcutta Corporation ; and, secondly, to bring the financial affairs of the Corporation completely under Government control. On both these parts of the bill we have a few words to say.

If the political clauses of the bill receive the sanction of the legislature it will not be simply the future offenders who will run the risk of being penalized, but past ones as well, for these clauses of the proposed amending law have been given retrospective effect from April 1, 1930, that is to say from the very beginning of the present political disturbances. It is superfluous to add that the bill does not aim to bring any other kind of offence within its purview however serious that may be. The special powers which are sought in this connection apply only to the "political offences," which are not easy of definition either morally or legally. We do not wish to raise here the question of moral guilt involved in the so-called political offences, and shall confine ourselves to the obvious remark that under the system of government prevailing in India they may be no more than technical and even wholly artificial offences. The notion of political offence has no fixed character and changes from day to day according to the convenience of the rulers of the country. Actions which are not offences today may become offences tomorrow. For instance, peaceful picketing which was not regarded as an offence two years ago is an offence under the existing laws and ordinances. Besides, actions which are considered praiseworthy in free countries are offences in India. As long as political offences retain their unstable and arbitrary character, it is hardly fair to deprive persons of their livelihood on this score alone.

But leaving aside for the moment the question of moral guilt, there are other good reasons why political offenders should not be dealt with in so summary a fashion. Most of the men who were convicted for participating in the civil disobedience movement did not take part in the trials out of conscientious scruples. It is possible that had they tried to defend themselves they could in many cases have proved themselves innocent. As things are, they were convicted on wholly *ex parte* evidence.

The clause of the bill which lays down that its provisions will apply only to those who have been sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for any period and simple imprisonment for terms of six months or more will also, in our opinion, involve discrimination and injustice.

It is of course true that Government may, if they so wish, exempt any person from the operations of these clauses. But justice and favour are quite different things and there can be no doubt that the provision

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bill will result in serious encroachments autonomous powers of the Corporation, not honourable to that great corpo- dy.

financial powers claimed by Govern- n the second part of this bill on behalf emselves or their agents are more ary still. It seeks to make the Govern- auditor the supreme arbiter of the ial affairs of the Corporation, and by lucing a system of surcharges to make owers of this functionary absolutely me. If this part of the proposed bill s into law, the whole machinery of technical spending departments Calcutta Corporation will break Section 14 will remain a dead letter mockery. Section 14 has rightly been the keystone of the self-government of Sir Surendranath's Municipal It defines the fiscal autonomy of rporation in regard to improvement It limits the self-governing powers body to an expenditure up to Rs. 2½ ft is because this section has been to real practice in the interests of the ers of Calcutta that the Government come restive and has come forward measure which seeks to make it tive and useless.

e autocracy of the Government auditor ring the spending departments to a still. It will demolish discipline, rage insubordination and the g of the orders of the Committees the Corporation by officers heads of departments. If an r is asked to formulate a project for ovement works (under Rs. 2½ lakhs) he refuse to do it until the approval of the ernment auditor is obtained beforehand. en if a departmental proposal for new ks is passed through committees and the oration, the head of the department ing with the work may refuse to have thing to do with the supervision and cution of the work until the permission the Government auditor is obtained for y detail, for fear of disallowance and harge.

The following list will show how no work under any of the engineering departments can be done for fear of the auditor.

Every work of improvement in the spheres of water supply, drainage and conservancy, roads, lighting, transport, can be called part of one big scheme or other (of the value of over Rs. 2½ lakhs) which have had the approval of Government or which are awaiting approval under section 14. Therefore, all works however small in value will have to be sent to Government for approval with consequent delays and postponements.

(1) *Water Works.* Any new pipe-laying programme for introduction or augmentation of water supply in any area of Calcutta, may be said to be part of the various big water supply schemes already carried out under section 14 and cannot therefore be taken in hand until Government approval is obtained again under section 14. The current works entailing fresh expenditure of money for completion will have to be stopped pending auditor's approval. The approval may depend on the nationality and credentials of the makers supplying the pipes.

(2) *Ditto*—in relation to replacement of engines and pumps.

(3) *Ditto*—if any power unit is electrified and electricity not taken from the C. E. S. Corporation.

(4) *Drainage*—same as (3) Drainage pumps and as (2) for replacements.

(5) No works in connection with drainage outfall, *e. g.*, repair or remodelling of existing sewers and channels—although vitally necessary—can be done without the specific permission of the auditor—as the main outfall scheme has been awaiting Government sanction for the last three years.

(6) No internal drainage works can be undertaken for reasons as in (5) and (1).

(7) *Conservancy*—No *adinterim* arrangements regarding purchase of carts and ponies for replacement and no new requirements can be made—as the Rs. 6 lakhs scheme of mechanized transport (although approved by Government) cannot be undertaken for want of funds.

(8) No replacement of wagons, locomo-

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tives, rails will be possible after the Incineration Scheme is sent to Government for approval under Sec. 14. Every specific item will have to be approved by Government. Result—deadlock.

(9) *Roads*—Economical methods of road improvements and maintenance will have to be severally sent to Government for approval, and if refused, will have to postponed.

(10) *Street Lighting.* Conversion of gas lamps to electricity although allowed in the Gas Agreement may be refused by Government unless the current is taken from the C. E. S. Corporation. Improvement and economy thus go overboard.

(11) *Workshop*—Reorganization cannot be undertaken in parts, (because a comprehensive scheme may be withheld by Government or even if approved could not be carried out for want of funds). Result—crippling of productive power and economy.

(12) *Stores*—Every item of engineering stores is a part of one or other project approved under Sec. 14. Fresh sanction will therefore be required. The auditor may invoke Sec. 14 every time to cloak his disapproval of indigenous goods bought or of goods manufactured in Corporation workshops.

A New Way of Imposing a Tax

In the Forest Administration Report for 1931-32 we find :

> The assessment of fisheries in the forest of the Sunderbans was started in the distr Khulna from the 17th November 1931 in the of levying a toll on boats. The toll collected through the agency of the Fore ment. The revenue from this source am Rs. 3,489 during the year.

This is taxing the poor, illiterate fi belonging mostly to the depressed without either legislating or consult Bengal Legislative Council. In aft this will perhaps be cited as a prece taxing the poor boatmen in the int Revenue, and we hope, not in the int railways.

J. M

THE COLOURED FRONTISPI

The subject of the coloured fron (Lakshman and Surpanakha by Ra Vijayabargiya) is taken from the Ra Surparnakha, the sister of Ravana, wandering in the Dandaka fores Lakshman and offered her love to him however, met with a very humiliating This led to the development which in the war between Rama and Ravana.

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